

PHILOSOPHY OF WAR.

(By Prof. Vaswani.)

Non-co-operation, it has been often urged, is a War, a blood-less war, a moral war against the Government. A true non-cooperationist must be a soldier of the moral ideal.

Ahimsa must be his first quality. But there are other qualities too, he must have to sustain this moral warfare to success. Some of these are suggested in a book which I should recommend to every Indian. "The Principles of War" by Foch. This French General will pass down to history as the man who turned a struggling military situation into one of unquestioned triumph with a suddenness which seemed startling. He has personal qualities, indeed which appeal to the Eastern mind and awaken a deep interest in his "Principles of War." Unlike *Margu*, known as "the tiger among French Generals," Foch is calm and tranquil; he is simple in dress and diet and habits of life. He believes in the religion of heroism. The "Principles of War" is rich in ideas and literary qualities. It is a record of the lectures he gave when he was Professor of Strategy and Tactics at the *Ecole de Guerre*. His admiration for Napoleon is profound and he has studied with care Napoleon's strategy. Napoleon followed what Foch calls 'the principle of economy of forces' and Foch made use of it with consummate skill in the War. The decisive attack must be prepared with careful judgment. There it is that the German policy in the War differed from that of Foch. The Germans followed

A POLICY OF ADVENTURE

with the result that they quickly spent their energy and had practically no reserves left at the last hour. General Foch, in accordance with the principle of economy of forces urges that we should combine courage with careful judgment, recognise the value of active reserves and, with a view to final success, not mind initial losses. The Germans went upon the war as a gamble using their maximum strength in the very first phases of the struggle, gradually becoming weaker till they declared themselves to be bankrupt they struck with might but only for a short time. Mahatma Gandhi's idea of

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rests, it seems to me, on this sound principle of economy of forces.

There is yet another principle of war according to General Foch. The attack, he says, is the best

method of defence. To defend yourself with the greatest efficiency and economy you may attack; offensive is the best defensive. It is a principle involved, it seems to me, in Mr. Gandhi's efforts to pull down the Government-controlled schools and colleges. In the long run this method, wrongly named by critics as a "destructive campaign, will I believe, be found to be very helpful in building up truly national institutions. Non-co-operation of any kind is an offensive against the present system; but it will I hope, be found to be a very helpful method of co-operation among the people, and of self-organisation and self-discipline.

Yet another principle is that of 'Discipline'. Foch urges that discipline is freedom of action. It means not blind obedience but power to act as a free man.

It is this discipline we need to sustain non-co-operation to success. Foch is careful to point out that true discipline cannot exist without conscience. Discipline and duty must join hands together. "Whatever", says Foch, "may be the situation to be resolved in war, there is only one way to avoid mistakes, faults, disasters but that one is sure and certain, the one cult in its best sense and most precise meaning of two abstractions in the moral sphere,—duty and discipline."

"Duty and discipline" : In a moment of bitter struggle it was that some one said to Foch:—"There is nothing left but to die." "No", said Foch, "we must hold on here first; only then can we afford to die." His son and son-in-law died for France; but he held on in courage and faith. "My son is gone", he said, "and one of my daughters is widowed. I am nearing the twilight of my life. But we have no right to self-pity. Our country—our beloved patria is all that matters. Let us accept the sacrifice. The whole of humanity is at stake. Liberty must first triumph, afterwards we may weep."

There is the spirit in which the true non-co-operators may march through

THE STRUGGLE OF THESE DAYS, keeping their hearts in courage, believing in the value of suffering, knowing that vigour is not violence and accepting the sacrifice. And it is the men and women, filled with this spirit not inert intellectuals, not popular demagogues, not evasive politicians—who will be, I believe, our leaders and liberators in the coming days.

Notes.

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The Duke's visit—H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught is to land in Madras on the 10th instant, on the 12th, His Royal Highness is to perform the inauguration ceremony of the 'popular' Council of the Madras Presidency.

We need not remind our Madras friends of the Nagpur Congress Resolution on this connection which must be so fresh in their mind. We hope they will be able to keep before to His Royal Highness a true perspective of the state of affairs in the country, by their silent but unmistakable protest that these Councils do not represent the electorate, meaning thereby the majority thereof, and to impress upon the Duke the fact, which he might carry to His Majesty, that India will be satisfied with, and is determined to have, nothing short of Full Swaraj and a complete retrieval of the Khilafat. It would not be too much to expect, after what has happened at Nagpur, those of our patriotic countrymen who have allowed themselves to be elected on the Council to withdraw forthwith in respect to the wishes of the major portion of their constituencies, and more to the call of the country.

Caste vs. Class—Some of our correspondents point out to us the virtues of the division of society by class without however a contrast and comparison with those of the caste system. When we do that what do we find the caste system as the greatest element in social stability and solidarity.

From the economic point of view, its value was once very great. It ensured hereditary skill: is limited competition. It was the best remedy against pauperism. And it had all the advantages of trade guilds. Although it did not foster adventure or invention there, it is not known to have come in the way either. It is not possible to decide to-day whether we can revert from contract to status, and therefore one cannot decide whether caste and profession can or ought to be linked together. But this much one can safely say that it is possible to bring the tradition of one's caste to bear upon any and every profession that one chooses to follow with advantage. This will be possible only when society comes to its own and recovers its strength under the natural atmosphere of Swaraj.

Historically speaking, caste may be regarded, as man's experiment or social adjustment in the laboratory of Indian society. If we can prove it to be a success, it can be offered to the world as a haven and as the best remedy against heartless competition and social disintegration born of avarice and greed.

NOTICE.

Copies of the Constitution and the Non-co-operation resolution in a pamphlet form can be had from the Manager "Young India," Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad for one anna a copy, or by sending 6 pice stamps by post.

STUDENTS' HELPLESSNESS.

The Editor of 'Young India'

Sir,

I shall feel highly obliged if you would kindly publish the following in your esteemed paper and give your opinion on the subject.

On the question of the Non-co-operation of the students it is needless to say that almost all the students have realized the value of the problem. Not only have the students who have Non-co-operated realized that the present system of education is merely preparing them to be the slaves of the foreigners but almost the whole student world has experienced the consequences. What can the poor fellows do? Their circumstances at present are such that they are compelled to follow that system. I have been and am still discussing the subject with my fellow students and most of them are ready to follow the resolution of the Congress. But they say "If we give up our colleges just now, what shall we do if our parents do not support us. If we join the national colleges we don't know of what use will the new degrees be in our future life. At present these national institutions are started, independently of each other and there seems no unity of purpose in them." For these considerations only most of the students are hesitating to give up their schools and colleges. Every one of us feels for the injuries done to our motherland the injustice towards our Mohammedan brethren and has got burning patriotism and is whole heartedly ever ready to co-operate in Non-violent Non-co-operation, the true path for a true man. Many students are determined to give up their schools and colleges after coming. If once the students are convinced of the advantages of the National Institutions they will at once join them and give up their old ones.

Indore,

Yours etc,
A Student,

[This letter is one out of several. The movement of Non-co-operation is intended to make us self-reliant. Only those who will prefer to break stones to learning in institutions dominated by a wicked government will be the pioneers of India's freedom.—Editor Y. I.]

THE BOMBAY STUDENTS' CONVENTION.

To The Editor of "Young India"

Sir,

Reading over, on Christmas Day, in the quiet of this Ashrama, the words which I used in Bombay, concerning Government aided institutions, I find that I have been one-sided in my picture of them and have not taken into account the work for freedom which they have done, however imperfectly, in breaking down certain fundamental barriers of Indian National life and in helping towards National unification. I have been also unfair to my own College and my own students at Delhi, and to the M. A. O. College at Aligarh by choosing only adverse incidents about them and using these without qualification. While I believe as strongly as ever in National Education, I regret that, in the heat of the controversy of the present time, I was one sided.

Christmas Day.
Shantiniketan.

Yours faithfully,
O. P. Andrews.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 5th, January, 1921.

THE CONGRESS.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The largest and the most important Congress ever held has come and gone. It was the biggest demonstration ever held against the present system of government. The President uttered the whole truth when he said that it was a Congress in which, instead of the President and the leaders driving the people, the people drove him and the latter. It was clear to every one on the platform that the people had taken the reins in their own hands. The platform would gladly have moved at a slower pace.

The Congress gave one day to a full discussion of the creed and voted solidly for it with but two dissentients after two night's sleep over the discussion. It gave one day to a discussion of Non-co-operation resolution and voted for it with unparalleled enthusiasm. It gave the last day to listening to the whole of the remaining thirty-two Articles of the Constitution which were read and translated word for word by Maulana Mahomed Ali in a loud and clear voice. It showed that it was intelligently following the reading of it, for there was dissent when Article Eight was reached. It referred to non-interference by the Congress in the internal affairs of the Native States. The Congress would not have passed the proviso if it had meant that it could not even voice the feelings of the people residing in the territories ruled by the princes. Happily a resolution suggesting the advisability of establishing Responsible Government in their territories enabled me to illustrate to the audience that the proviso did not preclude the Congress from ventilating the grievances and aspirations of the subjects of these states, whilst it clearly prevented the Congress from taking any executive action in connection with them; as for instance holding a hostile demonstration in the Native States against any action of theirs. The Congress claims to dictate to the Government but it can not do so by the very nature of its constitution in respect of the Native States.

Thus the Congress has taken three important steps after the greatest deliberation. It has expressed its determination in the clearest possible terms to attain complete self-government, if possible still in association with the British people, but even without, if necessary. It proposes only to do so only by means that are honourable and non-violent. It has introduced fundamental changes in the constitution regulating its activities and has performed an act of self-denial in voluntarily restricting the number of delegates to one for every fifty thousand of the population of India and has insisted upon the delegates being the real representatives of those who want to take any part in the political life of the country. And with a view to ensuring the representation of all political parties it has accepted the principle of

"single transferable vote."* It has reaffirmed the Non-co-operation resolution of the Special Session and amplified it in every respect. It has emphasised the necessity of non-violence and laid down that the attainment of *Swaraj* is conditional upon the complete harmony between the component parts of India, and has therefore inculcated Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindu delegates have called upon their leaders to settle disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and have urged upon the religious heads the necessity of getting rid of the poison of untouchability. The Congress has told the parents of school going children, and the lawyers that they have not responded sufficiently to the call of the nation and that they must make greater effort in doing so. It therefore follows that the lawyers who do not respond quickly to the call for suspension and the parents who persist in keeping their children in Government and aided institutions must find themselves dropping out from the public life of the country. The country calls upon every man and woman in India to do their full share. But of the details of the non-co-operation resolution I must write later.

TRANSFERABLE VOTE*

Transferable vote is a device by which it is intended to ensure representation for a minority when the strength and numbers of the minority are not known. Like the "limited" vote and the "cumulative" vote it depends on the formation of constituencies returning three or more than three members each. By this device an elector can indicate on his ballot paper not only his first choice, but also his second or third, &c. To ensure election a candidate need not obtain a majority of the votes polled, but only a certain number, so fixed that it can be obtained by a number of candidates equal to the number of seats to be filled, but by no more; this number of votes is called the "quota". At the first count first choices only are reckoned, and those candidates who have received a "quota" or more are declared duly elected. If all the seats have not then been filled up, the surplus votes of the candidates who have received more than the "quota" are transferred according to the names marked (2) on them. If these transfers still do not bring the requisite number of candidates up to the "quota" the lowest candidate is eliminated and his votes transferred according to the next preferences, and so on till the seats are filled.

Let us take a concrete case: constituency A: Population say 3 lacs: "quota" fixed by Article 8 of the Constitution, 50,000; No. of seats therefore 6: Suppose there is a minority the strength of the numbers of which is not known. Now it is impossible for the majority to get the first six of its candidates elected, by the process as "first choices"; it is on the other hand likely that it will have a good many more candidates as "first choices" than fixed by the 'quota' viz. six; they may be sixty, they may be six hundred or for that matter any number. In any case it would be impossible for them ever to secure more than five seats, at the 'first count,' for even a minority of one will spoil the sixth 'first choice'.

The minority on the other hand, if it is equal to, or larger than, the quota fixed, viz. 50,000 and if it concentrates upon one candidate as its first choice, gets his election ensured at the first count. In case of the minority failing to secure the vacant seats at the "first count," they will stand equal chances of securing, all or any of the vacant seats at the 'second count', 'third count', 'fourth count' and so on, the surplus of votes of those who have received more than the "quota" being transferred according to the names marked (2) and so on.

'MORAL VALUES.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

There is an extract from the letter of an English friend. It is a pleasure to me to receive letters from English friends. I know that there are many honest Englishmen who are following the movement of non-co-operation with sympathetic attention, and would gladly help if they are clear about the moralities of non-co-operation. The letter is a typical instance.

"I understand that you are striving to establish Swaraj in India by appealing to moral force to attain which you rely upon selflessness. Permit me to observe that the idea is simply excellent. But, is there no fear that the means—Non-co-operation—which you are adopting will fail you in the end, if applied before every unit acts from a purely selfless motive? When moral success is aimed at, surely the means must be of the same trend?"

I also earnestly look forward to the day when, not only India, but also, the whole race of man, will enjoy Swaraj on the following lines:—

The human species exists at the junction of the animal and the moral kingdoms of creation, blessed with free-will by the Creator, wherewith to adjudicate between the demands of a material frame (the human animal body) and a moral form (character), and thereby to express the image of the first Great Cause in finite form (in the latter). When every unit of the species learns to appreciate moral values in every thought, word and deed, by always giving preference to moral demands because they hail from a higher Kingdom of creation and—to do otherwise will be to defy Omnipotence—selflessness must obviously follow. The results will be that every human being will love the other automatically and true Swaraj knit the whole family together.

Does it not seem likely, on the other hand, that, to begin with non-co-operation, will lead to the subordination of your moral goal to ulterior and inferior material desires; and, therefore, even if you do succeed, that you will have lost the very cream of your efforts unintentionally, by making fellowmen greater animals than they already are? The co-operation of selfless representatives, of a selfless nation, will sooner make a selfless government, than non-co-operation of a nation, which strives to follow a selfless leader, before waiting first to learn how to conquer self!

Kindly pause to consider these facts: Whatever you do should be for the good of the whole brotherhood of man; and moral values must on no account take a second place, even in an ostensible trivial instance; otherwise, the cure may be worse than the disease."

I have given the letter in full omitting an introductory sentence. I have refrained from publishing the name because I am not sure of the writer's intention regarding the publication of his name. His moral difficulty is entitled to careful consideration. In my opinion there is confusion of

thought in this statement of the case. It ever has been my purpose to show that dishonourable means cannot bring about an honourable end. What the writer may challenge and in fact does challenge is the motive of the non-co-operators in general. I confess that the motive of all non-co-operators is not love but a meaningless hatred. I call it meaningless, for the hatred of so many of the non-co-operators has no meaning in the plan of non-co-operation. A man does not sacrifice himself out of hatred. He helplessly tries to inflict an injury on his supposed enemy. In non-co-operation the result to be achieved is not infliction of punishment, but the attainment of justice. The end of hatred is never justice; it is retaliation: it is blind fury. The hatred of the mob at Amritsar resulted in the cruel murder of innocent men. But the hatred of a non-co-operator turning upon himself loses its points, purifies him, and makes it possible for the object of his hatred to reform and retrace his steps. Thus a non-co-operator starting as an enemy ends by becoming a friend. What does it matter with what motive a man does the right thing. A right act is right whether done for policy or for its own sake. I recognise the danger of a thing done from policy being abandoned, if it does not produce the desired result. But the existence of such danger is not an argument against the morality of the act itself.

The writer has suggested an impossible solution. He wants non-co-operators to be perfect beings. But he forgets that if we were perfect there would be no occasion for non-co-operation. For there would have been no co-operation with evil. Non-co-operation is an attempt to purify or perfect oneself. And the majority follow the path of purification from faith, not from knowledge. In other words selfish non-co-operationists following a selfless leader will have done well at the end, for they will realise the virtue of non-co-operation as doctrine of selflessness.

The difficulty of Englishmen lies really in believing that their rule is wholly an evil for India i. e. it has made India worse for the English rule in everything that counts. India is poorer in wealth, in manliness, in godliness and in her own power to defend themselves. It is sinful to coquet with evil. There is no meeting ground between good and evil—God and Satan. The writer asks me to pause and consider. I have done so for thirty years and have been driven to the final conclusion that English Rule in its present form has proved a curse to India. Let Englishmen pause and consider what is happening before their eyes. Let them turn the searchlight inward. May they ask me to co-operate with a government that has betrayed the Muslims of India and stabbed humanity in the Punjab? Let them not call the Massacre of Jallianwala an error of judgment. Let them not believe the Prime Minister if and when he says that he has not committed a breach of solemn promise given to the Muslims of India. The cause is just: the means are equally just. The motive is mixed. The struggle is being prolonged, only because the motive is not as unmixed as the means and the end.

A FOOLS' PARADISE.

THE GOVERNMENT DESPATCH ON E. AFRICA.

(By L. A. Adwani.)

The Government of India Despatch on the Indian situation in East Africa is but one more instance of the utter incapacity and failure of this Government to understand the genesis of the whole Indian Situation which they themselves have mainly been responsible in creating. Just at a time when the people in this country and in the far off Africa, having lost all faith and hope in British justice and fairplay, were deliberating in their respective National Assemblies, upon a programme of Non-cooperation, such as would bring an automatic end, root and branch, of the system of government which can tolerate and perpetuate the wrongs heaped upon India and Indians Abroad—just then, the preservers and prolocutors of that system of Government come out with a wordy despatch, like a quack who takes some ready-made stock pills before a seriously affected patient. Needless to say, he dwells in a fools' paradise who, unmindful of the untold broken promises and pledges, the blood boiling atrocities, and worse, the inhuman refusal of remorse and reparation, still attaches a grain of importance to the despatch and harbours the hope that long-winded Despatches like the one under consideration can revive the lost confidence of the nation.

Let us however briefly examine this precious document as a matter of academic interest. On the question of popular franchise the Despatch indulges in a clever piece of camouflaging. It admits without question the position taken by the Colonial authorities that "as the Indians in East Africa are more numerous than the Europeans and are likely to increase more rapidly, a common electorate would mean that the Indian members would dominate the Legislative Council, and that this would be incompatible with the responsibility of the British Government for the welfare of the Colony as a whole and for the native population in particular." (What a solicitor's attitude for the native population!) It does not matter a jot if after that the Government urge upon a common basis of franchise on the plea that such an arrangement has no immediate dangers of the nature mentioned above from Lord Milner's Despatch.

On the point of segregation it will be noted that the Despatch divides this subject into two parts, i. e., segregation for trade purposes, and secondly for residential purposes.

In connection with trade segregation the Despatch offers the very wise solution that "good class" business should be conducted in "good class" localities and "inferior class" business in less important localities. Unfortunately our all-seeing Government does not provide the judge and arbitrator as between the various classes of business and localities. After a hundred and fifty years of their direct rule in this land our Government has not yet appreciated the fact that an Indian merchant carries on less worth of business in a small and unpretentious looking room. Under what category will such a business come?

On the question of Residential sites the Government forget that they are advocating the Indian case, for on this point the Despatch is only a covered plea for Lord Milner's case.

As regards the restriction on ownership of land for agricultural purposes the Despatch states—"It is doubtful whether the Indian farmer would prosper in the cold climate in the Upland," and therefore concludes, "we would urge that it be left for the climate to decide." I do not claim to be an expert at economic problems but so far as I am aware this is our first experience of the elements of nature being invoked in the settlement of an economic problem!

The sole concern as regards the Despatch is to sound a timely note of warning to the nation to be for the present and the future ever on the quiver against falling into pit-holes by such red herrings as this Despatch being drawn across our path. To the casual reader the Despatch might constitute, as it has actually done in the case of some of friends, rather a strong plea on behalf of the over-seas Indians. But we can only decide for the future by what has gone before in the past. And although a thousand despatches of the nature of the present one cannot affect or modify the present national position to the extent of an inch, it was necessary to shortly analyse the Despatch, to lay bare once again the kind of advocacy that the Government makes on our behalf. The Government suggests a Royal Commission. But the least inquiring of us knows the be-all and end-all of commissions. After all, what further exposition of the case, whether European or Indian, remains for the Royal Commission to make than that already made in the past, and in the very Despatch itself? And when the authors of the Despatch themselves fail, in spite of the irresistible strength and justice of the Indian case, in recording an unequivocal, unqualified and emphatic verdict for those "on whom the present prosperity and growth of the colony depend," and only blurt out, amidst a farrago of false praises of Lord Milner and Governor Sir Edward Northey, milk-and-water advocacy of the Indian claims, the recommendations of a Royal Commission are a foregone conclusion.

In the natural order of things a government or any other constituted authority, for that matter, would first put right the problems lying at its very door. Hence what are we to conclude of a government which, unheeding of the horrors remaining at hand unhealed, would look even across the seas for grievances to be remedied!

The lesson of the Despatch and of the temporary suspension of the policy of segregation at this hour, is simply this: that we should be fully guarded and remain ever awake against being led away from the path that has been chalked out for us by the Mother Body at Nagpur. I do not belong to the alarmist school but I must confess that I suspect in the Despatch the first attempt to wean away from the goal of our ambition at least the credulous and the unsuspecting, in the great attempt at nation building. And I would respectfully ask my countrymen to pause and examine, before thankfully accepting any of the small and big "boons" that may be in store for us, the credentials and the past record of the givers of the "boon", and the motive and spirit behind that boon.

MR. GANDHI'S SPEECH ON THE CREED.

Mr. Gandhi in moving his resolution on the creed before the Congress, said, "The resolution which I have the honour to move is as follows:—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."

THE BRITISH CONNECTION.

There are only two kinds of objections, so far as I understand, that will be advanced from this platform. One is that we may not to-day think of dissolving the British connection. What I say is that it is derogatory to national dignity to think of permanence of British connection at any cost. We are labouring under a grievous wrong, which it is the personal duty of every Indian to get redressed. This British Government not only refuses to redress the wrong, but it refuses to acknowledge its mistake and so long as it retains its attitude, it is not possible for us to say all that we want to be or all that we want to get, "retaining British connection. No matter what difficulties be in our path, we must make the clearest possible declaration to the world and to the whole of India, that we may not possibly have British connection, if the British people will not do this elementary justice. I do not, for one moment, suggest that we want to end at the British connection at all costs, unconditionally. If the British connection is for the advancement of India, we do not want to destroy it. But if it is inconsistent with our national self-respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it. There is room in this resolution for both—those who believe that, by retaining British connection, we can purify ourselves and purify British people, and those who have no belief. As for instance, take the extreme case of Mr. Andrews. He says all hope for India is gone for keeping the British connection. He says there must be complete severance—complete independence. There is room enough in this creed for a man like Mr. Andrews also. Take another illustration, a man like myself or my brother Shaukat Ali. There is certainly no room for us, if we have eternally to subscribe to the doctrine, whether these wrongs are redressed or not, we shall have to evolve ourselves within the British Empire; there is no room for me in that creed. Therefore, this creed is elastic enough to take in both shades of opinion, and the British people will have to beware that, if they do not want to do justice, it will be the bounden duty of every Indian to destroy the Empire.

SQUABBLE IN BENGALI CAMP.

I want just now to wind up my remarks with a personal appeal, drawing your attention to an object lesson that was presented in the Bengal camp yesterday. If you want Swaraj, you have got a demonstration of how to get Swaraj. There was a little bit of skirmish, a little bit of squabble, and a little bit of difference in the Bengal camp, as there will always be differences so long as the world lasts. I have known differences between husband and wife, because I am still a husband; I have noticed differences between parents and children, because I am still a father of four boys, and they are all strong enough to destroy their father so far as bodily struggle is concerned; I possess that varied experience of husband and parent; I know that we shall always have squabbles, we shall always have differences but the lesson that I want to draw your attention to is that I had the honour and privilege of addressing both the parties. They gave me their undivided attention and what is more they showed their attachment, their affection and their fellowship for me by accepting the humble advice that I had the honour of tendering to them, and I told them "I am not here to distribute

justice that can be awarded only through our worthy president. But I ask you not to go to the president, you need not worry him. If you are strong, if you are brave, if you are intent upon getting Swaraj, and if you really want to revise the creed, then you will bottle up your rage, you will bottle up all the feelings of injustice that may rankle in your hearts and forget those things here under this very roof, and I told them to forget their differences, to forget the wrongs. I don't want to tell you or go into the history of that incident. Probably most of you know. I simply want to invite your attention to the fact. I don't say they have settled up their differences. I hope they have but I do know that they undertook to forget the differences. They undertook not to worry the President, they undertook not to make any demonstration here or in the Subjects Committee. All honour to those who listened to that advice.

RETURN NO BLOW FOR BLOW.

I only wanted my Bengali friends and all the other friends who have come to this great assembly with a fixed determination to seek nothing but the settlement of their country, to seek nothing but the advancement of their respective rights, to seek nothing but the conservation of the national honour. I appeal to every one of you to copy the example set by those who felt aggrieved and who felt that their heads were broken. I know, before we have done with this great battle on which we have embarked at the special sessions of the Congress, we have to go probably, possibly through a sea of blood, but let it not be said of us or any one of us that we are guilty of shedding blood, but let it be said by generations yet to be born that we suffered, that we shed not somebody's blood but our own, and so I have no hesitation in saying that I do not want to show much sympathy for those who had their heads broken or who were said to be even in danger of losing their lives. What does it matter? It is much better to die at the hands, at least, of our own countrymen. What is there to revenge ourselves about or upon. So I ask everyone of you that if at any time there is blood-boiling within you against some fellow countrymen of yours, even though he may be, in the employ of Government, even though he may be in the Secret Service, you will take care not to be offended and not to return blow for blow. Understand that the very moment you return the blow from the detective, your cause is lost. This is your non-violent campaign. And so I ask everyone of you not to retaliate but to bottle up all your rage, to dismiss your rage from you and you will rise graver men. I am here to congratulate those who have restrained themselves from going to the President and bringing the dispute before him.

OBJECT LESSON.

Therefore I appeal to those who feel aggrieved to feel that they have done the right thing in forgetting it and if they have not forgotten I ask them to try to forget the thing; and that is the object lesson to which I wanted to draw your attention if you want to carry this resolution. Do not carry this resolution only by acclamation for this resolution, but I want you to accompany the carrying out of this resolution with a faith and resolve which nothing on earth can move. That you are intent upon getting Swaraj at the earliest possible moment and that you are intent upon getting Swaraj by means that are legitimate, that are honourable and by means that are non-violent, that are peaceful, you

have resolved upon, so far you can say to-day. We cannot give battle to this Government by means of steel, but we can give battle by exerting, what I have so often called, "soul force" and soul force is not the prerogative of one man, of a Sanyasi or even a so called saint. Soul force is the prerogative of every human being, female or male, and therefore I ask my countrymen, if they want to accept this resolution, to accept it with that firm determination and to understand that it is inaugurated under such good and favourable auspices as I have described to you.

In my humble opinion, the Congress will have done the rightest thing, if it unanimously adopt this resolution.... May God grant that you will pass this resolution unanimously, may God grant that you will also have the courage and the ability to carry out the resolution and that within one year.

THE CALL FOR SACRIFICE.

The following is an epitome of important pronouncements on the proceedings of the Nagpur Congress:—

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

"I feel compelled to say that the one thing we will be bound to comment upon when we get back to Britain—is the most amazing unity and most extreme spirit of Nationalism that we have seen manifested everywhere in this country." So said Mr. Ben Spoor in conveying to the Congress the message of hope and good-will from the British Labour party. We quote his words to bring home the outstanding fact of the present political situation in India—the earnest and united determination of the Indian people to emancipate themselves now and immediately and thereby to make their destined contribution towards making the world safe for democracy—by giving a definite, unmistakable and uncompromising answer to the challenge of the forces of militarism and economic imperialism which have reasserted themselves to cheat humanity of the fruits of the Great War. The answer is given not merely by a reaffirmation of the Calcutta resolution on Non-Cooperation, but by the reaffirmation of it in a more definite and unequivocal form, which eliminates the elements of ambiguity no less than of weakness and discord and which—and this is the most important achievement—carries with it the solid united resolve—to serve and sacrifice—of all Congressmen....

THE 'MARATTHA.'

The historic gathering of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur was unique—unique from all stand-points of view. The number of delegates that attended the session, exceeded eighteen thousands and they represented the classes and the masses as well as all shades of opinion in the country. The number of ladies present at the gathering was unprecedented in that it exceeded four thousand....

The dominant notes of the deliberations and the proceedings of the Congress was the great change wrought in the political psychology of the country and Lala Lajpat Rai, in his splendid speech struck the right note when he said "We shall be lacking on frankness, in patriotism, in honesty and truth, if we were not to announce in the clearest possible terms the change of mentality that has come over the country" and we must say that the deliberations, the proceedings, and the resolutions showed to the bureaucracy that rules this country and to England that holds the leading strings, that India has resolved to be free and no mistake should be

made about it. This attitude of the Nation was the only logical outcome of the events of the past few years and the day was indeed blessed when the Nation with one mind determined to break the bonds and be free....

The first resolution of the change of the creed into attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by legitimate and peaceful means, and the speeches on that resolution of Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Babu Bipin Chandra Pal would serve as an index to the country's mind. Lala Lajpat Rai's speech on that resolution would remain as a historic declaration of the Nation and scarcely could be equalled by any other utterance in point of oratory, sincerity and the burning fire of patriotism. The resolution on Non-co-operation bespeaks of intense ardour of the Nation to win freedom by non-violent Non-co operation and enters in a new phase of the struggle. Let England take note of this grim determination of India to win her freedom. It is England upon whom rests the responsibility of the future struggle. If British people really love freedom for themselves and for others they must show it by solid acts. To our Indian brothers we would say that their time has come. Here is the test of their sincerity of their desire to be free. India, Young India, will surely give a hearty response to the call of the Nation and be free.

THE 'TIMES OF INDIA.'

The session at Nagpur has at any rate left the country in a position to form an uncompromising judgment. At the risk of being charged with iteration and reiteration, we must repeat that there is no difference whatsoever between the end aimed at by Mr. Gandhi and the end aimed at not only by the Indian Liberals of to-day but by everyone who has intelligently studied the Indian situation for the past generation. No intelligent Englishman, no patriotic Indian, has ever had any other goal before him than the attainment of full self-government in this land. When a people has attained full self-government, it decides, as it has decided in all other cases whether it will work out its destiny within the British or other commonwealth of nations, or whether it will pursue splendid or inglorious isolation. There is no difference of opinion whatsoever as to the goal the only difference is as to the path. The Congress has emphasised at Nagpur that there is a fundamental, a vital difference as to the path. The Indian Liberals have decided that the truest interests of the country demand that it should accept the present liberal constitution and work it so that it may broaden down from precedent to precedent to full self-government....

It stands to the enduring credit of Mr. Chitambari that he enunciated no milk-and-water faith, but one of determined confidence. His watchword to the Liberals was "Do not apologise, do not doubt, do not hesitate." Go forward "with the strength of conviction and with the determination that conquers obstacles." But it is not enough to proclaim that watchword from the platform it must be carried into every town and village in India with the energy and fervour with which the non-co-operators are working. The people of India, at this early stage in their political development, if left with political education from one side only, must inevitably react to that side; if both are not put to them judgment against the Liberals, no matter how great their patriotism and political experience, must go by default. And above all the Government of India must take stock of the political situation. They must make the serious effort which Mr. Chitambari demanded to understand the present political temper of India. They must see that the British Government does not in ignorance stand in the way of the revision of a Treaty

of Savres which must come, which will meet the case of the reasonable Moslems of India without being false to the Arabs and the Christian population of Asia Minor. They must take most careful account of the feeling of universal soreness which exist in India over the present issue of the Punjab disturbances. To do so may, nay will, require political courage of a high order; that courage is demanded from all. We are all apt at a time like this, to see as through a glass darkly, and truly there are many disturbing portents on the political horizon. But surely the first essential is to make quite sure of our political faith; having crystallised it, to proclaim it without compromise, with courage and energy; to ponder the path at our feet and look straight on, refusing to be bemused by forces which are not within our control. If we only do our duty, so far as we can see it, with energy and integrity and decision, nothing else matters. No honest man is without influence; it is only the trimmer who fails.

THE 'HINDU.'

The most momentous of the Sessions of the Indian National Congress came to a conclusion yesterday. We defer detailed comment on the proceedings but must draw attention to the great enthusiasm tempered by political sobriety that marked the proceedings, thus giving the lie to the detractors of the Congress.

THE 'INDEPENDENT.'

It is with joy that we learn that a compromise has been effected between the dissentient Nationalists and Non-Co-operators. We were anxious that the present cleavage should not be widened. It would benefit nobody but the common enemy. The attitude of the dissentients was certainly one of respect for the Congress as shown by their withdrawal from Council candidature. But it was respect combined not with action but apathy. Anglo-India which hates and fears nothing so much as a united Nationalist front was delighted at a prospective split at Nagpur.

We congratulate all concerned on it. As Pandit Motilal Nehru said, India to-day can have only two parties, the party of the Bureaucracy and the party of the people. Though the compromise resolution could not satisfy the extremists on either side, it is the best course for a subject nation which cannot shut out the need for unity from its mind. And the compromise does not mean the going back on the essential aspects of the Calcutta programme while it does signify that in going forward the Nationalists will be united.

THE 'TRIBUNE'

No one who loves India as she ought to be loved, can have any feeling except that of profound thankfulness at the averting of what would have been nothing less than a dire national calamity at this moment, a split in the Congress camp. Non-co-operation or no non-co-operation, a Congress united in its aspiration and in its resolve to make the country free at the earliest possible opportunity is the one thing that we want at this time. So far from assenting to the proposition that there is something higher at this time than unity, we are decidedly of opinion that there never was a stage in our history when unity was so absolutely the highest of all essential things as it is at this moment, not the formal and more or less arithmetical aggregation of men, but men united together in their passionate love of country and in their sacred and unalterable determination to make India a safe and desirable land to live in, to raise the people of

India without a moment's avoidable delay to that position of eminence among the members of a free and reconstituted Commonwealth and among the free nations of the world which she has from the beginning of her history and of all history been pre-destined to occupy. The Moderate abstention has, indeed, already partially weakened the national cause, but no fair-minded person can deny that what the Congress has lost in political wisdom, capacity and experience by this abstention she has gained in the accession of great dynamic energy from the heart of the people which is now represented at the Congress as it never was before. In this respect the Nagpur Congress with its 22,000 delegates has beaten all previous record.

THE 'MUHOMMADAN.'

As we go to press, we learn that the Non-co-operation Resolution was unanimously passed by the Congress. The Resolution was the result of a compromise between the Nationalists and the stricter followers of Mahatma Gandhi. It is some what more elastic than the Calcutta Programme and enables those who have doubts as regards the wisdom of the sudden enforcement of the Calcutta Programme and yet are believers in Non-co-operation to devote the selves to constructive work. It is a stroke of statesmanship for which the nation might well congratulate itself. It secures national unanimity and augurs well for our future success. We trust that henceforth the Nationalists will evince greater interest in the movement and devote themselves to the task of "nation building" which is so dear to the hearts of the President and his fellow-Nationalists. Rejoice, and more and better than that, see that the new and closer union bears better fruit in richer quantities than hitherto.

MR. KASTHURI RANGA IYENGAR.

Mr. Kasthuri Ranga Iyengar supported the resolution. He said there had been some difference of opinion amongst the National leaders as to the particular methods of carrying out the principle of non-co-operation. The resolution now framed contained a satisfactory scheme of non-co-operation in which all those who believed in the principle of non-co-operation could take an effective part. The resolution was a comprehensive practical and truly national scheme of non-co-operation. It ensured national education which was the basis and foundation of all political efforts and political progress; it ensured the prosperity of the national industries and the prevention of foreign exploitation of national resources; it consolidated national force of all kinds for the promotion of national unity and national action. The resolution, in fact, was a serious businesslike programme, expressive of the national consciousness of the country.

MR. C. VIJARAOHACHARIAN.

Interpreting the resolutions the President in his closing speech said the first and foremost is the unanimity with which you have passed the two important resolutions of Non-Co-operation and the First Article of the Congress creed...

As for the Non-Co-operation resolution, it has been arrived at after considerable hesitation and consultation at a workable basis to the dismay of your enemies and I hope the very pleasant disappointment of some of those who were away from us because, on the one hand, they had thought they would not be treated properly—I am sorry for that—and on the other hand, feared there might be some split. They must all be now glad that their fears proved futile and unfounded.

CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ORGANISATION.

As adopted by the Congress of 1908, and amended by the Congresses of 1911, 1912, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, and 1920.

THE OBJECT.

ARTICLE I.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

ARTICLE II.

The Sessions of the Congress—(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such a place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee herein after referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session; and the Articles of this Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Component parts of the Congress Organisation.

ARTICLE III.

The Indian National Congress Organisation shall consist of the following:—

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) District Congress Committees.
- (d) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tehasil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees.
- (e) The All India Congress Committee.
- (f) Such other Committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- (g) Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tehasil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tehasil or other Local Conferences.

ARTICLE IV.

Membership—No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article 1 of this Constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

Provincial Congress Committees

ARTICLE V.

The following shall be the Provinces with headquarters mentioned against them and where no headquarters are mentioned or in every other case the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have the power to fix or alter them from time to time.

Province.	Language.	Head quarter.
1 Madras	(Tamil)	Madras
2 Andhra	(Telugu)	
3 Karnatak	(Canarese)	Gadag
4 Kerala	(Malayese)	Calicut
5 City of Bombay	(Marathi & Gujarati)	Bombay
6 Maharashtra	(Marathi)	Poona
7 Gujarat	(Gujrati)	Ahmedabad
8 Sindh	(Sindhi)	
9 United Provinces	(Hindustani)	Allahabad
10 Punjab	(Punjabi)	Lahore
11 Frontier Prov.	(Hindustani)	Peshawar
12 Delhi	(Hindustani)	Delhi
13 Ajmer, Merwar & Br. Rajputana	(Hindustani)	Ajmer
14 Central Prov.	(Hindustani)	Jubbulpore
15 Central Prov.	(Marathi)	Nagpur
16 Berar	(Marathi)	Amraoti
17 Behar	(Hindustani)	Patna
18 Utkal Orissa	(Oariya)	
19 Bengal & Surma Valley	(Bengali)	Calcutta
20 Assam	(Assamese)	Gauhati
21 Burma	(Burmese)	Rangoon

Provided that the All India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular Provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All India Congress Committee to particular Districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress Committees shall forthwith proceed to reorganise themselves in terms of this Constitution. Such reorganisation shall be final unless and until it is revised by the All India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE VI.

(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise district and other committees referred to in article III and shall have the power to frame rules for laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the district and other committees in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

ARTICLE VII.

Membership of local Congress Organisation—Every person not disqualified under article IV and paying a subscription of 4 as. per year shall be entitled to become a member of any organisation controlled by Provincial Congress Committees.

ARTICLE VIII.

Election of Delegates—Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election to delegates to the Congress creed.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not of the age of 21 years and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand of the inhabitants of the Province of its jurisdiction, including the Native States therein, in accordance with the last census: provided, however, that the inclusion of Native States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates and representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th April 1921, which rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing Session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than the 15th day of December every year and in the case of an Extraordinary Session not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such Session.

ARTICLE IX.

Subscription—(a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(b) No Member of the Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates or be elected as such unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

ARTICLE X.

Delegation Certificates—Each committee referred to in the Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached marked appendix A and signed by the Secretary of the Committee.

ARTICLE XI.

Delegation fees—Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress Pandal.

ARTICLE XII.

Right to vote—Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress Sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

ARTICLE XIII.

Reception Committee—The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each,

ARTICLE XIV.

The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office bearers from among its own members.

ARTICLE XV.

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress Session, to elect President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following article, and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests, and as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit a statement of receipt and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within 4 months of the Congress of the Session.

ARTICLE XVI.

Election of President—The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are, in their opinion, eligible for the presidency of the Congress, as the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible in the first week of July submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations provided that such final recommendation will be of any one, but not more, of such names, and the Reception Committee, shall as far as possible meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the president recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees, or in the case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September: in either case the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extra-ordinary session shall be elected by the All India Congress Committee subject to the same Proviso.

ARTICLE XVII.

Disposal of Funds—(a) The Reception Committee shall through the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province remit to the All India Congress Committee not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress Session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the allocation fees from the Congress Fund.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the Province in which the session was held to form the Provincial Congress Fund for that province.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Audit—The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor

or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and the statement of accounts together with the Auditors report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All-India Congress Committee.

The All India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XIX.

The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members exclusive of Ex-Officio members. The Ex Officio members shall be all past presidents of the Congress and the General Secretaries and Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within their jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of the population according to the linguistic redistribution of Provinces or in such other manner as may appear more equitable to the All India Congress Committee, and shall be published by the All India Congress Committee before the 31st day of January 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All India Congress Committee shall ordinarily be in the month of November.

The first All India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th of June 1921. Until then the members of the All India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office.

ARTICLE XX.

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee to the persons so elected.

ARTICLE XXI.

The All India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress from year to year and deal with all the new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this Constitution.

ARTICLE XXII.

(a) The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

ARTICLE XXIII.

The General Secretaries—The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall prepare the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee during the year and submit it with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year, and copies of such account

and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Working Committee—The All India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting appoint a Working Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and nine other members which shall perform such functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the All India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XXV.

Meetings of the All India Congress Committee—The All India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

The Subject Committee.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Subject Committee—The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subject Committee for the ordinary or the extraordinary session following.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Subject Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting the President elect shall preside and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing sessions of the Congress including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

ARTICLE XXIX.

The Subject Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

ARTICLE XXX.

The Subject Committee shall also meet from time to time as the occasion may require during the pendency of the Congress Session.

Contentious subjects and Interests of Minorities—

(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subject Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates as a body object by a majority of $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of their number, and if, after the discussion, of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates as a body, are by majority of $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

ARTICLE XXXI.

Rules—The All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its articles.

ARTICLE XXXII.

Repeal—The articles and the creed of the constitution now in force are hereby repealed without prejudice to all acts done thereunder.

NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION

"Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj and, whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Sessions of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially in reference to the Khilafat and Punjab, now this Congress, while re-affirming the resolution on Non-Violent Non-co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of Non-Violent Non-co-operation with the remuneration of voluntary association with the present Government at one end, and the refusal to pay taxes at the other should be put into force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that, in the mean while, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf —

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

(a) By calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools.

(b) By calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay irrespective of consequences from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of Government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the Non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions.

(c) By calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government, affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local boards to help to nationalise them.

BOYCOTT OF LAW-COURTS.

(d) By calling upon lawyers to make greater effort to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to the national service, including boycott of Law-courts by litigants and fellow-lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration.

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN GOODS.

(e) In order to make India economically independent and self-contained by calling upon merchants and traders

to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations to encourage hand-spinning and hand weaving and in this behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All India Congress Committee.

CALL FOR SELF-SACRIFICE

(f) And, generally inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of Non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement.

(g) By organising committees in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of Non-co-operation.

(h) By organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service.

(i) By taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and the Non-Co-operation movement in general.

CALL TO COUNCILLORS TO RESIGN.

"This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of Non-Co-operation, specially with regard to the boycott of councils by the voters and claims that, in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, that the new councils do not represent the country and trusts that those who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents will see their way to resign their seats in the councils, and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such councillors.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

"This Congress recognises the growing friendship between the police and the soldiery and the people and hopes that the former [will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers and by courteous and considerate behaviour toward the people will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people, and this Congress appeals to all people in the Government employment pending the call of the nation, for resignation of their service to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealing with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from taking any active part therein and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement."

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TO INTENDING SUBSCRIBERS

It has been noticed that a number of V. Ps. sent as per orders are returned to us after a lapse of a month or two or sometimes even three, the addressees refusing or not claiming the V. Ps. while they have been receiving the paper during the period. We therefore propose to send the paper with all the back issues from the first week of January, after receipt of the V. P. Money. But we would request our intending subscribers to send the subscriptions, Rs. 5 yearly, Rs. 2 half yearly, per money order, in advance.

IN MEMORIAM.

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear,
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

I am reminded of these memorable lines of Gray's elegy when I think of a dear friend and co-worker who died on the 4th instant at Nagpur, unwept by any but his closest relations and friends. Yadwarkar Patwardhan of Amraoti was unknown to fame, but was no less devoted a servant of the nation than many who work in the limelight of public gaze and command the plaudits of overgenerous and often even unthinking crowds. Patwardhan was a graduate in law of the Bombay university but never practised the profession. I had the privilege of first knowing him in 1915. He was constantly at the Ashram. I was struck by the beauty of his character, his simplicity, his self effacingness, his utter humility, his constancy, and his devotion to the work entrusted to him. He laboured for *Young India* for over a year without any honorarium as Sub-Editor. He attended the Congress and was preparing to go to Sholapur and work there for Non-co-operation. But God had willed otherwise. He was ailing for some time but we had not hoped that he would soon recover. He had a sudden relapse however during the Congress week and never left his bed. He died with the last verses of the second chapter of the Bhagwad Gita on his lips. Thus die many a Hampden, the real dumb makers of a nation. I knew Patwardhan to be 'a gem of purest ray serene.' His friends knew his worth. May God grant peace to his noble soul. —M. K. G.

Notes.

Ungratefullest of Men—Mr. Edward Foy's letter reproduced elsewhere is a type of many I receive from Englishmen. I have no doubt that my correspondent believes what he writes. The pity of it is that the average Englishman's outlook upon English rule is totally different from mine and, I believe, an average Indian's. I do not think I am of a particularly ungrateful temperament. On the contrary a little act of kindness makes me feel grateful. I am slow to find fault. And yet I can see nothing in the British rule to be grateful for. I do not think that the Germans would have occupied India if the British had not fought them. I am not inclined to believe that if it was a matter of choice between two evils, the German rule would be the worse of the two. Britain did not go to war with Germany for the sake of India. I do believe that British rule has undermined the religious instinct in us and the British people have deliberately undermined the influence of Islam. The British Government has favoured the Christian church. Personally I would not quarrel with the favouritism if it was not indulged in at the expense of the Indian tax payer. I would gladly help the reforms, and co-operate if I could secure the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and hasten the advent of Swaraj. On the contrary I firmly believe that the reforms can do no substantial good to India. They cannot lead to real Swaraj and it is impossible for me or any Indian to forget the Khilafat or the Punjab. Lastly I assure Englishmen like Mr. Foy that Non-co-operation is not failing and that not only am I, or any co-worker, not countenancing violence to cover failure but we are doing our best to prevent non-violence. We know that our success lies in our holding English life as sacred as our own. We are engaged in a fight between good and evil. We have no quarrel with individual Englishmen. We seek to mend or end a system which compels even the best of Englishmen to sell their assistance to evil, corruption, robbery, and humiliation of a whole nation.

The Wicked Romans Of another type is Mr. Pennington's letter. He always leaves a sting in the tail. His self-assurance is really amazing. He wishes me to realise that the British are not likely to leave India to anarchy

as the wicked Romans left Britain. I wish the British would be as wicked as the Romans were or as indifferent as I, a son of the soil, am about anarchy. For I do really believe that anarchy will be preferable to a continuance of the orderly humiliation and emasculation of a whole nation. I feel better able to evolve order out of anarchy than I am to destroy a government whose one aim is to hold India under bondage for the sake of exploiting her resources. I do not believe in the philanthropic character of British rule. And now Mr. Pennington will follow me when I assure him that if I retain the British connection, it is not for the humiliating protection it can afford but because, believing as I do in the ultimate goodness of human nature I would not mind a partnership based on perfect equality both in theory and practice. That same belief makes me reject the fear that, immediately the British withdraw, other nations will be ready to pounce upon India. And if they will be ready, India will respond either by using the same matchless weapon of Non-co-operation or will, when the paralysing aim of Britain is removed, produce a nationalist Pratap or a nationalist Akbar who would make effective use of disciplined brute force. Mr. Pennington further forgets that, if not the goodness of other powers, their mutual jealousies will keep this unhappy land free from the foreigner's lust once the British have withdrawn. As for my belief in the efficacy of non-violence, it is an ever-green. I warn my correspondent against believing the exaggerated accounts that he may see published in the British Press. Everybody knows that hitherto the movement has remained singularly free from violence. There has been rowdiness in isolated cases among ourselves. Every effort is being made to purge the movement even of rowdyism. Rather than point out the weaknesses of the movement the moral profitable course for Mr. Pennington would be so to work as to compel the Government to retrace its step to undo the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and to summon a conference to establish Swaraj in India.

Intolerance—I turn from letters from English friends to those from Indian friends. One such letter is from four Musmans of Bengal. One of the signatories is a pleader. These correspondents do not doubt the althoody of the movement or the justice of the cause. They fear that violence in deed is likely to follow violence of language. They refer me to the intolerance said to have been shown to Messrs B. C. Pal and Fazlul Haq. I agree with the writers that intolerance can do us no good and may harm the movement if it becomes violent. I have already suggested that when a speaker offends or irritates us, we have the undoubted right to withdraw, but nobody has any right to make a noisy demonstration against a speaker. We may not replace an intolerant government by an intolerant democracy. Non-co-operation is an attempt to demonstrate the superiority of the force of public opinion over brute force.

Public Waste—The same writers say: 'We painfully bring to your kind notice that many people suspect that the public fund, to which even the beggars contribute their mite, is very often mispent in first class dinners, first class travelling, unnecessary taxi hire and several other ways by the leaders.' No names are mentioned. But I am inclined to think that this is meant to be a reflection on the Ali brothers. I must plead guilty myself to travelling second class of late since my illness. I know that it is practically a physical impossibility for Maulana Shaukat Ali to travel 3rd class. He is certainly over-indulgent to the workers who need not always travel 2nd class. But that is due to his generous nature. I am sure that he is at least as careful about public funds as he would be about his own. I have never known him to spend money on first class dinners. He certainly does not waste money on taxi hire. As a rule he makes friends pay for whatever luxuries he allows himself or his companions. But I welcome this letter. Having watched him closely and travelled with him for nearly a year, I am able to say that the thousands who trust him have no reason to doubt his honesty. They have in him and his brother, public servants of integrity, ability, and courage of a high order.

Village Propaganda—The writers have covered a variety of subjects. They ask how village propaganda is to be carried. The answer is now simple. Every villager—man or woman—should belong to a Congress organisation and the latter should establish in every village a school and introduce in every home a spinning wheel. There is hardly a village that has neither temple nor mosque. National schools should be established in the compounds of these temples or mosques and simple instruction given to the boys and girls. If I had my way, I would make spinning compulsory in the schools. The cost of conducting village schools cannot be beyond the resources of a single village. These schools would be institutions for infecting our children with courage and confidence. Spinning and weaving could make every village self-supporting. A peaceful organisation of the life of India on a national basis must synchronise with the establishment of Swaraj. No power on earth can possibly stop the progress of the nation towards its goal if it is in earnest. Every honest and brave college-boy can undertake this great work. It requires little previous training. It does require the two qualities I have mentioned.

More Critics & Criticism—My correspondents will forgive me if I do not publish or notice all they write. It is physically impossible for me to do so. There are two pamphlets lying beside me also claiming notice. One is by Mr. Chatterji of Calcutta with a glowing introduction by Mr. Chastnet. I have not had the time to read it. The other is from the pen of Prof. Raju of Nagpur. I have just been able to glance at Prof. Raju's effort to destroy the case for Non-co-opera-

tion. I had to read it because I was looking forward to meeting him at Nagpur together with Principal Chashira. But the administration had willed it otherwise and I was unable to meet these gentlemen. I have not the time to notice Prof. Raju's pamphlet at length. I am sorry to have to say that he has but superficially studied the movement and equally superficially considered my means. He betrays ignorance of some of the fundamental views held by me. He attributes to me ideas I have never held. He has presented to the readers a caricature of my views. Those, alone, who have never studied the movement or my views are likely to be misled by the pamphlet. I must content myself with noticing only one glaringly absurd conclusion he has arrived at. He says "we must conclude that Mr. Gandhi's present non-co-operation movement far from being non-violent in character as he claims, is itself intended and calculated to do undeniable violence." The readers of *Young India* hardly need any assurance as to the true nature of the movement. He comes to this conclusion by a gratuitous assumption of wrong premises. He will forgive me if I do not notice his pamphlet at any length. I must ask him and those who are impressed by his arguments to read the file of *Young India*, and I promise that they will find an answer to almost every argument advanced by Prof. Raju.

"Gandhi Cigarettes"—Of all the abuses to which my name has been put, I know nothing so humiliating to me as the deliberate association of my name with cigarettes. A friend has sent me a label purporting to bear my portrait. The cigarettes are called 'Mahatma Gandhi' cigarettes. Now I have a horror of smoking as I have of wine. Smoking I consider to be a vice. It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink in that it acts imperceptibly. It is a habit which is difficult to get rid of when once it seizes hold of a person. It is an expensive vice. It fouls the breath, discolours the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer. It is an unclean habit. No man has received my permission to associate my name with cigarettes. I should feel thankful if the unknown firm were to withdraw the labels from the market or if the public would refuse to buy packets bearing such labels.

True Worth.—Information has also been brought to my notice to the effect that a girl has been travelling through the land claiming to be my daughter. She was reported to be in Dwarka, Chhapra and even in Nepal. I may state at once that I do not possess the good fortune of having a daughter and that no girl has my authority to use my name in connection with any propaganda. All my sister workers are well-known and they do not need to use my name in order to forward the cause they may handle. The best way out of the difficulties is to discount the work of those who claim kinship with me or, for that matter, any public worker. When we must have thousands of workers, every one must stand or fall by his or her own intrinsic merit and be judged apart from his or her connections.

M. K. C.

DRAFT MODEL RULES FOR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES.

1. The old Provincial Congress Committee or the old District Congress Committee of a newly created Province shall form the Provincial Congress Committee under the new Constitution.

2. The existing members who accept the new creed shall forthwith proceed to divide the Province into districts, the existing political districts being retained where ever possible.

3. Each such district shall divide itself into Talukas or Tahsils, the existing divisions being retained so far as possible.

4. Each Taluka shall divide itself into tirkas or circles.

5. Each existing District Committee shall enroll, from among the villagers within its jurisdiction, as many members as are eligible under the constitution and these members shall form the electoral roll for the election of delegates to the Congress and representatives for the various district Congress Committees.

6. An alphabetical list of members with the full name and address and occupation of each shall be forwarded to the Provincial Congress Committee every Monday.

7. Each District Committee shall be responsible for the collection of subscription of the members and shall remit half of the proceeds to the Provincial Congress Committee at the same time as the list referred to in rule 6.

8. Each village containing more than five members of a Congress organisation formed for it shall elect its secretary, treasurer, chairman, and two other members who shall form the Village Panchayat or Mahajan.

9. Each such Panchayat shall be responsible for the primary education of every child, male or female, residing in the Village, for the introduction of spinning wheels in every home, for the organisation of hygiene and sanitation therein, and for carrying out all the other items of the Non-co-operation resolution of the Congress in so far as it is applicable to such Village.

10. It shall be the duty of every District Committee to supervise and regulate the work of village and other organisations within its jurisdiction.

11. Each District Committee shall consist of ten members elected by the members belonging to the different organisations and shall as far as possible contain Mussalmans in proportion to the Mussalman population of the District and shall contain so far as possible at least one member belonging to the female sex and one belonging to the depressed classes.

12. The representatives of a District Committee so elected shall from among themselves elect their chairman, treasurer, and secretary.

13. The representatives elected to the District Committees shall elect representatives to the Provincial Congress Committees subject to the same provisions as in rule 11. The number to be ten more than the number attached for the A. I. C. C.

14. The representatives so elected shall elect from among themselves chairman, secretary, treasurer and four other members who shall conduct the affairs of the province and shall be responsible to the Provincial Committee for the due carrying out of the Congress resolutions from time to time.

15. The election of representatives to the District Congress Committees shall take place on the 21st February 1921 and shall be on the basis of the roll of members as on the 15th day of February at 5 p. m.

16. Elections shall take place at a convenient place to be appointed by each District Congress Committee in an open manner and at a meeting of the electors convened for the purpose, the secretary of the committee shall be the convener and the election officer.

17. The election of representatives of the Provincial Congress Committee shall take place on the 4th March 1921 at the head-quarters of the Province. The Secretary of the outgoing Provincial Congress Committee shall be the convener and the election officer.

18. Electors of the Provincial Congress Committee may register their vote by post.

19. Results of all elections shall be sent to the press for publication by the Secretary.

20. The Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees and the District Congress Committees should so far as possible be whole time workers and may if necessary be paid out of the Provincial or District funds.

21. Election of delegates to the Congress shall take place on the 15th Nov. 1921.

22. The Provincial Congress Committee shall assign as far as possible in proportion of the population of each Taluka the number of delegates to be elected by it. And the elections shall take place in such Taluka at a central place to be selected by the District Committee and shall be supervised by agents affiliated by the District Committees.

23. The result of elections shall be forwarded by the respective District Committees not later than the 1st December 1921.

24. The Provincial Congress Committee shall meet at least once every month and consider reports from District organizations and adopt measures for the furtherance of the resolutions passed by the Congress.

25. These rules shall be in force for one year ending 31st December 1921 and till such time as they are revised by the new Provincial Congress Committee or altered or amended from time to time.

For the purpose of facilitating the work of the Provincial Congress Committees, I have ventured to frame the foregoing draft rules which they will naturally alter as they please or reject in toto. They are merely designed to serve for guidance. There is no time to lose if we are to set the whole of the new machinery in motion by the end of June, as we are bound to, under the new constitution. If we can bring into being the new organ-

isation in an orderly and efficient manner and succeed in enrolling hundreds of thousands of men and women as active workers, determined to carry out the Non-cooperation resolution, he who runs may see that we shall have accomplished a peaceful and bloodless revolution within one year. The whole of the scheme of Non-co-operation is based upon the supposition that the British control is independent upon the voluntary association with it of the people. It is true that it is unconscious; it is true, too true, that it is due to fear; it is true that it is due to a variety of tempting inducements held out to a few of us. The present movement then is an attempt to show that the moment we cease to give our voluntary association, to fear and be tempted, that moment we become a free people. I hold that this process is not so difficult as many imagine. The current year will show whether my opinion is justified. The thousands who gathered under the Congress pandal have shared my belief. It is now for them to translate their belief into action.

M. K. G.

ENGLISH OR VERNACULAR ?

The Eastern Mail, an Anglo-Indian daily of Delhi says —

One of the directions in which the political movement, perhaps we ought to say, national movement in India is making itself felt is the emphasis it is placing on the increased use of the vernacular. It is true that many of the vernaculars of India contain much that is excellent in the way of literary works, but the demand now is that the vernaculars shall be the medium of instruction in future, instead of English. From certain points of view such a reform would be of the greatest value, but who that has given thought to the subject can suggest this as a practical measure? There are few text books in the vernaculars, beyond the very elementary stages of education and the preparation of such books would indeed be a great task. Especially in technical subjects the translations would be most difficult to make, and most unsatisfactory when completed. There is no doubt that Indian boys suffer by having to acquire their educational requirements through a foreign tongue, and we should welcome an increased use of books in the vernacular. It might be possible to go to the High School, using the vernacular chiefly, but, for the present, for higher education, there seems no alternative to English as the medium of intellectual communication. In one or two Indian States attempts are being made to emphasise the vernacular in school work.

To The Editor of "Young India".

Sir,

I heard the call of the nation upon the parents and guardians of school children under the age of 16, and I am trying to make my humble efforts to meet that call. I have withdrawn my two boys under 16 from the Deewan Education Society's New English School here and have provided for their training by putting them in the Tilak National School just started.

Yours etc.,

281 Shanidar Petth,
Poona City.

Tryambak Sivaram,
Karkhania.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 12th, January, 1921.

THE NEED FOR HUMILITY.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The spirit of non-violence necessarily leads to humility. Non-violence means reliance on God, the Rock of ages. If we would seek His aid, we must approach Him with a humble and a contrite heart. Non-co-operationists may not trade upon their amazing success at the Congress. We must act, even as the mango tree which droops as it bears fruit. Its grandeur lies in its majestic lowliness. But one hears of non-co-operationists being insolent and intolerant in their behaviour towards those who differ from them. I know that they will lose all their majesty and glory, if they betray any inflation. Whilst we may not be dissatisfied with the progress made so far, we have little to our credit to make us feel proud. We have to sacrifice much more than we have done to justify pride, much less elation. Thousands, who flocked to the Congress pandal, have undoubtedly given their intellectual assent to the doctrine but few have followed it out in practice. Leaving aside the pleaders, how many parents have withdrawn their children from schools? How many of those who registered their vote in favour of Non-co-operation have taken to hand-spinning or discarded the use of all foreign cloth?

Non-co-operation is not a movement of brag, bluster, or bluff. It is a test of our sincerity. It requires solid and silent self-sacrifice. It challenges our honesty and our capacity for national work. It is a movement that aims at translating ideas into action. And the more we do, the more we find that much more must be done than we had expected. And this thought of our imperfection must make us humble.

A non-co-operationist strives to compel attention and to set an example not by his violence but by his unobtrusive humility. He allows his solid action to speak for his creed. His strength lies in his reliance upon the correctness of his position. And the conviction of it grows most in his opponent when he least interposes his speech between his action and his opponent. Speech, especially when it is haughty betrays want of confidence and it makes one's opponent sceptical about the reality of the act itself. Humility therefore is the key to quick success. I hope that every non-co-operationist will recognise the necessity of being humble, self-restrained. It is because so little is really required to be done and because all of that little depends entirely upon ourselves that I have ventured the belief that Swaraj is attainable in less than one year.

HOW TO FINANCE THE MOVEMENT.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Non-co-operation resolution of the Congress requires a careful study by every lover of the country. Swaraj can be gained inside of one year, if the people respond sufficiently by acting in accordance with their vote. It was not merely the delegates who emphasised the necessity of Non-co-operation, but the many thousand visitors too showed in a variety of ways that they were in full sympathy with the programme.

The days of merely passing resolutions during the Christmas week and sleeping over them till the next Christmas are gone. It will be more and more difficult for those to attend the Congress who do not set up to their profession. Every one is called upon to withdraw his children from government managed or controlled schools. Everyone is called upon to use as few foreign articles as possible and to use only hand-woven cloth made from hand-spun yarn. Everyone is called upon to subscribe to the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. This movement of Non-co-operation is a searching of the heart. Workers must constantly awaken people to a sense of their duty. The whole Congress organisation must be utilised for the enforcement of the programme. The new constitution enables workers to organise the nation within one year for carrying out the programme in detail and if the vast body of the people of India make a conscious effort, nothing can thwart its legitimate wish for self-determination. If we nationalise schools, boycott law courts, and manufacture all the cloth we need, we will have asserted our right to govern ourselves and no army in the world can possibly defeat our purpose. With a few thousand selfless, honest, and industrious workers, the three things mentioned by me can be organised without much difficulty.

I propose however to devote this article to a consideration of the financial difficulty. The All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund should be large enough to meet every requirement, not excluding that of national institutions. Welcome as the thousands of donated men must be to us, we must rely upon the pice of the masses. Every pice knowingly given will be a token of the determination of the giver to establish Swaraj. I make bold to say that the movement can be financed by the nation abandoning its superfluities, its questionable habits, and its vices.

If the women of India were to surrender their superfluous ornaments, if the wine-bibbers were to give up their drink and hand to the movement half their savings, if the smokers were to suspend their smoke pending attainment of Swaraj and give to the cause half their savings, we would get all the money we need for bringing the movement to a successful close. I was agreeably surprised to find that in the Central Provinces there has been a great campaign going on against the drink 'eri'. I understand that the movement has realised

in thousands having given up this cursed habit. It would be a crowning triumph of Non-co-operation if an organised effort were made to stamp out the drink evil. And I am sure that those who are weaned from it will gladly and thankfully part with a portion of their savings.

We are a poor people, getting daily poorer; and if we are to make collections from the masses we shall do so only by acts of self-denial. There is certainly always something which we can deny ourselves for the sake of the country. I do not hesitate to suggest to the religiously minded that they cannot better devote their charity than to the erection of the temple of Swaraj. No doubt the working committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee will present a scheme for collection. But I suggest to the volunteer workers that they can supplement the scheme by inculcating among the masses the lesson of self-denial.

There should be a healthy competition among the different provinces in this direction.

CONGRESS IMPRESSIONS.

Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* in the course of a signed article writes as follows:—

The Non-co-operation movement does not seem to me to be at all what its opponents love to represent it—a herd of sheep pursuing an unworldly shepherd. It would surprise me much to learn of any other movement or party in India which is so well and practically organised. Enthusiasm does not preclude practical work; it only makes practical work seem light and pleasant to the worker. Immense enthusiasm was the keynote of the Congress at Nagpur. Enthusiasm for what? somebody may well ask. Enthusiasm for righteousness, will be my answer; let anybody find a better if he can;—that, and a veritable passion for self-sacrifice in a cause which every man considered right. That was the spirit which I found among my Muslim brothers, and I am sure that it was no less evident among Hindus. Few of those with whom I conversed seemed to attach much importance to Mahatma's repeated statement that by means of strictly non-violent Non-Co-operation Swarajya is to be attained within one year—a statement to which I myself attach immense importance, for if those words come true, the connection between England and India will not only be preserved but strengthened—but everyone anticipated harsh repressive measures by the Government of India, and was prepared to suffer and to die, within the coming year. On the first day when I took my seat upon the platform in the *pandal*, a Burmese priest, who was my neighbour, prophesied that Burma first and India afterwards would be subjected to a perfected reign of terror in the next few weeks and everyone who heard him seemed to think it would be so. Shankar Ali, that most simple and sincere of men, spoke to me as one prepared for death at any moment and showed

some reason for his expectation in the false testimony which is constantly being borne against him and his brother by the Information Department through the Anglo-Indian Press. He is already banished from his home, and has been robbed of all his property in Rampur State, where merely to be his relation is now reckoned as a crime punishable with destitution and imprisonment. The students from all over India, whom I saw, looked forward keenly to a coming persecution which would either end their lives or make them freemen. But all these men were happy. There was the first real healthy, hearty laughter I had heard in India. And on the platform at Nagpur, when we were taking leave, I heard it said that we must now expect strong measures from the Government. To all who thus foreboded evil from my countrymen, I answered: "God forbid!" and got the answer in return: "You do not know your countrymen in India!" Perhaps not; but I had seen how the Government police at Nagpur tried to be helpful; I had seen how the G. I. P. Railway authorities, who after all are not quite unrelated to the bureaucracy, did everything that could be done to further Congress traffic; I can see that my countrymen in India are now presented with a golden opportunity, and cannot think them quite so blind as not to see it for themselves. At Nagpur it was perfectly clear to an observer with his wits about him that there was not the least objection in the Congress to the presence of the British in India, save only in so far as they are anti-Indian, and that, however anti-Indian he or she may be, no British man or woman in India has anything to fear from the Non-co-operation movement. The last and permanent impression of the Congress on my mind is one of goodness. From the first day to the last day there has been nothing mean or vulgar—much less evil or dishonest—in its counsels. I wish that the British rulers of India could have been in my place that they might know the truth for once without the comments of some interested intermediary, might know the actual character of men who have been much maligned. I hope the truth will somehow filter through to their intelligence, and if that happens soon I feel quite sure that Mr. Gandhi's prophecy will be fulfilled and all the points of Non-co-operation will be gained within one year in the most satisfactory and ample manner, that is, by the British joining with the rest of India.

"UNLESS GOVT. TAKE THAT STEP."

MR. SPOOR'S IMPRESSIONS OF CONGRESS.

I understand the Nagpur gathering to be the largest ever held in the history of Indian nationalism, indeed it is easy to believe that it was the biggest political assembly the world has seen. Nearly thirty thousand people drawn from all parts of India crowded the *pandal* each day. Men and women of every social station and of every creed were there. High-caste Brahmins rubbed shoulders with "untouchables," cultured Indians mingled freely with those who have been denied educational opportunity. Doubt has been cast on the representative character of the

Congress and it is unfortunately true that certain well-known Moderates indicated their disapproval of the present policy by absenting themselves. But their refusal to "co-operate" can hardly be said to destroy the really representative composition of the gathering. Moderate opinion was there and it found utterance in more than one able speech. It had, however, to subordinate itself to the overwhelming volume of contrary opinion. And because the tide appeared to be running strongly one way it is as unfair as it is incorrect to allege that the Congress was solely "extremist" in character. Those who make the allegation apparently forget that the majority of Indians under the pressure of circumstances are rapidly becoming "extremist." In India, as in Ireland, Government policy, or lack of policy, is driving steady, moderate men and women into the ranks of the advanced political army. At all events the Nagpur Congress showed a solidarity in purpose that is bound to impress the world. Extremism is becoming the normal and the cry "Bande Mataram" is fusing the most divergent elements in Indian life. As a spectacle the Congress was profoundly impressive; was it not also a prophecy of an India so united as to be irresistible ?.....

Mr. Spoor next refers to Mr. Gandhi's characteristics and achievements and compares him with Lenin. :—

The West has produced a Lenin, strong, masterful, relentless alike in logic and method. The East has given birth to a Gandhi, equally strong, masterful and relentless. But, whilst the former pins his faith on force the latter relies on non-resistance. One trusts the sword, the other trusts the spirit. In an extraordinary manner these men appear to incarnate those fundamentally opposing forces that—behind all the surface struggles of our day—are fighting for supremacy.

THE CONGRESS CREED.

The two vital decisions reached related to the Creed and the Principle of Non-Co-operation. Of the former one need only say that whilst it was agreed to demand complete Swaraj and to leave the question of the British connection to be determined when that was secured, no single speech showed a desire to bring about a severance of the people of India and the people of Britain. Distinct hostility to the British Government was, of course, indicated, although it is doubtful whether the criticisms of British policy were any more severe than those made at the Madras Conference of the Moderates. The fact is that the "Micawber-like" attitude of the Government has alienated every section of Indian opinion. The months drag by, but no attempt is made to deal with either the Punjab question or the Khilafat difficulty. Meanwhile the wounded Self-Respect of India is unhealed. If Nero added while Rome was burning, the British Government and many of its representatives in this country sleep calmly on, while the very foundations of the Empire are being destroyed. The Congress decision does not for a moment even imply a break in our association with India. What it does imply is that only on terms can that association be secured and indeed strengthened. And those terms are equality and mutual respect.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

Personally, I am not enamoured of Non-Co-operation as a weapon any more than I like the strike as a method of securing industrial reform. But sometimes the strike is the only weapon available. Now what has the Congress done ? It has simply reaffirmed, unanimously, its belief

in the principle, leaving, in my opinion, wisely the rate of application to the judgment of the All India Congress Committee. This latter is a deliberative body unlikely to act precipitately. It can modify or accelerate the pace as events warrant, knowing full well that the solid opinion of the Congress is behind it. With some knowledge of the composition of the Committee, I feel sure it will not lightly engage in carrying out those parts of the programme that, while wakening up the Government once and for all may plunge India into chaos. The Congress leaders are not irresponsible fanatics lacking sense of the direction in which things are moving. They are sincere patriots, smarting under a sense of cruel injustice. Acting with a deep sense of responsibility they will undoubtedly fight to the bitter end—unless the Government takes that step which is necessary to the opening of negotiations on honourable terms.

A WARNING.

Unless the Government take that step! All trust in the Government seems to have disappeared in India. Men who once were proud to work with Britain, men who still are intensely anxious to maintain the British connection have assured me that their faith in the present Government has been destroyed. Can that lost trust and shattered faith not be recovered ? And not in the interest of India and Britain alone, but to secure the peace and progress of the world. Certain preliminary conditions must be complied with. These are so well known as to need no statement here. But chief of all, the Government must drop once and for all its attitude of patronising indulgence. Indians are not to be treated as naughty children. They are a people struggling bravely to Freedom. They are led by men who in character and capacity are, to say the least, the equals of their present rulers and who have in most cases a background of religious idealism that their rulers lack. The Government, if it wishes to preserve one shred of respect not only in India, but in the world, if it wishes to maintain that prestige of which Britons have always been proud, must come down from its Olympian heights and mingle with the people. There is the demand, there is the struggle, there shall be the victory. If the Government is big enough to do this it may save India, the British commonwealth and—incidentally—its own soul.

SHANKARACHARYA SUPPORTS N. C. O.

Shri Shankaracharya of Sarada Peeta (Gujarat) in supporting the Non-Cooperation resolution said that as a representative of the ecclesiastical heads of Hinduism in this country he felt the almost pleasure in giving his ecclesiastical support to the cause of Non-Cooperation. There had been for centuries past in India a conception that spiritual life and material life have nothing to do with each other. No conception could be more erroneous. This idea was purely western. The Indian conception of Dharma was of a very different nature. From the moment of birth to the moment of death every department of human activity came within the purview of Hindu Dharma. As regards the part of the preamble, whether or not the existing Government of India had forfeited the confidence of the country, it remained still a proposition acceptable to all sane minds that the people of India should be determined to establish Swaraj. As one who had stood out for the Congress, since the time of the Allahabad convention, it gave him great pleasure now to see mention made about the determination to establish Swarajya.

GITA'S SUPPORT.

A friend told him that the idea of Non-Co-operation was a Buddhist or Jain idea and not a Hindu idea. In his opinion it was a Hindu idea. No doubt the position of active hostility to repression was permitted by the Hindus as against Buddhist and Jain theory, but that was put only as a last resort. In the tenth chapter of the Bhagvat Gita it was said when truth cannot be told, silence is the path prescribed. Similarly when they could not co-operate with the Government and when they could not yet at any rate try the other method of active resistance the only path is non-Violent Non-Co-operation. For the last thirteen or fourteen years he had been preaching the gospel of Non-Co-operation in education and therefore he was glad to see the Congress discussing the question in all earnestness and almost on the way to passing it.

APPEAL TO MODERATES.

As regards the last paragraph of the programme, that part which deals with unity among all classes of people in India, the Hindu-Muslim unity had been before the country for a long time as a political subject. His idea was that the Hindu-Muslim unity was more a spiritual than a political necessity for India. When speaking on the subject he had to make an appeal to the Hindus themselves for Hindu unity not merely between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans but between Moderates and Nationalists. He was prepared to accept as a sort of brake on the Nationalist engine but he would ask the Moderates to see that the brake was kept in touch with the engine by an intervening number of compartments and did not stay elsewhere. The Moderate Party should help the Nationalist Party by giving help from time to time in the direction of slackening the pace wherever necessary and not meet at a place like Madras while they were sitting at Nagpur. He hoped that Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah who had done much for the national cause in the past would continue to do so in the future. If the Moderates did not cooperate with the Nationalist Party it simply meant that they adopted the policy of Non-Co-operation which they themselves were condemning. If they could not co-operate with the Congress on account of minor differences of detail still less could they co-operate with a Government with whom they had greater differences.

With regard to the last portion of the resolution concerning the suppressed classes, the speaker said that when a person told him that he felt his sanctity too sacred to mix with or even work for those who were below him he felt sceptical as to the sanctity boasted of. His conception of sanctity was that it would not be degraded by anything below it but it would uplift that which was below.

"THE UNGRATEFULEST OF MEN."

To, The Editor of "Young India."

Sir,—I am sorry to have to say that you are the ungratefulest of men. After all that the British Government has done for India you have no good word for it! Where would you have been to-day but for the British Government which saved India from the iron grip of Germany? And besides ingratitude, you have misrepresented the Government in saying that it seeks to destroy both the Hindu and Mohammedan religions, which is grossly false. It has never had a thought even of this kind and has on the contrary put restrictions on the Christian missionaries while none were ever put on any other religion in India. Have you forgotten that Mr. Tucker was imprisoned when he started the Salvation Army?

You talk glibly of non-violence while you are just as sure of the opposite as any one else can be; in fact it seems pretty clear that you are trying at the present stage to bring it about in order to cover the failure of non-co-operation. This is certainly not the spirit of a proper Mahatma, who should be patient, forbearing and a peace-maker, instead of which you are a peace-breaker; you should be found meditating nothing but good to all and fasting and praying, instead of which you are found on the stormiest political platform and even manufacturing worse and worse forms of agitation which threaten the lives and property of all others and of your own countrymen also.

Be advised even at this eleventh hour and withdraw from all agitation and by individual prayer and fasting, show the world, the power of soul-force instead of requiring it of the ignorant masses, who can only exhibit it in the form of brute-force. And go further and co-operate with the Government in making the Reforms a success in which is the seed of great Potentialities for India and the promise of earliest Swaraj.

I am not an official but a lover of India and I would fain see her freed from the surest—dangerous surest you are carrying on so foolishly.

Ambala Cantonment,
20th December 1920.

Yours etc,
Edward Foy.

"THE WICKED ROMANS."

To, The Editor, "Young India"

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

On page 4 of "Young India" for the 3rd November, you say "you must make it clear to the British people that whilst you desire to retain the British connection, if you can rise to your full height with it, you are determined to dispense with and even to get rid of that connection if that is necessary for full national development." By "retaining the British connection" I suppose you mean *remaining under the British flag* as a safeguard against outside enemies? Or do you mean that India would either need no such protection, or would be at once able to protect itself against external foes? You must admit, I think, that in the present condition of the world it is hardly likely the country would be allowed to remain at peace unless she was fairly able to protect herself against aggression; and, much as you object to recent British methods of keeping order in the country, I have not noticed that you are anxious to try some other Sui-generis Power. Peace at home and abroad seems to me to be the first essential for progress in any country, and you have not always been able to restrain the violence of your followers, however conscientiously you have desired to restrain it, and I fully admit your conscientiousness even yet, though it seems to me to be altogether quixotic, and hope you will consider well where you are going. You might succeed (this not without bloodshed) in getting rid of the present Government before you have anything ready to take its place.

Yours truly,
J. B. PENNINGTON.

P. S.—You realise, I am sure that the British are not likely to leave India to the anarchy they believe would follow, as the Romans left Britain.

25 Victoria Road,
Worthing, Sussex,
6th December 1920.

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STUDENT'S STRIKE IN CALCUTTA.

The latest information to hand about the Great Students' Strike at Calcutta is that nearly 3,000 College Students are on strike. The following colleges are affected—some wholly others partially: (1) Bangabasi, (2) Ripon, (3) City, (4) Presidency, (5) Vidyasagar, (6) Scottish Churches, (7) Central, (8) Sanskrit, (9) University Law, (10) St. Xavier's, and (11) South Suburban.

To Young Bengal.

Dear Young Friends.

I have just read an account of your response to the nation's call. It does credit to you and to Bengal. I had expected no less. I certainly expect still more. Bengal has great intelligence, it has a greater heart, it has more than its share of the spiritual heritage for which our country is specially noted. You have more imagination, more faith, and more emotion than the rest of India. You have falsified the calumny of cowardice on more occasions than one. There is, therefore, no reason why Bengal should not lead now as it has done before now.

You have taken the step: you will not recede. You had ample time to think. You have paused, you have considered. You held the Congress that delivered to the nation the message of Non-co-operation i. e. of self-purification, self-sacrifice, courage, and hope. The Nagpur Congress ratified, clarified, and amplified the first declaration. It was delivered in the midst of strife, doubt, and disunion. It was redelivered in the midst of joy, acclamation, and practically perfect unanimity. It was open to you to refuse, or to hesitate to respond. You have chosen the better, though, from a worldly-wise standpoint, less cautious way. You dare not go back without hurting yourselves and the cause.

But for the evil spell that the existing system of government and, most of all, this western education has cast upon us, the question will not be considered as open to argument. Can the brave Arabs retain their independence and yet be schooled under the aegis of those who would hold them under bondage? They will laugh at a person who dared to ask them to go to schools that may be established by their invaders. Is the case different, or if it is different, is it not stronger in our case when we are called upon to give up

schools conducted under the aegis of a government which, rightly or wrongly, we seek to bend to our will or destroy?

We cannot get Swaraj if not one class in the country is prepared to work and sacrifice for it. The Government will yield not to the logic of words. It knows no logic but that of brave and true deeds.

Bravery of the sword they know. And they have made themselves proof against its use by us. Many of them will welcome violence on our part. They are unconquerable in the art of meeting and suppressing violence. We propose, therefore, to sterilize their power of inflicting violence by our non-violence. Violence dies when it ceases to evoke response from its object. Non-violence is the corner-stone of the edifice of Non-co-operation. You will, therefore, not be hasty or over-zealous in your dealings with those who may not see eye to eye with you. Intolerance is a species of violence and therefore against our creed. Non-violent Non-co-operation is an object lesson in democracy. The moment we are able to ensure non-violence, even under circumstances the most provoking, that moment we have achieved our end; because that is the moment when we can offer complete Non-co-operation.

I ask you not to be frightened at the proposition just stated. People do not move in arithmetical progression, not even in geometrical progression. They have been known to perish in a day, they have been known to rise in a day, is it such a difficult thing for India to realise that thirty crores of human beings have but to feel their strength and they can be free without having to use it? As we had not regained national consciousness, the rulers have hitherto played us against one another. We have to refuse to do so, and we are masters, not tuncy.

Non-co-operation deals first with those sensitive classes upon whom the government has acted so successfully and who have been lured into the trap consciously or unconsciously as the school-going youths have been.

When we come to think about it, the sacrifice required is infinitesimal for individuals, because it is whole is distributed among so many of us. For what is your sacrifice? To suspend your literary studies for one year or till Swaraj is established. If I could infect the whole of the student world with my faith, I know that the suspension of studies need not extend even to a year.

And in the place of your suspended studies I would urge you to study the methods of bringing about Swaraj as quietly as possible even within the year of grace. I present you with the SPINNING WHEEL and suggest to you that on it depends India's economic salvation.

But you are at liberty to reject it if you wish and go to the College that has been promised to you by Mr. Das. Most of your fellow-students in the National College at Gujarat have undertaken to give at least four hours to spinning everyday. It is no sacrifice to learn a beautiful art and to be able to clothe the naked at the same time.

You have done your duty by withdrawing from Government colleges. I have only showed you the easiest and the most profitable way of devoting the time at your disposal.

May God give you strength and courage to sustain you in your determination.

Your well-wisher,
M. K. Gandhi.

GOVERNMENTS AND NON-VIOLENT NON CO OPERATION

ALL THE ATTEMPTS AT DESTROYING THE GOVERNMENTS by means of violence have so far everywhere and always led to this, that in the place of the governments overthrown, there have been established new, frequently more cruel governments than those which they superseded....

Violence is exerted by one class of men against another (outside of outbursts of vengeance and anger) for no other purpose than to compel people against their wish to do the will of other men. But the necessity of doing against one's wish the will of other men is slavery. And so, as long as there shall be any violence, intended for the purpose of compelling people to do the will of other men, there will be slavery...

All the attempts at abolishing slavery by means of violence are like the extinguishing of fire with fire, or the damming of water with water, or the filling of one ditch with dirt taken out from another ditch....

And so the means for the emancipation from slavery, if it exists at all, must consist not in the establishment of a new form of violence, but in the destruction of what produces the possibility of governmental violence.....

People must understand that their participation in the criminal activity of governments, whether by giving up part of their labours, in the form of money, or by a direct participation in military service is not an indifferent act, such as people generally take it to be, but, besides the harm done to him and to his brothers by this act, also a participation in the crimes which are incessantly committed by all the governments and a preparation for new crimes, for which the governments are always ready when they maintain a disciplined army....

As soon as men shall come to understand this, they will naturally stop taking part in those acts, that is, giving the governments soldiers and money. As soon as the majority of men shall stop doing that the deception which enslaves men will destroy itself. Only in this way can men be freed from slavery [From Tolstoy's THE BLAVERGY OF OUR TIMES.]

Notes.

Lord Reading—The long expected announcement about the new Viceroy has come. But two years ago, the name of the Lord Chief Justice as the Viceroy-designate would have excited wonder and even admiration. Today the public is rightly indifferent. A military dictator might have answered just as well if not better. At the same time the appointment of Lord Reading probably is a silent recognition of the fact that ours is a non-violent battle and that therefore a diplomat with a judicial training is the best representative of the Sovereign. Lord Reading has declared his intention to do the right. I have no doubt that he means it. But the system which he is coming to administer will not permit him to do what is right. That is India's experience. If he succeeds in doing the right, I promise that he will also succeed in destroying the system or radically reforming it. Either he will swallow the system or the system will swallow him.

"India" and the British Committee—The "Chronicle", I observe, calls the decision to end the British Committee and "India" an unfortunate decision. The argument advanced in support of the view is that the Constitution Committee had not advised abolition of the British Committee and "India" and that both were doing good work. It is true that the Constitution Committee had not recommended abolition. But it should be remembered that the Committee was appointed at the Amritsar Congress and its report was conceived before the Non-co-operation resolution of the Special Congress. Much has happened since then to revolutionize the country's ideas about foreign propaganda and the British Committee. The abolition was a matter of principle. It was felt that a non-co-operation Congress could not keep a foreign agency for helping its work. The Congress has deliberately burnt its boats. It has decided to become self-reliant. The question of efficiency of the Committee as constituted becomes irrelevant. It is hardly dignified for the Congress in the altered situation to subsidise a foreign agency for doing propaganda work. No amount of misrepresentation about it could possibly blot out effective action by the nation.

Whether you advertise the fact or not, a body not receiving the food it needs dies. Whether we advertise the fact or not the moment we cease to support the government, it dies a natural death. Personally I dislike even the resolution voting the money to be used at the discretion of the All-India Congress Committee in foreign propaganda. We want all the money we need in this country. I would far rather invest Rs. 45,000 in spinning wheels or establishing primary schools than in wasting it in advertising our work. Every good deed is its own advertisement. And I shall certainly hope that the money will still be saved for a better purpose. So far as the newspaper "India" is concerned, we are certainly better without it. It raised

in us false hopes. The British people are as much on their honour and trial as we are. If they choose to be misinformed by interested or dishonest journals, we cannot help them. Have we not published the Congress Panch report? Who believes it? Mr. Montagu discredits it and the British public echoes his opinion. In the art of advertising bogus things, the British journalists are to be beaten only by the Americans. I would not enter into the unequal competition and court defeat.

We must adopt new methods for combating the evils of sensational and untruthful journalism and public life. The Congress has given the lead by abolishing the Committee and its organ 'India.'

Tainted Money—An esteemed friend from Sindh asks several questions. The letter being personal I refrain from giving the names. His first question is thus put: "One item in the first stage of the non-co-operation programme is the withdrawal of students from the government and aided institutions. The reason that you have been assigning is that the money with which such institutions are financed is tainted because it comes from the hands of the present government, though the money is really ours as it has been paid by us. At the same time there is no item in the first stage of the programme for refusal to accept money from the same government for municipal purposes which include education, sanitation, waterworks &c. Can the money be tainted simply for education given by authorities other than municipal and not for other purposes whether municipal or otherwise?"

The money received for other purposes is undoubtedly equally tainted but our non-co-operation at the present moment is confined, among other things, to scholastic institutions for the reason that the power of the government is consolidated through these institutions in a special manner. It should be remembered that we are boycotting all scholastic institutions whether aided or merely affiliated. We are resisting the corrupting influence of the government through these institutions. The *corrupting influence* is the *deciding* reason.

Municipal Co-operation—The friend proceeds: "I am an elected Municipal Councillor. From experience I find that at every stage of our work, we have to co-operate with Government. If the Government is wicked and unjust, as we believe, is it consistent and logical that we shall refuse to cooperate with it in legislative councils, courts etc., but should continue to cooperate with it in Municipalities?"

This is a very pertinent question. But the doubt will probably be resolved by remembering that the municipalities do not consolidate the power of the Government as do the Councils. Once we admit the wickedness of the government system, we must admit the necessity of doing nothing that would strengthen that system. I will not dispute the necessity even of dissociating ourselves from municipalities. And any councillor or any municipality is free to retire, or court dis-

bandment, if they feel that they are helping the present system. The Congress resolution is an indication of how far the nation as a whole should or could go. But there can be no limit put upon individual renunciation.

Conscience or Expedience—'But', adds the able correspondent 'our conduct would be quite consistent if we did not take our stand on religion or conscience but simply declared that we wanted to render this Government impotent and would employ such means (provided they are peaceful and not immoral) as would help us to achieve our object. Then there would be no question of the money coming from the government being tainted or otherwise, though withdrawal of students from government or aided institutions may even then be undertaken if we thought we would thus help to render the government impotent. Such withdrawal will then be based not on any principle of religion or conscience but simply on the principle of expediency.'

I have a horror of the word 'expediency' because of its bad odour. As a rule, expediency is often opposed to morality and does not exclude the use of violence. But the writer has removed the sting from the word by using it in its root meaning. For he insists upon being moral and peaceful. I would therefore not quarrel with the admirable presentation of the argument. I have presented Non-co-operation in terms of religion because I enter politics only in so far as it develops the religious faculty in me. My correspondent has presented the case in terms of politics. I submit that my presentation is free from pitfalls than his. There certainly is room for stages in a religious as in a political programme. The fundamental distinction is that a programme conceived in a religious spirit admits of no tactics or compromise with things that matter. Our present Non-co-operation refers not so much to the paralysis of a wicked government as to our being proof against wickedness. It aims therefore not at destruction but at construction. It deals with causes rather than with symptoms. My meaning will become perhaps clearer in the following paragraph.

'Passive Resistance'—A correspondent from Satur writes: "'A Passive resister should boycott, he never embarrasses a Government.' But a Non-co-operator paralyzes the government and his whole business rests upon boycott (of councils, aided schools &c.). Could a passive resister be a non-co-operator simultaneously? The quotation is yours."

The Satur correspondent has quoted me correctly. Only he has torn the sentence from its context. The word boycott has been used in its technical sense meaning boycott, by way of punishment, of British goods as distinguished from foreign goods. I hope every one recognises the futility of boycott of British goods. But boycott, by way of purification, of evil is not only right but obligatory. Therefore boycott of councils etc., being symbols of an evil power, is a virtue. The term passive resistance

is a misnomer. I have never seen it defined. I have attempted a definition. But for the purpose of the correspondent it is enough for me to say that Non-co-operation is part passive resistance. Neither embarrasses the government. But embarrassment may result from either activity. The goal in each case is inward purification and growth. Does a man who closes his gate against an intruder embarrass the latter? Or does a drunkard who patronises a drink shop embarrass the keeper when he withdraws his custom and turns teetotaler? —M. K. G.

A noted Resignation—We congratulate Dr. P. C. Ghosh M. A., Ph. D. Deputy Assay Master Calcutta Mint, for having tendered his resignation from Government service for taking up the work of village organisation in accordance with the non-co-operation programme. Dr. Ghosh has had a distinguished University and Professional career and at the time of the resignation was drawing Rs. 500 p. m. in the Imperial Service. He has with him a band of patriotic workers and they all propose to give their whole time to national service.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 19th, January, 1921.

THE SECRET OF SWARAJ.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION HAS RIGHTLY EMPHASISED the importance of Swadeshi and threatened of greater sacrifices by merchants.

India cannot be free so long as India voluntarily encourages or tolerates the economic drain which has been going on for the past century and a half. Boycott of foreign goods means no more and no less than boycott of foreign cloth. Foreign cloth constitutes the largest drain voluntarily permitted by us. It means sixty crores of rupees annually paid by us for predegoods. If India could make a successful effort to stop that drain, she can gain Swaraj by that one act.

India was enslaved for satisfying the greed of the foreign cloth manufacturer. When the East India Company came in, we were able to manufacture all the cloth we needed, and more for export. By processes that need not be described here, India has become practically wholly dependent upon foreign manufacture for her clothing.

But we ought not to be dependent. India has the ability to manufacture all her cloth if her children will work for it. Fortunately India has yet enough weavers to supplement the out-turn of her mills. The mills do not and cannot immediately manufacture all the cloth we want. The reader may not know that, even at the present moment, the weavers weave more cloth than the mills. But the latter weave five crore yards of fine foreign counts, and four crore yards of coarser counts. The way to carry out a successful boycott of foreign cloth is to increase the out-put of yarn. And this can only be done by hand-spinning.

To bring about such a boycott, it is necessary for our merchants to stop all foreign importation, and to sell out, even at a loss, all foreign cloth already stocked in India, preferably to foreign buyers. They must cease to speculate in cotton, and keep all the cotton required for home use. They must stop purchasing all foreign cotton.

The mill-owners should work their mills not for their profits but as a national trust and therefore cease to spin finer counts, and weave only for the home market.

The householder has to revise his or her ideas of fashion and, at least for the time being, suspend the use of fine garments which are not always worn to cover the body. He should train himself to see art and beauty in the spotlessly white *khaddar* and to appreciate its soft unevenness. The householder must learn to use cloth as a miser uses his hoard.

And even when the householders have revised their tastes about dress, somebody will have to spin yarn for the weavers. This can only be done by every one spinning during spare hours either for love or money.

We are engaged in a spiritual war. We are not living in normal times. Normal activities are always suspended in abnormal times. And if we are out to gain Swaraj in a year's time, it means that we must concentrate upon our goal to the exclusion of every thing else. I therefore venture to suggest to the students all over India to suspend their normal studies for one year and devote their time to the manufacture of yarn by hand-spinning. It will be their greatest act of service to the motherland, and their most natural contribution to the attainment of Swaraj. During the late war our rulers attempted to turn every factory into an arsenal for turning out bullets of lead. During this war of ours, I suggest every national school and college being turned into a factory for preparing cones of yarn for the nation. The students will lose nothing by the occupation: they will gain a kingdom here and hereafter. There is a famine of cloth in India. To assist in removing this dearth is surely an act of merit. If it is sinful to use foreign yarn, it is a virtue to manufacture more Swadeshi yarn in order to enable us to cope with the want that would be created by the disease of foreign yarn.

The obvious question asked would be, if it is so necessary to manufacture yarn, why not pay every poor person to do so? The answer is that hand spinning is not, and never was, a calling like weaving, carpentry, etc. Under the pre-British economy of India, spinning was an honourable and leisurely occupation for the women of India. It is difficult to revive the art among the women in the time at our disposal. But it is incredibly simple and easy for the school-goers to respond to the nation's call. Let no one deem the work as being derogatory to the dignity of man or students. It was an art confined to the women of India because

the latter had more leisure. And being graceful, musical, and as it did not involve any great exertion, it had become the monopoly of women. But it is certainly as graceful for either sex as is music for instance. In hand-spinning is hidden the protection of women's virtue, the insurance against famine, and the cheapening of prices. In it is hidden the secret of Swaraj. The revival of hand spinning is the least penance we must do for the sin of our forefathers in having succumbed to the satanic influences of the foreign manufacturer.

The school-goers will restore hand-spinning to its respectable status. They will hasten the process of making *Khadgar* fashionable. For no mother, or father, worth the name will refuse to wear cloth made out of yarn spun by their children. And the scholars' practical recognition of art will compel the attention of the weavers of India. If we are to wean the Punjabi from the calling not of a soldier but of the murderer of innocent and free people of other lands, we must give back to him the occupation of weaving. The race of the peaceful Jais of the Punjab is all but extinct. It is for the scholars of the Punjab to make it possible for the Punjabi weaver to return to his innocent calling.

I hope to show in a future issue how easy it is to introduce this change in the schools and how quickly, on these terms, we can nationalise our schools and colleges. Everywhere the students have asked me what new things I would introduce into our nationalised schools. I have invariably told them I would certainly introduce spinning. I feel, so much more clearly than ever before that during the transition period, we must devote exclusive attention to spinning and certain other things of immediate national use, so as to make up for past neglect. And the students will be better able and equipped to enter upon the new course of studies.

Do I want to put back the hand of the clock of progress? Do I want to replace the mills by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? Do I want to replace the railway by the country cart? Do I want to destroy machinery altogether? These questions have been asked by some journalists and public men. My answer is: I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do at the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out of India, and distribute them in our cottages. This I cannot do unless and until the nation is prepared to devote its leisure hours to hand-spinning. To that end we must adopt the methods I have ventured to suggest for popularising spinning as a duty rather than as a means of livelihood.

NOTICE.

Copies of the Constitution and the Non-co-operation resolution in a pamphlet form can be had from the Manager "Young India," Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad for one anna a copy, or by sending 6 pice stamps by post.

THE SIN OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

IT IS WORTHY OF NOTE THAT THE SUBJECTS Committee accepted without any opposition the clause regarding the sin of untouchability. It is well that the National Assembly passed the resolution stating that the removal of this blot on Hinduism was necessary for the attainment of Swaraj. The Devil succeeds only by receiving help from his fellows. He always takes advantage of the weakest spots in our natures in order to gain mastery over us. Even so does the Government retain its control over us through our weaknesses or vices. And if we would render ourselves proof against its machinations, we must remove our weaknesses. It is for that reason that I have called Non-co-operation a process of purification. As soon as that process is completed, this government must fall to pieces for want of the necessary environment, just as mosquitoes cease to haunt a place whose cesspools are filled up and dried.

Has not a just Nemesis overtaken us for the crime of untouchability? Have we not reaped as we have sown? Have we not practised Dyerism and O'Dwyerism on our own kith and kin? We have segregated the 'pariah' and we are in turn segregated in the British Colonies. We deny him the use of public wells; we throw the leavings of our plates at him. His very shadow pollutes us. Indeed there is no charge that the 'pariah' cannot fling in our faces and which we do not fling in the faces of Englishmen.

How is this blot on Hinduism to be removed? 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you.' I have often told English officials that, if they are friends and servants of India, they should come down from their pedestal, cease to be patrons, demonstrate by their loving deeds that they are in every respect our friends, and behave as to be equals in the same sense they believe fellow Englishmen to be their equals. After the experiences of the Punjab and the Khilafat, I have gone a step further and asked them to repent and to change their hearts. Even so is it necessary for us Hindus to repent of the wrong we have done, to alter our behaviour towards those whom we have 'suppressed' by a system as devilish as we believe the English system of the government of India to be. We must not throw a few miserable schools at them: we must not adopt the air of superiority towards them. We must treat them as our blood brothers as they are in fact. We must return to them the inheritance of which we have robbed them. And this must not be the act of a few English-knowing reformers merely, but it must be a conscious voluntary effort on the part of the masses. We may not wait till eternity for this much belated reformation. We must aim at bringing it about within this year of grace, probation, preparation, and *tapasya*. It is a reform not to follow Swaraj but to precede it.

Untouchability is not a sanction of religion. It is a device of Satan. The devil has always quoted scriptures. But scriptures cannot transcend reason and truth. They are intended to purify reason and illuminate truth. I am not going to burn a spotless horse because the Vedas are reported to have advised, tolerated, or sanctioned the sacrifice. For me the Vedas are divine and unwritten. 'The letter killeth'. It is the spirit that giveth the light. And the spirit of the Vedas is purity, truth, innocence, chastity, humility, simplicity, forgiveness, godliness, and all that makes a man or woman noble and brave. There is neither nobility nor bravery in treating the great and uncomplaining scavengers of the nation as worse than dogs to be despised and spat upon. Would that God gave us the strength and the wisdom to become voluntary scavengers of the nation as the 'suppressed' classes are forced to be. There are Augean stables enough and to spare for us to clean.

HOW INDIGENOUS EDUCATION WAS CRUSHED IN THE PUNJAB 1849-88.

(By Mr. Daulat Ram Gupta M. A.)

II

Before annexation (1849), as I have already stated in my first article, there were 30,000 indigenous schools, and quite a large number of colleges, giving instruction to about 4 lacs scholars. In 1856, the Education Department was established and Mr. Arnold was appointed the first Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. From its very start, the Education Department was entrusted with the task of collecting all available information about the indigenous schools, and to suggest means by which they should be rendered efficient and liable to control by the State. But the Education Department, like every other new creation, devoted its best energies to justify its own existence, and to acquire an importance in the affairs of the state, no less than that of other Departments of Government. It saw no merit in the indigenous schools, so much so, that it was not thought worth the trouble to gather any statistics or information about them. Those schools, which were regarded by the Directors, as having formed a model to the schools of England, were regarded by Mr. Arnold as nothing but vicious and deserving of wholesale condemnation and suppression. He, therefore, did not trouble himself on their account, and neither did his successors; so that Captain Holroyd who was then the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, appearing before the Education Commission of 1883, said in his evidence "*The indigenous Vernacular schools are under no regular inspection, they do not appear in our returns; we do not contribute to them and they are at present ineligible for grants-in-aid from the provincial revenues.*" (Vide Education Commission Report.)

The one per cent village education Cess, which was levied for the avowed purpose of establishing schools in the contributing localities and for im-

proving indigenous schools, was misapplied for several other purposes. Dr. Leitner writes "In 1857 there was a balance of Rs. 1,14,562 from the Educational Cess, whilst only Rs. 23,472 had been expended on village schools. In the village on the frontier a school was demanded in return for the Cess, and on its refusal an outbreak took place, which had to be suppressed by the dispatch of troops. My own appeal to start schools by subscription in backward districts was everywhere met with the rejoinder that the Government had raised a fund for a school and had not given them one."

The following table will show how the "Village Education Cess" was misappropriated—

Years.	Total Village School Cess.	Amount spent on Village Education,	Amount misappropriated or misapplied to other purposes.
1860-61	2,29,101	1,24,772	1,04,329
1861-62	2,84,979	1,81,800	1,03,679
1862-63	3,25,867	1,21,713	2,04,154
1863-64	3,01,089	1,62,067	1,39,002
1864-65	2,75,518	1,62,005	1,13,508
1865-66	2,31,491	1,43,977	87,514
1866-67	2,50,813	1,89,340	1,11,473
1867-68	2,16,618	1,40,742	75,876
1868-69	2,23,512	1,37,790	85,722

Further statistics incomplete.

It is interesting to add here that, out of the amount spent upon education, practically nothing was spent upon indigenous schools, and of the amount misappropriated and misapplied, a large amount was spent upon the establishment of the Education Department. But as I do not want to burden the reader with details I leave them out of account.

In 1860, Mr. Arnold retired from service and the administration of the Department passed into the hands of Captain A. R. Fuller. He moved the Government that the executive management of the vernacular schools should be transferred to the Deputy Commissioners in charge of districts.

The immediate effect of the transfer of vernacular schools from the management of the Officers of the Department to district officers was a large reduction in the number of schools and led to a considerable fluctuation in attendance".....(Vide Education Report 1862-63). The reason of all this was that these officers were overburdened with other work, and had little sympathy or taste for educating the masses. The net result of this experiment was that the number of schools fell from 2,171 in 1858-59 to 1,853 in 1859-60.

In 1867, Captain Fuller lost his life and was succeeded by Captain W. R. M. Holroyd. He noticed that the Vernacular schools would never be good for anything "as long as the teacher was paid the wages of a cooly" Captain Holroyd's plan, therefore, included an addition to the Educational Cess by the Government; otherwise a large reduction of schools would be necessary. The Government did not listen to any proposal for increased expenditure and the result was that in

1859 three hundred (300) primary schools were reduced and 10,000 scholars struck off the rolls. This policy was cordially approved by the then Lieutenant-Governor Major-General Sir Henry Durand. The Education Department went on with its experiments of closing one school here and of opening another school there. The following table will show the net result of the activities of the Education Department so far as primary education is concerned.

Year.	Number of primary schools	Year.	Number of primary schools.
1856-57	562	1869-70	1,323
1857-58	1,443	1870-71	1,283
1858-59	2,171	1871-72	1,258
1859-60	1,853	1872-73	1,261
1860-61	1,796	1873-74	1,380
1861-62	1,761	1874-75	1,459
1862-63	1,830	1875-76	1,495
1863-64	2,109	1876-77	1,472
1864-65	1,822	1877-78	1,424
1865-66	1,761	1878-79	1,392
1866-67	1,814	1879-80	1,527
1867-68	1,720	1880-81	1,524
1868-69	1,651	1881-82	1,526

A mere glance at the above table will show how the Government has been oscillating like a pendulum in matters educational. The educational pendulum starts with 562 schools in 1856-57 and takes an onward move till 1858-59 and reaches the highest point (2,171 schools), and then swings backward till 1860-61 when the number of schools comes down from 2,171 to 1,761. It again reverses its movement, goes forward, and the number of schools increase to 2,109, in 1863-64, and then moves back till it stands at the same point in 1865-66 as it was in 1861-62—i. e. the number of schools in 1861-62 and 1865-66, is exactly the same. From the year 1865-66, with but a slight advance, in 1866-67 and slighter at other times, the pendulum of the educational clock of the Government forgot its forward move as if some one was pulling it from behind, till in 1881-82 the number of schools is reduced to 1,526. The net result, of the establishment of the Education Department, therefore, for the progress of education, was to reduce the primary schools from 2,171 in 1858-59 to 1,526 in 1881-82.

Not only this. Besides destroying that education which it sought to impart, it totally crushed under its weight the indigenous education with 30,000 schools and about 4 lacs scholars.

We might Dr. Leitner say at this point: "We must remember that the country is in a stage of, Educational despondency, that in very many places, official influence has been brought to bear to drive away or to suppress the indigenous school that the religious feeling has received a great shock, first, owing to the annexation of the provinces by non-believers, and secondly, by the influence of a foreign rule, and of a secular education. Now

however, we still find that over 80,000 pupils receive their education in indigenous schools in spite of all discouragements during the 26 years of the repressive action of the Educational Department, and that, in all, the ancient traditions of teaching are not yet dead and can be easily revived and utilised, provided the province does not continue to be sacrificial to the personal interests of a few European Officers, who are put into the possession of a material for education which it will be our fault if it is not developed into useful and religious citizens." (Vide History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab.....1882) "We have at great expense sown dragon's teeth, with the inevitable result. We have now made the new generation more intelligent, but more restless and, unless, we restore the traditional teacher, the Maulvi, Pandit, and Bha, to his Cathedral and arm him with disciplinary power, the whole future generation of India will become a source of mischief to itself and to us."

Whether this warning was carried out or whether the Government of the Punjab took any sympathetic attitude towards the mass education from this onwards, and what is the present position of the education in the province, will form the subject matter of the next article.

DID JESUS CO-OPERATE ?

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Mr. Lyle has been here and he told me that you had been enquiring kindly about me. I thank you for your kind inquiries. Of course I have been following your activities with the greatest interest, but it grieves me to have to say that I do not and cannot approve of your Non-co-operation movement. I have been praying that God may show you your mistake and that He may use you—and us all—for the glory of His Holy Name, and for the real enduring welfare of the whole of India. From your many articles and speeches I have gathered that you attempt to justify your movement on the ground that if, in spite of argument and dissuasion, one's nearest and dearest even be seen pursuing a wrong course of action, one is bound to dissociate oneself from him or her lest one be charged with being an accomplice in the wrong-doing.

But surely, one fundamental doctrine of both the Christian and Hindu Scriptures points to quite a different course of conduct. Both tell us of Divine Incarnations, and though these differ in some respects, yet in each case the underlying idea is that when God, Who is Himself infinitely holy, saw the sin-bogotten misery of men, He did not hold aloof from them but graciously stooped down and came to them to render help and to save them sin and its effects. Jesus Christ, the Holy and Undefined One, did not refuse to work along with sinful men, but, on the contrary, while smothering all evil and scathingly denouncing it even in the great ones of his time, He freely and closely associated with sinners from the Pharisee down to the hated tax-gatherer of an alien government and the notorious sinner; and endeavoured, both by wise precept and loving example, to wean them from their wickedness and to win them to righteousness.

From this I gather that it is the obvious duty of all true patriots at the present time not to hold themselves aloof from a government unfairly denounced as "devilish" and

"SATANIC but to take every possible step (e. g. the encouraging of the new councils), to keep in touch with it and endeavour to bring it round to what they consider a more righteous course of conduct. I am hoping and praying that as you were led to acknowledge your mistake of last year in the matter of Satyagrah, so God may open your eyes before it is too late and lead you from Non-co-operation to co-operation.

You are at liberty to use these few words in any way you like. With kind regards,

Rajkot, } I am, yours sincerely,
20-11-20. } G. GILLESPIE.

[I print this letter without a word of alteration. I print it specially because it shows that in spite of ceaseless denunciation by me of the existing system of Government, I have the good fortune to retain the warm friendship of Britishers like the Rev. Gillespie. I know that he honestly believes what he says. He gives me credit for honesty of belief and purpose, yet we differ as poles asunder even in our interpretation of the Christian and the Hindu scriptures. Of the latter I can write with confidence, and I make bold to assert that it is the duty of a Hindu to dissociate himself from the evil-doer i. e. to refrain from participating in or countenancing the evil in him. Prahlad dissociated himself from the evil done by his father. The divine Sita rejected the services tendered to her by Ravan. Bharat denounced the deeds of Kaikeyi, his mother, and rejected the throne wickedly secured for him by her. I can write of the Bible only with diffidence. But my reading of it has clearly confirmed the opinion derived from a reading of the Hindu scriptures. Jesus mixed with the publicans and the sinners neither as a dependent nor as a patron. He mixed with them to serve and to convert them to a life of truthfulness and purity. But he wiped the dust off his feet of those places which did not listen to his word. I hold it to be my duty not to countenance a son who disgraces himself by a life of shame and vice. *Enlightened Non-co-operation is the expression of anguished love.* My esteemed correspondent mixes up dissociation from evil with dissociation from persons for service. Would Jesus have accepted gifts from the money changers, taken from them scholarships for his friends, and advanced loans to them to ply their nefarious traffic? Was His denunciation of hypocrites, Pharisees, and Sadducees merely in word? Or did He not actually invite the people to beware of them and shun them? But Mr. Gillespie thinks that I unfairly describe the Government to be satanic. Perhaps that alters our viewpoints. I consider that I would be less than truthful if I did not describe as satanic a government which has been guilty of fraud, murder, and wanton cruelty; which still remains unrepentant and resorts to untruth to cover its guilt. I really believe I am performing the office of a friend by denouncing in precise language the pretensions of a government which has nothing to commend itself to the people under its charge.

—M. K. U.]

NON-CO-OPERATION IN EAST AFRICA.

The following resolution was adopted at the third session of the East Africa Indian National Congress held at Mombasa on the 4th, 5th and 6th ultimo:—

"Whereas in spite of repeated representation from his Majesty's Indian subjects in East Africa and from all possible other sources and the Government of India from time to time to accord equal treatment to them in all respects based on the principle of equality of status, for the Indians within the Empire in general and in Crown Colonies and Protectorates in particular, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, influenced by the pressure of a class of European Settlers full of racial animosity and trade jealousy, has given a humiliating treatment to the trusted deputation of the Indians in East Africa headed by the President of the third Session of the Congress, Mr. A. M. Jeevanji, has declared in his speech delivered in the House of Lords on the 14th July, 1920, and subsequently by his Excellency the Governor, and the administrative policy to be adopted as regards the Indians residing therein with regard to Franchise, segregation of races, and Ownership of land a policy which is absolutely unjust and disappointing and such as completely violates all the acknowledged principles of civilised Government and is detrimental to the future prosperity of the colony and the interest of the Empire, this Congress humbly and respectfully appeals to his Majesty in Council to issue instructions to his responsible Ministers to recognize the principle and practice of complete equality of status for the Indians in Eastern Africa:—

(a) By immediately removing all disabilities resulting from the adoption of the principle of segregation of races in the East Africa Territories which is most injurious and detrimental to the political advancement and economical interests of the Indian subjects of His Majesty the King,

(b) By granting the British Indian subjects of His Majesty the King the right of franchise on the same basis as that on which it is granted to the Europeans on a common register,

(c) By removing all disabilities imposed upon the British Indians in acquiring land in any part of the Colony of Kenya, Protectorates of East Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika Territory, and

(d) By removing the racial bar which at present exists in the way of Indian Civil servants being appointed and promoted to the Officer grade.

Failing which within a reasonable time this Congress resolves that it has no alternative left to it but to advise and adopt such measures of peaceful and effective political weapon in self-defence such as Non-Cooperation as a remedy to achieve the objects specified above by stages that should be decided under the advice and guidance of distinguished Indian leaders who should be invited here specially for this purpose at an extraordinary Session of the Congress to be convened specially for this purpose."

TO INTENDING SUBSCRIBERS

It has been noticed that a number of V. Ps. sent as per orders are returned to us after a lapse of a month or two or sometimes even three, the addressee refusing or not claiming the V. Ps. while they have been receiving the paper during the period. We therefore propose to send the paper with all the back issues from the first week of January, after receipt of the V. P. Money. But we would request our intending subscribers to send the subscriptions, Rs. 5 yearly, Rs. 3 half yearly, per money order, in advance.

'HIND SWARAJ'

YOUNG INDIA

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(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

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THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN CALCUTTA.

The response of the students of the Calcutta Colleges to the programme of Non-co-operation has been as striking as it was sudden. Till the 15th of January, there was no news from Calcutta that could have possibly led one to expect the next things that have since happened. The primordial beginning of this phase of the movement was wrapped in mystery, but the fact of Mr. C. R. Das giving up his enormous practice in response to the nation's call, certainly hastened events. On the 15th—to use an old phrase—'things just happened'. The students of the Bangabasi College came out in a body—except for a few wavers and objectors, and with shouts of *Bande Mataram* they proceeded towards the Ripon College, to appeal to their brethren there to come out. The appeal did not fall on deaf ears: there was an answering chorus—an echo of *Bande Mataram*—the students left their classes and poured out of Ripon College, like bees from a hive, to join those outside.

Thus did the movement start among the students, but now it numbers thousands: the lowest estimate puts the number of students, who have come out, at 5,000; and the average at 15,000. As a little stream of water, that trickles through the rocks at its source, becomes a magnificent river—of huge expense—near its mouth, so has the movement of Non-co-operation progressed among the students of Calcutta. There is not one college there that is not affected, while some, like the St. Xavier's College, have been forced to give 'a holiday' to their students 'till further notice.' If the response of the under-graduates has been so striking and magnificent, the Law and post-graduate students have shown an even more patriotic spirit. Of 700 law students who appeared on the first day of their University examination, only 150, it is said, appeared on the second day.

More meetings are being held in Calcutta in a day than were held ordinarily in a month. Mr. C. R. Das had to speak at as many as eight meetings in a day. It is not surprising, therefore, that the magnificent response of the students should have quickened the pulse of the political life of Calcutta. A National College was opened last week with over 400 students on its rolls and more were joining. The movement has not ended here; it has only begun. In this country, it has virtually begun to sweep away the message of the British Empire. The message of the British Empire is being heard all over India. It is being heard in Calcutta, Baranagar,

and Dacca; of Seragunj, Comala, and Bazarghat have not been slow to respond.....Bengal is in the melting pot. Let us hope that it will be purified. The students seem determined and resolute; may God give them the strength to win.

MORAL VALUES OF NON-CO-OPERATION

Revered Mahatmaji,

I have read with interest your English friend's letter on the above subject. His contention seems to be that the desired end, namely *Swarajya*, cannot be peacefully attained by such means as you have adopted, unless every individual has become selfless in thought, word, and deed. Selflessness will then automatically produce love for one's neighbour, and the goal of *Swarajya* will have been reached as a matter of course.

In the first place, the full import of the term 'selflessness' is to be understood. It connotes the highest stage of perfection or freedom, such as would enable a person to forget his self. The self is not lost, but only its presence ceases to intrude itself on a man's mind. The ideal man may be compared to the ideal musician, who is no longer encumbered with the deadweight of notes, which nevertheless exist all the time in his mind. His music is a sort of spontaneous flow, but cannot, therefore, be said to be 'automatic'. Even so, an ideal man's love for his fellow-beings may better be called spontaneous, than automatic. Having made clear the interpretation of the term 'selfless', it will be easy to see how Non-co-operation is the most natural, and in the present circumstances the only, means of attaining full freedom or perfection. To return once more to the case of a musician, it is known that before he gains mastery in his art, he usually passes through an arduous period of training. Also, until he has attained perfection, he has to learn his art in solitude or away from all discordant noise that may hamper his efforts or work. This is precisely the attitude of non-co-operators, for they only wish to withdraw themselves away from all disturbing or harmful influences, before they can hope to attain full freedom or perfection.

I may add that this letter is meant merely to supplement your own answer, which is at once clear and convincing.

Wishing God-speed to you and to your movement.
I am,

SANTINIKETAN, }
Jan. 14, 1921. }

Yours very sincerely,
DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

Notes.

Education or Excise?—In his instructive articles on Primary Education in the Punjab, which we have published from time to time, Mr. D. R. Gupta has shown by facts and figures what a set-back education has received in that province since it passed into British hands. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the civilising influence there of British satraps and British officials tended to scotch most educational institutions. The schools, the teachers, and the scholars have been shown ruthlessly to have suffered at the hands of the British administrator.

But if the progress of education in the Punjab was gall and wormwood to the official, the advancement of liquor-traffic was sweet as honey. The achievement of two aims was set before the young officer: to stifle education and to send up the excise revenue. The Punjab Excise Report for 1919-20, shows an enormous rise in excise revenue. An increase of 25 lakhs in the year brought the total revenue to nearly Rs. 130 lakhs! The excise policy of the Government has brought in its wake many baneful results to the people. We intend in future issues to reveal this policy as well as substantiate from official figures that the excise policy of the Government is directed systematically to increase the drink-evil. It will startle our readers to know that in some of the provinces better facilities are provided for the consumption of liquor than for the promulgation of knowledge.

Religious Impartiality.—Mr. Sitaram in a some what angry letter in reply to Mr. Foy combats his statement on the assumed religious impartiality of the Government and says, "Educational institutions drawing very handsome government grants compulsorily teach the Bible. Ecclesiastical establishments all over the country consume enough money out of the taxes paid by Hindus, Mussalmans and Parsis." All this and much more can be undoubtedly cited to show that Government of India is certainly not above suspicion in its treatment of the different religions.

To my correspondents.—Whilst dealing with Mr. Sita Ram's letter, I am tempted to say a word to my correspondents, both those who write to me in my journalistic capacity and those who write for general advice. The correspondence has grown beyond my capacity to deal with it. I have the privilege of having several helpers but our combined labours are insufficient to cope with the enormous correspondence. If therefore the correspondents do not get replies, they will know that it is no want of will on my part but it is a physical impossibility to send individual replies. At the same time, every effort is being made to send acknowledgements. Needless to say, it is impossible for me to give personal attention to every correspondent. At the same time I would like to add that correspondence which is brief, to the point and clearly written will receive earlier attention than long-winded letters written in an indecipherable hand.

M. K. G.

MORE NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES AT BENARES.

We understand that in furtherance of the programme of Non-co-operation and in order to provide a national institution for the education of our youth, a University to be named the Kashi Vidyapith—will soon be started in Benares. A strong General Committee has been provisionally formed with Babu Bhagwandas as Chairman and Shriyut Shiva Prasad Gupta as Secretary. Among those who have joined this Committee or have been requested to do so, are Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Swami Shradhdhananda, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Professor J. B. Kripalani, Dr. Murari Lal, Shriyut Parshottam Das Tandon, Babu Sri Prakash and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. A small executive committee has been formed to take all the necessarily preliminary steps immediately. It is hoped to start the College within a fortnight. Shriyut Shiva Prasad Gupta has promised a monthly donation of Rs. 1,000 and other subscription have also been promised. More funds are however urgently needed and the promoters of the University confidently appeal to the public to give out of their abundance and make the Kashi Vidyapith a true temple of learning, of godliness and of patriotism.

AT NAGPUR.

We understand that with a view to organising a system of National Education, a Board of National Education, consisting of prominent educationalists and leaders of C. P., has been formed. The Board intends starting an Arts College on February 1.

We are very glad to know that the Executive Committee of the National Council of Education, Bengal—founded by the people of Bengal during the Swadeshi days upon the sacrifices of Sj. Aurobindo Ghosh, the late Raja Subodh Chandra Mallick, Satish Chandra Mukherji and others have formed an emergency committee to grasp the present situation and to decide the steps that the Council can take for the furtherance of National Education at present.

TO OUR BOMBAY SUBSCRIBERS.

We have already informed our Bombay subscribers that a number of their copies of Young India are being returned to our office every week marked either as "unclaimed" or "incomplete address," though the wrappers bear the usual printed address slips. On this Tuesday morning, however, an unusually large bundle of copies was delivered in our office. Those of our Bombay subscribers, therefore, who do not receive their copies may kindly inform us as to what we should do with their copies. In case they desire us to send the paper per letter post to them, they will kindly send us, in advance, extra stamps or equivalent in cash thereof for as many issues as they want to be sent per letter post.

We need hardly assure our subscribers that we are doing our best in the matter.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 26th, January, 1921.

'HIND SWARAJ'

OR

THE INDIAN HOME-RULE.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

IT IS CERTAINLY MY GOOD FORTUNE THAT THIS booklet of mine is receiving wide attention. The original is in Gujarati. It had a chequered career. It was first published in the columns of the 'Indian Opinion' of South Africa. It was written in 1908 during my return voyage from London to South Africa in answer to the Indian school of violence, and its prototype in South Africa. I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I feel that their zeal was misguided. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills, and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon for self-protection. The Satyagrah of South Africa was still an infant hardly two years old. But it had developed sufficiently to permit me to write of it with some degree of confidence. It was so much appreciated that it was published as a booklet. It attracted some attention in India. The Bombay Government prohibited its circulation. I replied by publishing its translation. I thought that it was due to my English friends that they should know its contents. In my opinion it is a book which can be put into the hands of a child. It teaches the gospel of love in the place of that of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It pits soul-force against brute force. It has gone through several editions and I commend it to those who would care to read it. I withdraw nothing except one word of it, and that in deference to a lady friend. I have given the reason for the alteration in the preface to the Indian edition.

The booklet is a severe condemnation of 'modern civilization.' It was written in 1908. My conviction is deeper today than ever. I feel that if India would discard 'modern civilization,' she can only gain by doing so.

But I would warn the reader against thinking that I am today aiming at the Swaraj described therein. I know that India is not ripe for it. It may seem an impertinence to say so. But such is my conviction. I am individually working for the self-rule pictured therein. But today my corporate activity is undoubtedly devoted to the attainment of Parliamentary Swaraj in accordance with the wishes of the people of India. I am not aiming at destroying railways or hospitals, though I would certainly welcome their natural destruction. Neither railways nor hospitals are a test of a high and pure civilization. At best they are a necessary evil. Neither adds one inch to the moral stature of a nation. Nor am I aiming at a permanent destruction of law courts, much as I regard it as a 'consummation devoutly to be wished for.' Still

less am I trying to destroy all machinery and mills. It requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for.

The only part of the programme which is now being carried out in its entirety is that of non-violence. But I regret to have to confess that even that is not being carried out in the spirit of the book. If it were, India would establish Swaraj in a day. If India adopted the doctrine of love as an active part of her religion and introduced it in her politics, Swaraj would descend upon India from heaven. But I am painfully aware that that event is far off as yet.

I offer these comments because I observe that much is being quoted from the booklet to discredit the present movement. I have even seen writings suggesting that I am playing a deep game, that I am using the present turmoil to foist my fads on India, and am making religious experiments at India's expense. I can only answer that *Satyagrah* is made of sterner stuff. There is nothing reserved and nothing secret in it. A portion of the whole theory of life described in 'Hind Swaraj' is undoubtedly being carried into practice. There is no danger attendant upon the whole of it being practised. But it is not right to score away people by reproducing from my writings passages that are irrelevant to the issue before the country.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL FINANCE
ITS REAL NATURE.HOW WE CAN DISPENSE WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S
GRANTS FOR EDUCATION.

(By Daulat Ram Gupta M. A.)

The country is taking long and rapid strides in political progress. The Non-co-operation resolution of the Special Congress, and the practical success it has achieved, has wrought a great change in the political vision, ideas, and programme of the national leaders of the day. It has now become impossible for the Government to please the people by giving them the so called "Reform Scheme". The Non-co-operation movement has opened a new chapter in the history of the self-sacrifice of the country. Time was when people trembled at the very name of the prison, and the time has come when people are glad—and think it a great honour—to go to prison; they await with pleasure the day when they will be so lucky as to see the prison-cell. Those who earned thousands of Rupees as pleaders and barristers have renounced their practice and chosen a voluntary life of poverty, and those who lived in palaces are glad to dedicate them for the service of their mother land, as Swaraj Ashrams, etc.

In the campaign of Non-co-operation, the educational problem has acquired an importance of its own. Every day we hear about the opening of national schools and colleges. There is a regular fight going on between the authorities and the students, the former want to stick to the old order of things, while the latter wish no more to co-operate with a Government, which punished the

students so cruelly and mercilessly during the martial law days. But there is a wide spread talk that it is suicidal and detrimental to the best interests of the country to leave the schools and colleges recognised and aided by the Government. Some believe that it will be impossible to do without the Government grant, and they are unwilling, simply on this account, to throw off the "recognition", which is nothing but a yoke of slavery. These ideas are nothing but the outcome of our slavish mentality, which is the direct product of our present university education, which has totally crushed in us the spirit of self-help and independence. We have learnt to depend upon others not only in education, but also in our mode of living, eating, dressing, even walking and talking. In short we have lost all self-confidence, and when we are asked to do something of our own accord we simply cry out, "Oh! it is impossible."

I will, therefore, consider here in some detail, as to how much the Government spends upon our education, as to whether it is possible for us to do away with the Government grants without causing corresponding harm to our present education, as to whether it is practicable to run the present number of institutions with efficiency without any Government help, and how to provide for the finances. I will seek the indulgence of the reader to excuse me if some inaccuracies have crept in through inadvertence.

The Government of India now spends about thirteen crores rupees annually on education. The following table (A) will reveal as to how this money is spent and what are the sources of income. Vide Indian Education 1918-19.

4. TABLE A.

Abstract statement of Expenditure on public instruction and income in British India for the official year 1918-19.

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
	Rs.		Rs.
Direct expenses—			
Arts Colleges	75,77,778	Provincial Revenue	543,25,829
Professional Colleges	38,94,654	Local Funds	127,22,655
Secondary Schools	968,71,803	Municipal Funds	46,77,808
Primary Schools	3,32,27,294	Fees	35,465,704
Training Schools	33,75,708	Endowments	41,90,941
All other special Schools	50,01,798	Subscriptions etc.	184,80,136
Miscellaneous	107,80,099		
Grand Total	12,98,630,731		12,98,630,731

It follows from the above table that the Government's "Direct and Indirect" expenditure on education is Rs. 9,18,48,130, and Rs. 3,80,13,943, respectively. The table also shows that the above expenditure is met from the following sources.

Provincial Revenues	Rs. 543,25,829
Local Funds	Rs. 127,22,655
Municipal Funds	Rs. 46,77,808

In other words the Government contributes only Rs. 543,25,829, for education from its provincial revenues. But out of the total expenditure Rs. 3,30,13,43 are spent annually on management, in-

spection, buildings, scholarship, etc. which are called the "Indirect expenses" on education. The balance Rs. 1,63,11,880, therefore, is spent directly on education. Out of this the Government spends upon its own institutions in the following ways—

Arts Colleges	Rs. 18,73,553
Professional Colleges	" 26,30,815
Secondary Schools	" 33,81,219
Primary Schools	" 9,60,428
Other special Schools	" 43,17,915

Total Rs. 1,31,43,980

Now the question arises, if all the schools and colleges are removed from Government control, would we not spend Rs. 380 lacs, which is spent indirectly, on education? The reply is simple and in the negative. We can do away with the costly buildings, we can have a cheaper and still more efficient system of inspection, and we need not spend so much on the establishment of the Education Department. So that we shall be able to manage and control our institutions more efficiently and with much less expenditure, say not more than one crore of rupees. How I arrive at this figure. I shall explain further.

At this time, there are five classes of Educational Institutions in the country.

- I. Indigenous Schools and Colleges which the Government have totally crushed. Their ruins are met with here and there, and they have no connection with the Government in any way.
- II. Unaided recognised Schools and Colleges.
- III. Aided Schools and Colleges.
- IV. District Board and Municipal aided Schools and Colleges.
- V. Government Schools and Colleges.

Now the Schools and Colleges of the I and II Class are already receiving no monetary help from the Government. We have simply to provide for the institutions of the III and IV Classes and to arrange for those students who will leave the Government Schools and Colleges.

COLLEGE EDUCATION

The appended table B, shows that there are in India 148 arts colleges. Out of these, 28 are directly managed by the Government and Boards and 108, aided or unaided, are managed by private bodies. In all these colleges there are 50,730 scholars, the Government Colleges having 11,347, aided 25,124, and unaided 13,659 scholars. The unaided Colleges spend about Rs. 10 lacs on 13,659 students, the aided Rs. 38 lacs on 25,124 students and the Government Colleges Rs. 23 lacs on 11,347 students. All these Colleges practically give the same kind of education, in some cases the unaided colleges even give better education, (D. A. V. College vs. Government Colleges) but the Government colleges spend about three times as much, the aided about double as much as the unaided spend upon the same number of students. This is due to the extremely wasteful manner in which money is spent

upon the institutions run and controlled by the Government. If therefore aided institutions spend at the same rate as the unaided do, then all the aided institutions can work with Rs. 20 lacs annually. Thus simply by observing a little economy the aided colleges can reduce their expenses by 18 lacs a year. The aided colleges only get Rs. 9 lacs and 30 thousand as grant-in-aid. Thus we can do away with the Government grant-in-aid and carry on the present education without incurring any extra financial burden. The present Government college students can very well be absorbed by the existing aided and unaided colleges, and no extra expenses will be needed. But if some one were to object that it is impossible to curtail the present expenditure on education and that other-

wise the education will become worthless, I will suggest another course. The fee of the private colleges is 1/2, 2/3, 3/4 of the fee paid in the Government Colleges. If the fees are raised as in the Government Colleges, then we can get more than what Government pays to the aided Colleges as grant-in-aid. There is then no trouble about financing the College education, and with care and strong organization, we can run all the present arts colleges, with as much money as we are spending now, and we can totally dispense with the Government grants without causing the least harm to our education, or disturbing the present educational machinery. It will simply mean the closing of all the Govt. Colleges, because no students will be found to attend them.

TABLE B

Abstract Statement of the Arts Colleges; The Number of Scholars; The Amount of Expenditure and The Sources of Income.

Managed by	No. of Colleges.	No. of Scholars.	Provincial Revenue	Local Fund	Municipal Funds.	Total of Provincial Local fund & Municipal Fund	Fees.	Endowments	Subscription	Total	Grand Total.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Government	33	11347	1873553	.	2647	1876200	948551	29803	14940	992702	2868902
Local and Municipal	-	60	17332	7320	7670	34922	38389	1926	498	40813	75185
Aided	81	25112	886173	19575	33492	930120	1834111	320250	543145	2087514	3827624
Unaided	27	13659	.	...	.	.	780950	81784	143357	1006087	1006087
Total	140	50788	2779054	27905	37669	2840652	3602023	439863	701340	4737926	7577778

TABLE C

Abstract Statement of the Secondary Schools, the Numbers of Scholars, the Amount of Expenditure and the Sources of Income.

Managed by	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.	Provincial Revenue.	Local Funds	Municipal Funds.	Total	Fees.	Subscriptions.	Endowments	Total	Grand Total.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Government	177	10243	336121	2017	175	336493	247454	15249	24630	2417336	5809.26
Local & Municipal Board	377	21770	93212	4174	4174	97796	1462016	33776	18440	1515082	3917821
Aided	6	688	51878	4512	17531	63521	1012224	482475	979710	14855.9	20915638
Unaided	178	21709	.	.	.	.	400054	968712	42133	600099	6040299
Total	618	31278	381721	8703	18206	408643	3486686	600000	1454782	2158476	10061973

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

Coming now to secondary education we find, that the total number of Anglo-Vernacular Schools is 8,151 giving instruction to 12,12,713 pupils (boys and girls). The appended table C will show that there are 2,099 Government and District Board Schools, having 3,28,193 scholars,

The total expenditure on secondary education is Rs. 367 lacs. Out of this Rs. 97,26,948 is spent on Government and semi-Govt. schools which form about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total numbers of schools. The balance Rs. 2,69,44,957 is spent upon the remaining private Schools, both aided and unaided. The total Government, Local and Municipal annual grant

given to the aided Schools is Rs. 83,18,849. Thus the aided and the unaided spend from their own resources Rs. 2,06,26,103. It is calculated that the unaided Schools spend less per pupil than the aided and the unaided. The more expenditure is not incurred to give better education, but to cater for the vagaries and requirements of the inspectors, and to provide costly buildings, furniture, and apparatus. If, therefore, we spend on all the schools, Government, Semi-Government, aided, and unaided, at the rate (Rs. 23-4 As. per pupil), at which the unaided do, we can accomplish the whole work for Rs. 2,81,86,204. We are spending at present from our own resources, as already pointed out above, Rs. 2,06,26,103. Thus we will require Rs. 75,70,101, to nationalise the whole secondary education, arranging as well for 2099 students, we will increase our income through fees, endowments, subscription etc. as per table C by Rs. 99,32,338. In other words, there will only be a net deficit of Rs. 36,37,733 annually, which will have to be provided for to nationalise and control 8151 schools. As I have already said, the fees paid in private Schools are generally two-third or three-fourth of the fees of the Government schools. If therefore we raise the fees of aided

and unaided Schools as high as those in the Government Schools we will be able to get more than the deficit. This is not a vain hope, but we can expect at least that much sacrifice from the parents, when we are face to face with such a huge problem. Thus the whole secondary education will become self sufficient, but if some do not like the raising of fees, I will suggest some other methods of finance hereafter.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The appended statement D. will show that there are 1 lac and 50 thousands Primary Schools throughout British India giving instruction to 80 lacs of pupils. Out of this there are 44,447 Government District Municipal Board Schools educating 23,42,005 pupils, the Government Schools being only 1362 with 81,098 students, and 1,05,834, aided and unaided schools, providing instruction for 33,99,154 boys. A very large part of the primary education is under private control. It is obvious that the remarks made above apply with necessary changes to these schools also. This is in brief, the whole state of our Educational Finance. The one thing needful for nationalising Education is a strong central organisation.

TABLE D

Abstract Statement of Primary Schools, Number of Schools, the Amount of Expenditure, and the Sources of Income.

Managed by	No. of Schools	No. of Scholars	Provincial Revenue	Local Fund	Municipal Fund	Total	Fees	Subscriptions	Endowments	Total	Grand Total
			Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.
Government	1802	81008	560425	8589	1409	970465	31521	1513	182	33286	1003761
Board	43085	2460907	1064445	4930520	2462700	18037879	692624	107707	10456	1110780	19148465
Aided	90216	3004522	4161071	2741799	637475	7511287	3234387	8087255	406582	6728424	14238511
Unaided	15608	394632	.	...	..	.	421151	438462	68554	930567	936567
Total	150271	5941159	15795106	7680786	2071677	26458431	4089753	3030337	483778	8068862	33327294

ASSESSORS AND COURTS

To, The Additional Sessions Judge

Sir, I have received from your Court a summons to attend your Court on 31st January to act as an assessor in a criminal case. I regret I cannot do so.

As you are no doubt aware the Indian National Congress has asked the people to withdraw co-operation from the existing government of India until Swarajya is established. One of the items in the programme sanctioned by the Congress advises the boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants but I feel I ought not to assist even as an assessor the administration of justice in the Courts of a government which has forfeited the confidence of my country. I therefore wish to intimate to you that I will not be able to attend your Court for the above purpose.

Hydrabad Sind.
14th January 1921

Yours faithfully
Jijendra Das Desai

TO INTENDING SUBSCRIBERS

It has been noticed that a number of V. P.s sent as per orders are returned to us after a lapse of a month or two or sometimes even three, the addressees refusing or not obtaining the V. P.s. while they have been receiving the paper during the period. We therefore propose to send the paper with all the back issues from the first week of January, after receipt of the V. P. Money. But we would request our intending subscribers to send the subscriptions, Rs. 5 yearly, Rs. 3 half yearly, per money order.

NOTICE

Copies of the Constitution and the Non-co-operation resolution in a pamphlet form can be had from the Manager "Young India," Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad for one anna a copy, or by sending 6 mae stamps by post.

MADRAS LETTER.

THE DUKE'S RECEPTION.

If it were thought by the Government that Madras is the province least affected by Non-co-operation, they discovered the mistake in the reception of H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught. Immediately after the Congress, an intense agitation was kept up in Madras to boycott the royal visit. Lectures were held in street corners and placards were posted all round the city. Hand-bills, setting out the significance and danger of the Duke's visit, were distributed broad cast. On the 9th, the day before the Duke's arrival, a monster procession which, according to 'The Hindu', extended over half mile, with its gathering numbers reaching fifty thousand in its progress, went round all the important thoroughfares of the city, terminating at the Triplicane beach. The morning of the Duke's arrival found the city sombre and gloomy. A number of carts and *yulkas*, with a variety of flags and placards displayed on either side, went round the city. The government decorations looked dreary by contrast. The Publicity Bureau distributed leaflets and placards exhorting the people to join the Duke's procession and decorate their houses and shops. But, excepting the public offices and English firms, there was no response whatever, certain exceptions only proving the rule. Most of the shop-keepers closed their shops and hoisted black flags in front of them. The government clerks were marched into the galleries to present the spectacle of a loyal and enthusiastic city. Again, some hundreds, who were going to the beach to attend the counter-demonstration, were held up by the police and forced to sit in the stalls free of charge. At the same hour as the Duke's arrival, the people held a demonstration at the beach. Five platforms were arranged. The gathering according to 'The Hindu' was of over sixty thousand. Madras has witnessed only one such gathering before and that in April 1919. A resolution rejecting the reforms which the Duke came to fasten on us and demanding *Swarajya*, which the new reforms are intended to delay, was passed amidst thundering cheers.

Madras, 17-1-20.

"CASTE vs. CLASS"

To, The Editor, Young India
SIR,

Your editorials on the subject of caste as contained in your issues of 22nd and 23 ultimo constitute to my mind a specious instance of special pleading. The contributions are at once suggestive of an anxiety to bolster up a self-condemned and self-deceiving institution upon a credulous proletariat. Whatever purpose the caste system may have served three thousand years ago, common sense dictates that with the march of ages the original reasons for the institution must by now have ceased and that the order should in consequence and in the twentieth century be regarded but as an ugly nightmare of our lurid past. Traditions and customs die hard and our evil customs, once we admit their undesirability, must die, and die at once, if we would take our rightful part in the constructive work of the

new world. It should not take hours to convince one open to reason that caste is fundamentally false, fraternally inhuman, and religiously unauthoritative. It is false, because it denies to the Almighty His foremost attribute of Justice. It is inhuman because it takes no note of the delicacy of human feelings, and it is unauthoritative because it has not behind it the definite sanction of unadulterated religion. Of the first objection advanced, I hope you will admit the fundamental truth of the human creation that all men are born into the world equal in the sight of God. Caste categorically denies this—the one priceless and final reason for the existence of life itself. If men felt that they have been brought into the world with an unequal original status, social and spiritual, the very object of human existence would be frustrated. And what is that object? I will borrow from your own religious truths for the answer, and say, to attain "moksha". But moksha can only be attained by unceasing endeavour throughout one's life, prosecuted with all one's strength. Now if my brother emanates from the Head of the Creator, admittedly endowed *in advance* with all the spiritual attributes and I am born of the Creator's Feet confessedly deprived of any of those attributes, it is obvious that my brother and I enter the race of life from unequal and totally different positions. My brother starts life as a saint and I as a sinner. The race ceases to have any meaning for me. I refuse to enter the contest. I am content to remain where I am, make no progress and live and die as I was born—a sudra and an untouchable. If such be the Almighty's plan in his sublime handiwork of the human creation then by all means you are entitled to your proud institution of caste.

As regards the second objection that caste is inhuman in its conception and practice I will not linger long on a harrowing aspect. It is the soul which knows best where the harrow bears, and if the proud votary of the institution would know something of the soul crushing pain and anguish his handiwork is capable of, let him go and examine the wounds he has by his instrument, inflicted upon the silent suffering millions. He will, if he is at all honest, return to his religion a sadder and a wiser man.

Respecting the third objection adduced, that caste has not the authority of pure religion behind it, I must ask the caste-loving reader to accept that the institution is purely the result, as it were, of an afterthought. There was no such thing as caste in the pure unadulterated Hinduism of the ancients. Class there was but not caste. That religion was laudable for its purity, but that purity did not suit the ideas of its priesthood and so in 800 B. C. the idea of the "four divisions" was worked into the scriptures. That would now be nearly three thousand years ago. But as already remarked, is it not possible that in the cycle of three thousand years the first grounds for the institutions may have by now ceased to exist? If so, are we not to-day, three thousand years afterwards, slaves to customs the very reasons for which have now for long disappeared? The writer of the articles under examination enumerates various "advantages" accruing to us to-day from the caste system! But in as much as in these days of a measure of reason men can be found of a mentality so distorted as to hold that a fellow man is base-born, the fountain source of such

mental deduction should in the interests of not only India but the whole human race be removed for once and all from the bounds of civilization and the "advantages" sacrificed as the price of the abandonment.

J. ROYEPPEN

We make room for Mr. Royeppen's letter with pleasure. Mr. Royeppen is a Christian. But he, as any other Non-Hindu, is entitled to speak on this question. Mr. Royeppen has, however, raised issues which he will find best answered by a little deeper study of Hinduism and its Laws of Incarnation and Karma. He will then find that caste does not deny any fundamental truths of human creation, but only regulates the life of the individual, the family, the community to fulfill a common purpose, viz, Salvation or *moksha* of them all. For the rest we refer him to Mr. Gandhi's, and other articles on this subject in previous issues of "Young India"—Ed. Y. I.]

AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES IN RAE BAREIL

The *Leader* publishes the following from its special correspondent:—

Since I wired to you last things have been going on very badly with the poor, oppressed, misguided kisans. When I wrote to you on the 11th instant that there were no disturbances any longer, it seems I should have added, 'except trouble created by men to whom we look up as the guardians of law and order and the representatives of the ancient traditions of our Indian society.' I have seen a large number of kisans from different villages. Their tale of sufferings is woeful. Some of them have been brutally beaten by policemen without the knowledge or permission of the Superintendent of police. Certain taluqdars have taken the law into their own hands. The police have arrested about 400 persons. The servants of some taluqdars also have placed some kisans under their own custody. It is felt that the Governor's telegram of congratulations was very ill-advised. Even now it is not too late to mend matters. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Venkatesh Narain Dwivedi have arrived here and are doing their little bit to relieve the distress of the poor kisans. But non-officials cannot stop the oppression that is going on.

FIRING AT MUNSHIGANJ.

The people here can never accept the official justification for firing at Munshiganj. I asked the Deputy Commissioner how the firing began there. He said that there were 25 sowars with him, extended along a line of 200 yards. The object was to keep back the kisans. While the sowars were trying to push back the mob, they were attacked with lathis, and pelted with stones and *kanjars*. Some of the sowars received slight injuries, and two of them were unhorsed. Besides, he said, it was impossible for the sowars to get at a certain part of the mob who were throwing stones, as there was a railway wire between them and the sowars. The latter then opened fire. I asked the Deputy Commissioner whether he or the Superintendent of police gave this order to fire. He said that neither he himself nor the Superintendent of police gave any such order. But later on when some shots had been fired, some sowars went to the Superin-

tendent of police and asked him if they could fire, and he said that if they thought it necessary they could. In all, he said, about 48 shots were fired. He gave the order to cease fire afterwards. He said that the first shot was not fired by Sardar Biral Singh.

Sardar Sahib met me at Rae Bareilly railway station. He repudiated the charges made by the *Independent*. I told him that the Deputy Commissioner did not fire any shot, nor did the Superintendent of police. He was in less danger of losing his life than the Deputy Commissioner, inasmuch as he was standing behind him. He replied that at the time when he fired his pistol, he was not standing behind him. Later on he got behind him.

The Government should order an enquiry at once. It might be very foolish of the kisans to desire to see an 'absconded criminal.' But they were proceeding to the city with no criminal intentions. In releasing 660 men from the Rae Bareilly jail the Deputy Commissioner himself confessed that the jail was not meant for lunatics. They ought not to have been shot and killed for throwing *kanjars*....

NONE FREE WHO ENSLAVES OTHERS.

In the course of a soul inspiring address to the students of Calcutta Mr. Andrews made the following observation:—

I wish to say with deep conviction that independence can never be won, if the 80 to 70 millions of the untouchables, the depressed classes of India, remain still in subjection, which amounts almost to serfdom. No one can be truly free himself, no one is worthy of freedom, who enslaves others. To take my own case, I am an Englishman but England cannot be England to me, the England of Hampden and Cromwell and Milton, Burke and Shelly, Byron and Clarkson, Wilberforce and Bright and Gladstone. England cannot be England to me, the England I love, if she keeps others in subjection in her colonies, and her Empire, and if she holds down Ireland and India by military force and repression and India cannot be India to you, the India of your dreams (and of my dreams also, if I may speak as one of her children), if she keeps others in subjection. That is why the Mahatmaji himself has said that India cannot win "Swaraj" in one year or in a 100 years, if she does not give "Swaraj" to depressed classes, her own untouchables.

One more point, and I have done. India will not be the India of my dearest religious hopes on earth, if in her great struggle for freedom, she turns to the paths of bloodshed and violence—the pathway of the sword. I have said this as clearly as possible to my friend Maulana Shaukat Ali, and he understands me as he understands also the Mahatmaji and has promised to obey him. For it has been the dearest of the religious hopes hitherto in my own life. It has been the one dream that has sustained me all through these hideous years of bloodstained war, and no less bloodstained peace, that India may show to the world in acts and deeds of love what the sermon on the Mount really means. There is no room for Christian hypocrisy—'Come, O Lord Christ, come to India, take Thy stand in Asia, in the country of Buddha, of Senak, Kabir, Nanak, Sawai, Nitai, Shuk and Sanak.

OUR BENGAL AGENT.

Hemay Krishna Sen, B. A., 1-3 Mirzapur Street, Calcutta

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Notes.

Swaraj Sabha—Apropos of reorganisation, the question has been asked as to what is to become of Swaraj Sabha, Home Rule Leagues, etc. In my opinion their institutional activity, for the time being, should be Swaraj activity.

Patience wanted—The construction of an organisation such as I have adumbrated means patience. In their zeal, I understand, certain workers in Behar, with a view to bring about a reduction of prices, began to intimidate shopkeepers and are said to have used my name for that purpose. Such exhibition of force will defeat the end we have in view. If shopkeepers are not dealing honestly we must reason with them, and if they will not listen, we must set up national shops for the purpose of supplying cheap grain. As a matter of fact the grain traders being so many, are ill able to charge exorbitant prices. In any case the grain dealers too have got to be purified. They must be induced to introduce honesty and concern for the nation into their dealings.

Awakening in Behar—But these excesses will sometimes happen when a great revival is taking place. Fortunately, the leaders were able immediately to deal with the situation, and, probably, nobody even knows anything about the incident except those immediately concerned. Behar is silently, but surely, organising itself. Babu Rajendra Prasad has become the Principal of a National College which has some able professors on its staff, and their institution is making steady headway. The professors are mostly volunteers drawing just enough for livelihood.

Sitting Dhurna—Some students of Calcutta have revived the ancient form of barbarity in the form of 'sitting dhurna'. Fortunately, the practice was stopped as soon as it was revived. They blocked the passage of their fellow students who wanted to go to the University for paying their fees or to see some officials of the educational department. I call it 'barbarity' for it is a crude way of using coercion. It is also cowardly because one who sits 'dhurna' knows that he is not going to be trampled over. It is difficult to call the peace-seekers violent but it is certainly worse. If we fight our opponent we at least enable him to return the blow. But when we challenge him to walk over us we know very well that he will not, we place him in a most awkward

and humiliating position. I know that the over-zealous students who sat *dharma* never thought of the barbarity of the deed. But one, who is expected to follow the voice of conscience and stand even single-handed in the face of odds, cannot afford to be thoughtless. Non-co-operation, if it fails, will fail only through internal weakness. There is no such thing as defeat in Non-co-operation. It never fails. Its so-called representatives may so badly represent their cause that it may appear to the spectators to have failed. Let non-co-operationists therefore beware of everything they do. There must be no impatience, no barbarity, no insolence, no undue pressure. If we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy, we cannot afford to be intolerant. Intolerance betrays want of faith in one's cause.

The need for Hindustani—I have ventured to advise every student to devote this year of our trial to the manufacture of yarn and learning Hindustani. I am thankful to the Calcutta students that they have taken kindly to the suggestion. Bengal and Madras are the two provinces that are cut off from the rest of India for want of a knowledge of Hindustani on their part. Bengal, because of its prejudice against learning any other language of India, and Madras, because of the difficulty of the Dravidians about picking up Hindu and. An average Bengali can really learn Hindustani in two months if he gave it three hours per day and a Dravidian in six months at the same rate. Neither a Bengali nor a Dravidian can hope to achieve the same result with English in the same time. A knowledge of English opens up intercourse only with the comparatively few English knowing Indians, whereas a passable knowledge of Hindustani enables us to hold intercourse with the largest number of our countrymen. I do hope the Bengalis and the Dravidians will come to the next Congress with a workable knowledge of Hindustani. Our greatest assembly cannot be a real object lesson to the masses unless it speaks to them in a language which the largest number can understand. I appreciate the difficulty with the Dravidians, but nothing is difficult before their industrious love for the Motherland.

The place of English—Alongside of my suggestion about Hindustani has been the advice that the students should during the transition period go from inferiority to equality—from foreign domination to Swaraj from helplessness to self-help—

suspend their study of English. If we wish to attain Swaraj before the next Congress, we must believe in the possibility, we must do all that we are capable of doing for its advancement, and one must do nothing that would not advance it or would actually retard it. Now adding to our knowledge of English cannot accelerate our progress towards our goal and it can acerbicably retard it. The latter calamity is a reality in many cases for there are many who believe that we cannot acquire the spirit of freedom without the music of the English words ringing in our ears and sounding through our lips. This is an infatuation. If it were the truth, Swaraj would be as distant as the Greek Kalends. English is a language of international commerce, it is the language of diplomacy, and it contains many a rich literary treasure, it gives us an introduction to western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary. They can carry on the departments of national commerce and international diplomacy, and for giving to the nation the best of western literature, thought, and science. That would be the legitimate use of English. Whereas today English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned our mother-tongues. It is an unnatural place due to our unequal relations with Englishmen. The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. It is doing violence to the manhood and specially the womanhood of India to encourage our boys and girls to think that an entry into the best society is impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj.

My 'stable Companion'—Commander Wedgwood has not done justice to himself in his article in the *Nation*. I am afraid that he wrote without a proper study of facts and persons. I do not wish to deal with inaccuracies concerning myself. But his ignorance of Maulana Shaukat Ali is amazing. He does not understand the secret of the power of Maulana Shaukat Ali who is one of the sincerest of men I have had the privilege of meeting. I do not believe that he hates Englishmen—or anybody for that matter. He certainly loves his religion as life itself. He does believe in non-violence, though he believes equally in violence. If he cannot secure honourable terms for the Khilafat by means of non-violence, and if he finds that he can usefully lead his people on the path of violence, he will do so. If ever he thinks it necessary to offer violence he will do it on terms that the world will consider beyond reproach. His conviction about non-violence is not only not 'skin-deep' but is derived from the life of the Prophet. He is enjoined to refrain from violence so long as it is possible to attain his purpose by non-violent means. Col. Wedgwood's article would almost show that Maulana Shaukat Ali is simply thirsting for blood. Surely he should know that a soldier although he

believes in violence, may still be credited with qualities of the heart viz kindness, charity, and benevolence. I assure him that Maulana Shaukat Ali is as good a soldier, as the gallant Colonel himself. I have entered upon this reply because I am anxious that Englishmen should not misjudge the Ali brothers and the Muslim attitude. The Ali brothers have rendered a service to humanity by restraining themselves and their fellow religionists when their passions might have got the better of them. And this amazing self-restraint is a most eloquent demonstration of their intense religious faith. It saddens me when I find Englishmen, even like Col. Wedgwood, rushing to conclusions. Nothing retards a peaceful settlement as this refusal on the part of Englishmen to see things as they are.

M. K. G.

'HIS STABLE COMPANION'

Opening with the sentence, "India is drifting into anarchy" Col. Wedgwood's article in the *Nation*, to which Mr. Gandhi makes a reference in his note describes Maulana Shaukat Ali as follows:—

The saint's (Mr. Gandhi's) mates are not of his own sort. Shaukat Ali is his stable companion, and Shaukat Ali once a cricketer and now a fanatic, stands seven feet broad, in a great green cloth and high, white astrakhan cap. Shaukat Ali is a likable, big, bluff, hearty man, when you meet him but his veins of the virtues of passive resistance are hardly skin deep. He works up the Moslem "Ulemas" and "Peers," and procures "fatwas," and gets the worse of religious fanaticism by doing so. He calls the mixed crowd "brothers," but the only brothers he recognises are brothers in fact. The Sultan of Rampore (his native State) has taken from him his family, his goods, and home. He has lost all except his sixteenth-century faith. "Tell the Government that I am too fat to rub," he says to those who warn him of an imminent arrest.

A revision of the Sevres Treaty will hardly appease Shaukat Ali. For him the British are *kafirs* for whom there is no place in India. And the strength of the Non-co-operation movement is among the Moslems. It is the Moslem colleges that the students have deserted; it is the Moslem seats on the Council that have been captured. It is the Moslem seats on the Council that find no electors or candidates. It is the recalcitrant Moslems who feel the first and full weight of the social boycott. The Hindus, writhing under memorias of Martial Law, understand neither the man nor the cause, and are a little nervous of the whirlwind, while Shaukat and his brother, Mahmood, would even stop cow-killing to cement the alliance and remove the rascals of those who have trampled on the Khilafat and on the people of God.

The *Chronicle* reports that students in large numbers have withdrawn from the three Arts Colleges in Bombay. The number of non-cooperators has reached one thousand, 63 students of the Grant Medical College have intimated their desire to leave the college. 530 students from Durrwar have also non-cooperated.

The lead given by Bengal has restored the Gujarat College of Ahmedabad also. Prof. Swam. Narayan, the senior professor of mathematics, and Mr. L. G. Patel, Demonstrator in Physics have resigned, some 20 students have come out while many more are expected to follow.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday 2nd, February, 1921.

THE DUTY OF SPINNING.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

In 'The Secret of Swaraj' I have endeavoured to show what home spinning means for our country. In any curriculum of the future, spinning must be a compulsory subject. Just as we cannot live without breathing and without eating, so is it impossible for us to attain economic independence and banish imperialism from this ancient land without reviving home spinning. I hold the spinning wheel to be as much a necessity in every household as the hearth. No other means can be devised to solve the problem of the deepening poverty of the people.

How then can spinning be introduced in every home? I have already suggested the introduction of spinning as a compulsory subject in every school. Boys and girls have learnt the art and they can easily carry it to the homes.

In this regard I suggest the following. A spinning wheel must be worked for twelve hours per day. A professional spinner can spin two tolas and a half per hour. The price of cotton at present is on an average four annas per forty tolas or one pound of yarn. He can therefore spin four tolas per day. A strong one costs seven rupees. Working therefore, at the rate of twelve hours per day he can pay for himself in less than 35 days. I have given enough figures to work upon. Anyone working at them will find the results to be startling.

If every school introduced spinning, it would revolutionize our system of primary education. We can work a child for six hours per day and give free education to the people. Supposing a boy works at the wheel for five hours daily, he will produce every day 1½ tolas of yarn and thus earn for his school one anna per day. Suppose further that he manufactures very nice cloth in the first month, and that he can work every day for six days in the month. He can earn in the first month Rs. 1½ per month. A child of five years of age, after the first month, will earn Rs. 4½ per month.

I have also suggested that literary training can be given during the two hours of the day. It is my hope that every school can be made to work on this system and that the nation can engage experienced teachers for its schools.

The chief difficulty in working out the scheme is the spinning wheel. We require thousands of wheels of the best type, cheap, popular. Fortunately, every village carpenter can easily construct one. I have seen many wheels made to order here in Ahmedabad at any of our places. The beauty of spinning is that it is increasingly simple as one learns, and can be easily introduced in every village.

I have also suggested that no child should be sent to school for the year of primary education. When the child is five years of age, it is better to let him work at the wheel for one hour only and give the rest to literary training.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

(By C. F. Andrews.)

I see that, on account of my expression of regret for some one-sided statements made at the Bombay Students' Convention, some doubt has been raised as to my attitude towards the National Education movement as a whole. Perhaps the best answer that I can give is to state publicly that I have accepted with the greatest happiness every request that has come to me asking for my assistance in the new National Universities. Thus as far as possible, I have identified myself with them in their great venture of faith. I seem to see in these efforts the dawn of the day of Independence.

I would add, if I may be allowed to do so, that this protest, which has led me forward, has gone far deeper than mere politics. As the Editor of *Jyotish* has rightly pointed out, it is against certain evil forms of Western Civilization that I have been protesting, not merely against Western Government. If I may venture to repeat my own words at the Bombay Students' Convention, they are as follows and I would wish every word to stand:—

"The true education of ancient India, in the time of her highest aspirations, was not given amid the paraphernalia of great, ugly buildings and cumbersome furniture, costing fabulous sums of money, but in the school rooms of the forest ashramas under the eucalyptus trees and in thatched mud cottages. Outwardly there was every sign of poverty. But inwardly there were riches, in those very forest schools, some of the highest flights of human thought to which mankind has ever attained. The ideal of the forest hermitage is not a dead ideal of the past. It is the very secret, so I fervently believe, of India's past national greatness in Education. It is the secret which must be learnt afresh in the days of freedom and enlightenment which are now dawning. We must revive this ideal of simplicity, which has been saturated away by the West. The West is brought in its place a vulgar ideal, the ideal of bigness, the ideal of power. That is not the ancient ideal, the ideal of India, or China, or Japan. Because, I speak as a convert, as one who has been converted from the false religion, the worship of riches and power—believe me, Europe herself and America also, will eventually have to bow before this ideal and so lose its numbers as have others, if they are to enter into the kingdom of heaven. Learning is its liberty and truth."

All this does not imply that I would refuse blindly every thing that belongs to Western Civilization. That is the last thing I would wish to do for there is much in it that is both good and wholesome for our mind and to assimilate. But there is much that is evil and unwelcome, and I cannot but regret to see our young people being prepared on matters of space through a thousand channels and having their minds long formed in the young generation to be dependent and subservient.

AT THE POINT OF THE SPINDLE

Sreemati Sarala Devi Chaudhrani has sent the following to the Press —

MY BENGALI BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I heard Mahatma Gandhi's call to the students of the Gujarat National College to give up their scholastic studies for a year and to take to spinning for six hours a day, and I have read his appeal to Young Bengal, I wish to convey to you the full import of it as it has dawned on the heart of one of you—a child of Bengal.

The British came to India not as an Alexander or a Buonaparte, but as a band of traders. Their aim was not the construction of an Empire but the destruction of an Industry. It was on the ashes of the spinning wheel that the foundation of the British Raj was laid. A homely craft was murdered, and the peace and plenty of Indians robbed to fatten the shareholders and directors of factory-promoting companies of England. In the words of their own historians, the British manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor—the weaver of Bengal with whom he could not have contended on equal terms. This was the beginning of the end of India's independence.

Let me take you along with me a few steps further.

In due course, the commercial policy underlying the British rule excluded altogether from English markets the cotton and silk goods of India, which could be sold for a profit in the British market. By prohibition and by excessive duties on Indian goods the British goods were protected.

For, "had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacturer. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her."

The British political economists professed the principles of free trade from the latter end of the eighteenth century, the British nation declined to adopt them till they had crushed the manufacturing power of India and reared their own manufacturing power. Then the British Nation turned free traders and invited other nations to accept free trade principles. The other nations, including the British colonies, know better, and are now rearing their Manufacturing Power by protection. But in India the Manufacturing Power of the people was stamped out by protection against her industries, and then free trade was forced on her so as to prevent a revival."

On the wake of the ruin of the weavers followed the ruin of the agriculturists, who were often the same people, by a system of Land Taxes heavy beyond measure. Inland trade declined under a system of monopoly and coercion of private English traders. Then followed the railroads which, constructed by foreign capital and paying interest to foreign shareholders, destroyed the

living of millions of boatmen and boatbuilders, cartmen and bullock-owners." The British administrators observed "there was no river in the world on which there was a larger navigation than on the Ganges—thirty thousand boatmen found their livelihood on that river as far back as 1780 and the number had since increased." Every foreigner was struck "by the constant succession of boats moving up and down the river, never appearing for a moment altogether clear, and was impressed by "the extent to which this magnificent stream ministered to the wants of commerce and of the traveller such as defied the attempt at computation." The blow was struck at its usefulness and profit to the children of the soil and help was given to further the cause of British exploitation and military aggression by the Indian Government guaranteeing a rate of interest out of revenues to Companies of British traders constructing railways in India.

An honest English administrator has remarked—

"The people of Bengal had been used to tyranny, but had never lived under an oppression so far-reaching in its effects, extending to every village market and every manufacturer's loom. They had been used to arbitrary acts from the man in power, but had never suffered from a system which touched their trades, their occupations, their lives so closely. The springs of their industry were stopped, the sources, of their wealth were dried up."

The above brief survey of British policy in India shows that the groaning of the people under foreign rule, their reduction and poverty and distress, and death by starvation with failure of crop even in a single province, all is in consequence of the loss of their manufacturing power.

But be it noted this manufacturing power of India lay not principally in her looms but primarily in her spinning wheels. The looms of Dacca are still working—using machine-made yarns of England and Japan. The hand that spun in India supplied the nation with food, comfort, and liberty. It is at the point of the spindle only that we shall win back our freedom. Our national soldiers must retrace and go back to the point of vantage which they left unwillingly a century and a half ago. By simply using hand-spun and hand-woven clothes of India we can effectually give that protection to Indian interests which has been cruelly and unfairly denied her by a foreign master. The revival and protection of a dead art, the regeneration of a lost craft, the remodelling of Indian homes, the reclothing of India by India's own hands—this is the *Alpha* and *Omega* of Swaraj.

Cloth, Cloth, Cloth everywhere, bundles and bundles of them—of all sizes, shades and degrees of unness—yet not a yard's length to call our own! It is Indian cloth which supplied the markets of the world a couple of centuries ago, yet India is a beggar today looking to other countries to cover her nakedness. *Dashashwini*, bad Government, has been attempting to delude her, there is yet time to save her from disgrace. The sons of *Bharata* have only to be believers in the *Sudarshana Chakra*.

(Charkha) the spinning wheel of the nation. The Chakrapani—and not the shulapani, the Srikrishna within you all, will be the protector and will preserve the nation in its distress.

Why should the whole nation, you would ask, turn into spinners to revive the dead art? Why should not the weaving class who have the experience, the skill and the practice of centuries on their finger-tips alone be appealed to.

The answer is: not only to precipitate production in large quantities to replace foreign stuff within the year, but to atone for the sins of the past of a whole nation. For the oppressor's right hand was the people, as a whole—the Gornasthas, the agents and the thousand and one unresisting foolish servants of the English Companies and private traders—the forefathers of us all. But for their aid the foreigner would not have succeeded in his acts of coercion and spoliation. I have only to put before you a vivid picture drawn by an English merchant of those days to bring the fact home to you.

"It may, with truth, be now said that the whole inland trade of the country, as at present conducted, and that of the company's investment for Europe in a more peculiar degree has been one continued scene of oppression; the baneful effects of which are severely felt by every weaver and manufacturer in the country, every article produced being made a monopoly; in which the English with their Bnyans and black Gornasthas, arbitrarily decide what quantities of goods each manufacturer shall deliver, and the prices he shall receive for them..... upon the Gornastha's arrival at the Aurang or manufacturing town, he fixes upon a habitation which he calls his catcherry; to which by his peons and hercarahs, he summons the brokers, called dala and pykars, together with the weavers, whom after receipt of the money despatched by his masters he makes to sign a bond for the delivery of a certain quantity of goods, at a certain time and price, and pays them a certain part of the money in advance. The assent of the poor weaver is in general not deemed necessary; for the gornasthas when employed on the company's investment, frequently make them sign what they please; and upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, it has been known they have had it tied in their girdles and they have been sent away with a flogging A number of these weavers are generally also registered in the books of the company's gornasthas, and not permitted to work for any other, being transferred from one to another as so many slaves, subject to the tyranny and roguery of each succeeding gornastha.....The roguery practised in this department is beyond imagination: but all terminates in the defrauding of the poor weaver; for the prices which the company's gornasthas, and in confederacy with them the Jeshendras (examiners of fabrics), fix upon the goods are in all places at least 15 percent, and some even 40 percent less than the goods so manufactured would sell in the public bazar or market upon free sale.....Weavers also, upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced upon them by the company's agents, universally known in Bengal by the name of Thutebuleahs, have had their goods seized and sold on the spot to make good the deficiency; and the winders of raw silk, called Nagodas have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known

of their cutting off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk."

The agriculturists were also treated similarly. "The Ryots, by the oppressions of gornasthas in harassing them for goods are frequently rendered incapable of improving their rents; for which on the other hand, they are again chastised by the officers of the revenue, and not infrequently have by those harries been necessitated to sell their children in order to pay their rents or otherwise obliged to fly the country."

In his report on the evils of the Custom House operations a Governor-General observed:—

"Every merchant, every manufacturer and every trader is, as it were, compelled for the security of his property or the protection of his personal comfort and not unfrequently for that of the feelings of the females of his family, to enter into unlawful collusion with the officers of government."

Thus the degrading effect of the British system of administration upon the national morals of India has been ever more deplorable than upon the nation's wealth and comfort. This bondage of immorality we have to tear off. At each turn of the spinning wheel one of its wrappings is to be unwound. This is the process of self-purification of the nation. The battery of the spinning wheel alone can bring about a flawless moral revolution which will withstand the doubly destructive—physical and moral—machine power of England. This is my reading of the message of the national visionary who is blessed with provision through the lens of a lofty mission.

IN THE THROES OF A NEW BIRTH.

At a monster meeting of student held in Mirzapur Park, Calcutta, Mr. Gandhi spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and friends,—Let me congratulate the students of Bengal on the very magnificent response they have returned to the call of the country. I knew that the students of Calcutta were waiting for my friend Mr. C. R. Das to give them the lead. I congratulate him upon his having given you the lead and I congratulate you, the students of Bengal, upon having followed that lead. But you know as well as I do that the task for him and for you has only just commenced. We are in the throes of a new birth and we are experiencing all the difficulties and all the pains that attend a new birth. It is not enough for him, it is not enough for India that you have emptied the Colleges. It is absolutely necessary that you must not return to the colleges and schools that you have abandoned, and it is necessary for him to find out for you the work that you should do during this period of probation, during this period of purification.

THE ONLY WAY.

It has now become necessary for Mr. C. R. Das and for you to put your heads together and devise means whereby you may complete the work that you have begun. Any way, you, the students who have withdrawn from the Government and Government-aided schools have completed your work. But in order that that work may be sustained, that that work may be continued, and in order that your services may be harnessed for the attainment of Swaraj, it is necessary to find out the ways and means. And I cannot describe to you how much it grieves me to find that whilst the student world has responded

so nobly, the professors and educationists and the trustees of the great educational institutions of Bengal are not giving the lead they should have. In drawing your attention and their attention to this fact, I do not wish to be understood as casting any reflection upon them, or their love for the country. I know, I am convinced, they believe that you have erred. I know that they believe that Mr. Das has erred in asking you not to seek shelter behind your conscience but to respond to the call of the nation. They believe that I am grievously in error in having presented Non-co-operation to the country, and they sincerely believe that I am still more grievously in error in having advised the students to boycott Government educational institutions.

But in spite of all the experience that I have gone through, in spite of all that I have heard and read, and in spite of all the reverence that I tender to our elders and our leaders, I am here to confess before you that I am more than ever convinced of the correctness of the step that I have suggested to the country. I am more than ever convinced that if we desire to establish the Swaraj of our choice, if we want to retrieve the lost honour of India, if we want to retrieve the honour of Islam which is trembling in the balance, it is absolutely necessary for us to tell this Government that it shall not receive any help from us, nor will we receive any help from a Government which has forfeited all confidence. I know those of you who are sceptics will tell me or tell yourselves, that you have heard this kind of talk many a time from such platforms: it is true. But Max Muller has told us—he has paraphrased a Sanskrit proverb—that a truth always bears repetition until it has gone home, and I propose to reiterate this truth in the ears of my countrymen—to reiterate this truth before our leaders till it goes home: till they respond to it. I am here to repeat what I have said from so many platforms that India will not regain her lost honour—her lost freedom—until India has responded to the call of Non-co-operation. It is not possible for Indians, constituted as we are, to give battle to this great Government on any other terms.

THE GENESIS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

Non-co-operation is bred in the very marrow of every Indian, and if you want to know why the crores and millions of the masses have responded to the call of Non-co-operation as they have never responded to any other call, it is not because I gave voice to that call. Non-co-operation is born, is bred in them—it is part of every religion—it is part of Hinduism—it is part of Islam, and it is for that reason that, fallen though we are, helpless though we feel ourselves to be, Non-co-operation has awakened us from this long sleep. Non-co-operation has given us faith, has given us courage, has given us hope, and strength.

THE REASON FOR SCEPTICISM.

And if our educated leaders have not yet responded to the call of Non-co-operation, let me say with all the humility that I can command that they are sceptics, they have not the religious fire of the people and the masses. They are saturated in modern civilisation, or as we call it Western civilisation. I have used the term western civilisation, but I want you and myself this evening to distinguish between the two. I want to make it clear that I am no hater of the West. I am thankful to the West for many a thing I have learnt from Western literature, but I am here to confess

to you that I am thankful to modern civilisation for teaching me that, if I want India to rise to its fullest height, I must tell my countrymen frankly that, after years and years of experience of modern civilisation, I have learnt one lesson from it and that is that we must shun it at all costs. What is that modern civilisation? It is the worship of the material, it is the worship of the brute in us—it is unadulterated materialism, and modern civilisation is nothing if it does not think at every step of the triumph of material civilisation.

THE MODERN CIVILIZATION.

And if I did not know my country, if I did not know the mass mind, I would also have erred, and I would also have been misled, even as I contend that educated India has been misled. You, my countrymen, know that I have lived for 20 years in the midst of modern activity—I have lived in a country which has copied everything that is modern. I have lived in a country which is pulsating with new life. South Africa contains some of the bravest of men on the face of the earth and I have seen modern civilisation worked by that nation at its best; and I am here to tell you, the youngmen of Bengal, and I am here to tell my educated leaders, that my experience of modern civilisation, worked at its best, told me in emphatic terms in the year 1908: "God save India from that modern curse". This is a lesson that I have learnt in South Africa though it is the lesson that I have followed up since 1908, and which slowly but surely I have been preaching in season and out of season during my five year's stay in India. And it was my faith in our ancient civilisation—it was my faith in our simplicity,—it was my faith in the modern religious instincts of every Indian—be he a Hindu or be he a Mahomedan, Christian, Parsi or a Jew—it is that faith in me which has sustained me throughout all the dark days of scoffing, of scepticism, and of opposition.

A RELIGIOUS BATTLE

I know that opposition stares you and stares me in the face even to-day. We have just broken the ground, but it is true that if we are going to win this great battle that you, the people of Calcutta, commenced in September of last year we shall have to continue as we have begun in full faith. I am not ashamed to repeat before you who seem to be nurtured in modern traditions—who seem to be filled with the writing of modern writers, I am not ashamed to repeat before you that this is a religious battle. I am not ashamed to repeat before you that this is an attempt to revolutionise the political outlook—that this is an attempt to spiritualise our politics. And the more we have of it, I assure you the greater progress we shall make towards our goal. It is because I believe that the mass mind of India is to-day ready, it is because I believe that the mass mind of India is tired of this British rule in its present form that I have made bold to say that Swaraj is easily attainable within one year.

SWARAJ IN EIGHT MONTHS.

Four months of this one year have already gone by, and my faith has never burnt as brightly as it burns tonight, as I am talking to the young men of Bengal. You have given me greater hope, you have given me greater courage—you have given me greater strength. May God grant that Shaukat Ali and Mahommed Ali and I will live to erect this flag of Swaraj inside this year! But if it is the will of God that my ashes should be placed in the Ganges water before the eight months of the year is out, I shall die with the conviction that you will see to it that Swaraj is secured before this year is out.

This is not as difficult as you may imagine. The difficulty lies with our conviction. The difficulty lies in our believing that we want to have lessons in Swaraj in the Council hall. The difficulty lies in our believing that we cannot get Swaraj until we have passed through a sixteen years' course of education, and if we believe in all these things I shall be free to confess that we should require a century to get Swaraj. But it is because I believe that we need, not these things, but we need faith, courage and strength and it is because I believe that the masses have got all these things today that I believe that Swaraj is attainable within this year.

INDIA OF THE MASSES.

And what does the appeal of the Congress mean? The Congress appeal means that you and I, that the whole of educated India, the whole of the mercantile community of India—a mere drop in the ocean of millions of people of India, the artisans and the agriculturists—have a task placed before them. And believe me that the Congress will isolate India and wrest Swaraj from insolent hands and establish the flag of Freedom, if possible with your assistance, even without your assistance if need be. The whole of India is not concentrated in the educated India of to-day. India can sustain its hope, even if the whole of educated India were to remain sceptical, were to remain without hope, and faith, and courage, and strength. It is that faith which sustains me. But I am hoping that if the student world and if the students of Bengal remain true to their vow, I am hoping that the professors and the trustees and the educationists of Bengal and India will respond to the call and their winter of discontent will be turned by you into the summer of hope.

NO BASE COPY.

I ask you the young men of Bengal to abide by the decision that you have come to—no matter what happens. I know that Mr. C. R. Das is going to remain true to his promise. He has already received a promise of Rs. 10,000 to be given to him now and ten thousand annual contribution from a great Bengali. He has received certain promises from the Marwaris—the domineered Marwaris of Cochin and he is going to receive many more promises, as the finance is concerned, but finance is the least part of the difficulty. He has to find out a habitation for having the college located. He has to find out better professors. And I ask you students who have non-co-operated not to set before yourselves the old standard, even as this Swaraj of our dream is not to be a base copy of what we have to-day. So will you please see that what you get in the shape of a new college is not to be a base copy of what you have to-day. You will not look to brick and mortar. You will not look to benches and chairs for inspiration, you will look to character. You will look to sterling character in your professors and in your teachers for inspiration. You will look to your own determination to give you the necessary impetus and necessary inspiration. And I promise you that you will then not be disappointed, but if you believe that Mr. Das is going to present you with noble buildings, if you believe that he is going to give every ease and luxury to which you have been hitherto used, you will certainly be disappointed.

A NEW GOSPEL

I have come this evening to present before you a newer gospel, a better gospel. If you are determined to attain Swaraj inside of twelve months, if you are determined to help to attain Swaraj within one year then I

ask you to make the way of those who have dedicated their lives to the attainment of Swaraj easier and clearer by accepting the advice that I am about to tender to you. If you believe that Swaraj can be attained by continuing your colleges and schools precisely in the same manner as the institutions that you have left are being conducted, you are sadly mistaken. No country in the world has gained its liberty has seen a new birth without difficulties, without pain, without sacrifice. And what is sacrifice? The right meaning of sacrifice I learnt in my youth was that it meant making sacred, making holy. Non-co-operation is a process of purification, and if a suspension of our ordinary routine is necessary for the purpose of that purification, that has to be done. I know, if I know Bengal at all, that you will not shrink if and you will respond.

THE DUTY OF SPINNING

Our education has been the most deficient in two things. Those who formed our education code neglected the training of the body and the soul. You are receiving the education of the soul but the very fact of Non-co-operation for Non-co-operation is nothing less and nothing more than withdrawing from participation in the evil that this Government is doing and continuing to do. And if we are withdrawing from evil conscientiously, deliberately, it means that we are washing our face towards God. That completes or begins the soul training. But seeing that our bodily education has been neglected, and seeing that India has become enslaved because India forgot the spinning wheel, and because India sold herself for a mess of pottage, I am not afraid to place before you, the young men of Bengal, the spinning wheel for adoption. And let a training in spinning and production of as much yarn as you can ever do constitute your main purpose and your main training during this year of probation. Let your ordinary education commence after Swaraj is established, but let every young man, and every girl, of Bengal consider it to be their sacred duty to devote all their time and energy to spinning. I have drawn attention to the parallel that presents itself before us, from the war.

WAR SERVICE.

Those of you who know anything about what was going on in England will recall those days of the War when every boy, and every girl had suspended their education—ordinary education, and were put upon such national work as was necessary for the purpose of the War. They were put upon simple tailoring, upon making badges and what was done even here. I recall many a home where even little children were put to work and the Government looked upon my activity with sympathy, with attention and approval, when I presented to the youths of Kaira the opportunity of fighting on the battle-field even though their parents might be against it. Times have changed and I am now twitted for asking young men who have got heads on their shoulders and who have conscience in their hearts—I am twitted for asking these youngmen and girls and for having the audacity to tell them that they should rather obey the voice of their conscience than the voice or commands of even their parents. But I say to the youngmen and young girls of Bengal that is your voice, the voice of your conscience, tells you that during this year of probation you should devote your energy and attention to the attainment of Swaraj, then you will believe me when I tell you that it is impossible to arrive at a complete boycott of foreign cloth or foreign goods until and unless we employ every man,

woman and child on spinning yarn. We have spun many a yarn during all these long 35 years on the Congress platform. Let us now spin the truest yarn that India wants, and let me tell you that, if you want to feed the hungry, to cloth the naked, there is no other way out of the difficulty but spinning for the whole of India. And so I ask you youngmen of Bengal to accept the privilege that I place at your feet. And if we can bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth we sterilise the activity of the fifty-five members of the House of Commons that Lancashire contributes to it, we sterilise the activities of ambitious Japan who has her eyes fixed and set upon India. You will not gain your economic freedom, as the Congress has told you, until India becomes self-contained so far as her food and clothing are concerned. We can do without all things but we cannot do without food and clothing. A vast country like India, 1800 miles long and 1500 miles broad, cannot possibly become self-contained by any other means than the means of old. If you want to do penance for what Bengal did and what the whole of India did during the East India Company's regime, even then you have no other remedy—no other penance open to you but to revive those noble arts and industries and to present India with sufficient yarn, so that the prices of cloth and clothing may both go down and so that India may not have to depend upon foreigners for her special needs.

AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY.

So young men of Bengal, if you will work in order to gain Swaraj within one year, you will accept the advice of a man who has conducted a series of experiments, to whom this gospel came in the year 1908, and who has not yet been ousted from it by a hair's breadth. The more I have studied the economics of India, the more I have listened to the mill-owners of India, the more convinced I have become that until we introduce the spinning wheel in every home of India, the economic salvation and freedom of India is an impossibility. Go to any mill-owner you like, he will tell you that it will require fifty years if India is to become self-contained, so far as cloth supplies are concerned, if she has to depend upon her mills alone. And let me supplement the information by telling you that today hundreds and thousands of weavers are weaving and are able to weave home-spun yarn, but they have to fall back upon foreign yarn because mills cannot supply them. So I ask the young friends of Bengal who have left their colleges to go forward in hope and courage and take up this neglected training of the hand for at least the time that we have not attained Swaraj and then think of anything else.

THE NEED FOR HINDUSTANI.

I have suggested another thing. You and I, and every one of us has neglected the true education that we should have received in our national schools. It is impossible for the young men of Bengal, for the young men of Gujarat, for the young men of the Deccan to go to the Central Provinces, to go to the United Provinces, to go to the Punjab and all these vast tracts of India which speak nothing but Hindustani, and therefore I ask you to learn Hindustani also in your leisure hours—the hours that you may be able to save after spinning. And if you will learn these things you can learn both spinning and Hindustani in two months. An intelligent, gentle lad, a

patriotic and hardworking lad, I promise you, can learn both these in two month's time. And then you are free to go out to your villages—you are free to go to every part of India but Madras, and be able to speak your mind to the masses. Do not consider for one moment that you can possibly make English a common medium of expression between the masses. Twenty-two crores of Indians know Hindustani—they do not know any other language. And if you want to steal into the hearts of 22 crores of Indians, Hindustani is the only language open to you. If you will do but these two things, during this year, during these nine months, believe me, you will have, by the time you have finished, acquired courage and acquired strength which you do not possess today. I know thousands of students—black despair stares them in the face if they are told that they cannot get Government employ. If you are bent upon ending or mending this Government how do you propose to get Government employ? If you do not want to fall back upon Government, what is your English knowledge worth? I do not wish to under-rate the literary value of the English language. I do not wish to under-rate the vast treasures that are buried in the English books. I do not want to suggest to you that we have overrated the importance of the English language but I do venture to suggest to you that the English language finds very little place in the economy of Swaraj.

ALL FOR THE MOTHERLAND.

You do not need to increase the stock of English words in order to gain Swaraj and so I have suggested to the youngmen of Gujarat that they should suspend their literary training in English for these nine or twelve months and devote their time and their leisure to learning spinning and to learning Hindustani and then place themselves at the disposal of India, and join the National Service that is going to be formed. You are not going to respond to the great constitution that the Congress has given unless we have got an army of workers penetrating the seven and a half lakhs of villages with which India is studded, if we are going to set up a rival organisation in every village of India, if we are going to have a representative of the Congress in every village of India, we cannot do so until and unless the youngmen of India respond to the Motherland. The privilege to pay is yours. The call today has come to the youngmen of Bengal and the rest of India. I hope, I have every confidence, that all the youngmen and all the young girls of India will respond to this sacred call. I promise that before the year is out you will not have regretted the day that you set your heart upon these two things, and you will find at the end of the chapter that what I am saying to you to-night has come true, that you have vindicated the honour of India, you have vindicated the honour of Islam, you have vindicated the honour of the whole nation and established Swaraj. May God grant you, the youngmen and the young girls of Bengal, the necessary courage, the necessary hope, the necessary confidence to go through the sacred period of purification and sacrifice. May God help you.

NOTICE.

Copies of 'Mr. Gandhi's Mysapore Speech' in pamphlet form can be had from the Manager "Young India," Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad for one anna a copy, or by sending 6 pice stamps by post.

REORGANISATION OF PROVINCES

THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

It is to be hoped that the different provinces have begun to reorganize themselves in terms of the new constitution. There is not a moment to lose if we are to attain a Swaraj within one year. Below will be found the rules adopted by Gujarat for reorganising the province on the new basis. They are published for general guidance. They show that it is convenient to treat Talukas as units for returning delegates and electing members of the Provincial Congress Committee. That Committee is to consist of 100 members, of whom 90 will be directly elected and these will elect ten more so as to ensure representation of minorities and other interests—if

the general body of electors have omitted to do so. There should not be a single village left without a Congress organisation and no village register should be without a single adult male or female not on it. This means honest and industrious workers. When millions have voluntarily joined the Congress, the forced organisation of the Government must fail to piece. I consider the Government organisation to be forced because it is based on fear and not on hope. The Patel or the Mukhi is not a man executing the will of the villagers but he imposes on them the will of a government which has nothing in common with the people. M. K. G.

GUJARAT PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Provisional rules for the formation of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee and other Committees subordinate to it as adopted by the meeting of the Gujarat Rajkiya Mandal held on 16-1-1921:—

1. Until the formation of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee a working Committee of the following gentlemen is appointed:—

1 Mr. V. J. Patel	6 Mr. H. J. Amin	Secretaries.
2 " F. B. Shah	7 " O. M. Desai	
3 " M. K. Pandya	8 " D. N. Desai	
4 " V. S. Mukadam	9 " K. V. Mehta	
5 " Dalsukhbhai Shah	10 " N. M. Shah	
	11 " I. K. Yagnik	

In order to carry on the work of the Indian National Congress in the five districts of British Gujarat viz. Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panchmahal, Broach and Surat, and the Native States assigned to them, the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee shall be formed with headquarters at Ahmedabad.

3. The Native States assigned by the All-India Congress Committee to the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee are assigned to the districts mentioned against their names.

NATIVE STATES	DISTRICT
Kathiawar States and Agency Kathi & Anand Prant Mahikantba Agency Palampur State and Agency	Ahmedabad
Kaira Agency Baroda (City) Dahod Taluka	
Umbay Sankheda Dahod Mandla Siron	
Veraval Ravanantha Agency Navsari Prant Syrat Agency	
	Kaira
	Broach
	Panchmahal
	Surat

4. The Subjects of the abovementioned Native States and Agencies if not otherwise disqualified, are eligible for membership of any Congress Committee in the District in which the States and Agencies are

5. The following gentlemen are appointed to organise Congress Committees in accordance with the following rules:—

Ahmedabad District

North Daskroi	}	Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai.
South Daskroi		Mr. Hariprasad P. Mehta
Viramgam	}	Mr. Manilal V. Kothari
		" Ratilal A. Patel
	}	Mr. Manilal V. Kothari
		Dr. Popatlal Anandjiwalla
		Mr. Ranchhodlal M. Lavangia
Dhavadbuka	}	" Shantilal Talakh
		Mr. Ramabhai Kalyandasji
Dholka	}	" Anantlal Patel
		" Vasudeo G. Vaidya
Sanand	}	" Anantlal N. Pandya
Prantij		" Dahyabhai M. Patel
Gogha	}	" Mohanlal V. Gandhi
Modasa		

Kaira District

	}	Mr. Chhannal K. Dava
		" Chhotalal A. Vyas
		" Marghabhai Baberbhui
	}	Mr. Kashubhai J. Patel
		" Ashabhai L. Patel
		" V. S. Mukadam
	}	Mr. Fulechand B. Shah
		" Madhavlal N. Dwivedi
		" Hariprasad Konthagha
	}	" Mohanlal K. Pandya
		" Harila M. Desai
		" Bhailal Amalia
	}	" Ganesh C. Mulji
		" Ravishanker Vyas
		" Himabhai K. Patel

Panchmahal District

	}	Dr. Maneklal
		Mr. Vaman S. Mukadam
		" Parashramji S.
	}	" Dalsukhbhai Shah
		" Sukhdev V. Trivedi
		" Purushchandras Ramshanker
	}	" Channil Gupta
		" Chhannil Patel
		Dr. Narayan Rao

Broach District.

	Mr. Haribhai J. Amin
	" Chandulal M. Desai
	" Hiralal Nariswala
Ankleswar	" Chhotalal G. Gandhi
	" Mahatma M. Chhatrapati
	" Lalchand Vakil
Vagra	" Kundental Motilal

Surat District.

The members of the District Council of the Ahmedabad Region.

6. The abovementioned gentlemen shall try to get the District Council Committee as many members as possible till 28 February, 1931. The subscription to the District Council shall be as follows:

7. A village or a group of villages which has more than 500 population shall elect a village committee.

8. Every village Committee shall appoint from amongst its members a *Panch* or a *Mahayan* consisting of the President, the Secretary, the Treasurer and two other persons for the purpose of managing the affairs in accordance with the rules to be made by the Taluka Congress Committee. These rules shall provide, among other things, for the education of the children, the sanitation of the village, the introduction of the spinning wheel in every household, and generally for the welfare and progress of every town of the Non-co-operation Region of the Indian National Congress.

9. Every Taluka Congress Committee shall appoint from amongst its members a Managing Committee of not more than 11 members including its President.

10. The District Council shall consist of not more than 100 members. The members shall be elected by the Taluka Committees as follows:

Population No. of members to be elected

Ahmedabad District —

North District	}	3,26,931	11
South District			
Vijapur		1,17,415	4
Dahod		95,443	3
Dhokra		97,155	3
Surat		61,331	2
Prantij		62,118	3
Gytha		30,056	1
Motasa		20,000	1
			27

Kaira District:—

Anand	1,43,468	5
Boisdad	1,40,001	5
Nadiad	1,33,467	4
Kapadvanj	76,730	2
Thasra	71,605	2
Mas nadabod		
Matar	58,705	2
	6,91,744	24

Panchmahal District:—

Godhra	1,17,000	4
Dorad	1,17,000	4
Halol	90,812	3
Kalol		
	3,22,806	10

Broach District —

Broach	1,17,000	4
Ankleswar	68,930	2
Jambhar	68,930	2
Amol	30,693	1
Vagra	30,693	1
	3,06,717	10

Surat District:—

Choraji	1,70,181	6
Bilvar	83,404	3
Dardoli	85,349	3
Jalalpur	75,252	2
Pardi	63,606	2
Chakoli	62,771	2
Orpad	53,500	2
Mantri	53,527	2
	6,51,109	31

Total 90

Committee shall be held in the Taluka town at 2 P.M. on 6-3-1931 to conduct the following business:—

- (1) To appoint the Managing Committee and its office-bearers and
- (2) To elect members of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Any person who is a member of any Congress Committee in any part of India can be elected by any Taluka Congress Committee as its representative on the Provincial Congress Committee.

12. The first meeting of the members so elected to the Provincial Congress Committee shall be held at 2 P.M. in the Suvar Suvarat (A.C.) Ahmedabad on 13-3-1931 to elect the remaining members as contemplated in rule 10 for the purpose of remedying inequalities, if any, in the elections already held, and to appoint the date for the first meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee to elect its office-bearers.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

We propose to abolish the V. P. System by the end of the next week. Intending subscribers who have already asked for V. Ps. will have the V. Ps. sent to them. But fresh subscribers are requested to send their subscriptions, 12 annas yearly, Rs. 3 half yearly, in advance to the Manager, 'Young India', 11/12, 13/14, 15/16, 17/18, 19/20, 21/22, 23/24, 25/26, 27/28, 29/30, 31/32, 33/34, 35/36, 37/38, 39/40, 41/42, 43/44, 45/46, 47/48, 49/50, 51/52, 53/54, 55/56, 57/58, 59/60, 61/62, 63/64, 65/66, 67/68, 69/70, 71/72, 73/74, 75/76, 77/78, 79/80, 81/82, 83/84, 85/86, 87/88, 89/90, 91/92, 93/94, 95/96, 97/98, 99/100, 101/102, 103/104, 105/106, 107/108, 109/110, 111/112, 113/114, 115/116, 117/118, 119/120, 121/122, 123/124, 125/126, 127/128, 129/130, 131/132, 133/134, 135/136, 137/138, 139/140, 141/142, 143/144, 145/146, 147/148, 149/150, 151/152, 153/154, 155/156, 157/158, 159/160, 161/162, 163/164, 165/166, 167/168, 169/170, 171/172, 173/174, 175/176, 177/178, 179/180, 181/182, 183/184, 185/186, 187/188, 189/190, 191/192, 193/194, 195/196, 197/198, 199/200, 201/202, 203/204, 205/206, 207/208, 209/210, 211/212, 213/214, 215/216, 217/218, 219/220, 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NADIAD MUNICIPALITY AND GOVERNMENT

Our members are fully knowing that the Nadiad Municipal Board proceeding on his Resolution on Non-co-operation passed by the Special Session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, in September last, resolved on the 8th October, by a majority of votes to —

"As the Session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta has adopted the Resolution on Non-co-operation, this Board resolves that (the Government may be informed that it does not want the Government grant for Primary Education and that it desires to conduct Municipal Primary schools independently of Government control. The Government grant for primary education to this Municipality may therefore be stopped."

On this Resolution of the Board being communicated to the Collector of the District, the latter addressed a letter to the President of the Municipality which reads as follows.—

THE COLLECTOR'S LETTER

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 38 dated the 18th Instant forwarding your Board's resolution showing its desire to be free from Government control in the management of Municipal Primary schools and renouncing the Government grant for the same, and to state that before I forward your letter to Government through the Commissioner, Northern Division, I would like to give your Board an opportunity to reconsider the matter in the light of the following remarks.

"2. In 1918 when applying for special water supply grant of Rs. 5000 for fitting in tanks used for bathing and washing purposes, you said: "The Municipality is in a very strained financial condition and it will not be possible for it to provide this additional expenditure even with all possible economy" (Vide Your letter No. 308 dated 27-8-1918 printed in the preamble of Government Order General Department No. 6864 dated 14-8-19). Similarly when the necessity of granting war allowance to primary school teachers was felt, you represented that "The Board nearly recognises the necessity of paying war allowance to its teachers but it has no funds from which the amount can be provided. The Board, in fact, is helpless in this matter and unless Government comes to its help in a liberal spirit it will, in default of funds to pay the war allowance to its teachers" (vide your letter No. 669 dated 29-3-19).

The inability of the Municipalities in the District (including the Nadiad Municipality) to bear the enhanced cost of primary education in their respective areas was also reiterated at the conference of the representatives of the municipalities in the District over which you had presided. (Vide Government Order, Educational Department No. 2125 dated 17-5-1920). In fact in resolution No. 3 the Conference asked for Government contribution equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total expenditure incurred on education. From all this it seems pretty clear that the finances of the Nadiad Municipality were far from satisfactory and unless they are substantially improved, I do not see how the Municipality will be able to carry out the duties imposed on it by the Bombay District Municipal Act. Under such circumstances, the resolution of your Board now for-

warded to the Government has been previously passed by the Board on the same subject. I have had to consider the question which necessarily follows from their resolution viz. how the loss of the Government grant is to be made good. It is necessary that this question should be fully considered by the Board side by side with the question of renouncing the Government grant. I shall feel obliged if you will let me know in detail how the Municipality proposes to raise the additional sum of Rs. 21,000.

"3. As regards the question of removing Government control over the primary schools of the Municipality, I have the honour to invite the attention of your Board to the proviso to section 58 of the Bombay District Municipal Act, from which it will be clear that the power of defining relations of the Municipality and the Government Educational Department in respect of public education rests in the Governor-in-Council irrespective of any grant that may be made by the Government for the purpose. So long as the present Act is not amended therefore, Government control over Municipal schools will remain, even though you do not require or accept the Government grant for primary education. I trust that you will impress this point upon the attention of the members of your Board and let me have their considered decision in the matter,

"4. The issues underlying the present resolutions of the Board are most important, and I hope the Board will consider them again with a full sense of the responsibility imposed on them under the Bombay District Municipal Act before they arrive at a decision in a matter of such importance, and one so seriously affecting the welfare of the people, whose interests are committed to their charge.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant
(Sd.) N. J. WADIA,
Collector of Kaira.

The Board again met to consider the letter copied above; and at a meeting held on the 7th November last resolved by a majority of votes that:—

In coming to the resolution it did the Board had considered all the pros and cons of the matter. The financial difficulties pointed out by the Collector were fully known to the Councillors. But a new situation has arisen in the country which upsets and overrides all the considerations of the nature suggested by the Collector. The Board was also not unaware of the legal difficulty pointed out by the Collector. The position taken up by the Board is exceedingly simple. It is in complete sympathy with the movement of Non-co-operation designed for the attainment, among other things, of full Swaraj, and so long as this Municipality remains in existence, it will be its bounden duty to help the people of Nadiad in achieving the national purpose. The Board will, therefore, adopt what legitimate means will be available to it by way of collecting donations in Nadiad and elsewhere if necessary in order to supplement its very poor statutory resources; so far as the legal difficulty is concerned it is respectfully suggested that sec. 58, if it runs counter to the express

(Continued on page 45 Col. 1)

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 9th, February, 1921.

THE GREATEST THING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

IT IS TO BE WISHED THAT NON-CO-OPERATIONISTS will clearly recognise that nothing can stop the onward march of the nation as violence. Ireland may gain its freedom by violence. Turkey may regain her lost possessions by violence within a measurable distance of time. But India cannot win her freedom by violence for a century, because her people are not built in the manner of other nations. They have been nurtured in the traditions of suffering Rightly or wrongly, for good or ill, Islam too has evolved along peaceful lines in India. And I make bold to say that, if the honour of Islam is to be vindicated through its followers in India, it will only be by methods of peaceful, silent, dignified, conscious, and courageous suffering. The more I study that wonderful faith, the more convinced I become that the glory of Islam is due not to the sword but to the sufferings, the renunciation, and the sobriety of its early Caliphs. Islam decayed when its followers, mistaking the evil for the good, dangled the sword in the face of man, and lost sight of the godliness, the humility, and austerity of its founder and his disciples. But I am not, at the present moment, concerned with showing that the basis of Islam, as of all religions, is not violence but suffering, not the taking of life but the giving of it.

What I am anxious to show is that non-co-operationists must be true as well to the spirit as to the letter of their vow if they would gain Swaraj within one year. They may forget Non-co-operation but they dare not forget non-violence. Indeed, Non-co-operation is non-violence. We are violent when we sustain a government whose creed is violence. It bases itself finally not on right but on might. Its last appeal is not to reason, nor the heart, but to the sword. We are tired of this creed and we have risen against it. Let us not ourselves belie our profession by being violent. Though the English are few, they are organised for violence. Though we are many, we cannot be organised for violence for a long time to come. Violence for us is a gospel of despair.

I have seen a pathetic letter from a god-fearing English woman who defends Dyerism for she thinks that, if General Dyer had not enacted Jallianwala, women and children would have been murdered by us. If we are such brutes as to desire the blood of innocent women and children, we deserve to be brotled out from the face of the earth. There is the other side. It did not strike this good lady that, if we were fiends, the price that her countrymen paid at Jallianwala for buying their safety was too great. They gained their safety at the cost of their humanity. General Dyer has been a singly blamed, and his evil genius Sir Michael

ODwyer entirely exonerated because Englishmen do not want to leave this country of fiends even if everyone of us has to be killed. If we go mad again as we did at Amritsar, let there be no mistake that a blacker Jallianwala will be enacted.

Shall we copy Dyerism and ODwyerism even whilst we are condemning it? Let not our rock be violence and devilry. Our rock must be non-violence and godliness. Let us, workers, be clear as to what we are about. Swaraj depends upon our ability to control all the forces of violence on our side. Therefore, there is no Swaraj within one year, if there is violence on the part of the people.

We must then refrain from sitting idly. We must refrain from crying 'shame, shame' to any body, we must not use any coercion to persuade our people to adopt our way. We must guarantee to them the same freedom we claim for ourselves. We must not tamper with the masses. It is dangerous to make political use of factory labourers or the peasantry—not that we are not entitled to do so, but we are not ready for it. We have neglected their political (as distinguished from literary) education all these long years. We have not got enough honest, intelligent, reliable, and brave workers to enable us to set upon these countrymen of ours.

A MUNICIPAL ENTERPRISE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

THE READER WILL FIND ELSEWHERE THE TEXT OF the correspondence between the municipality of Nadiad and the Government of Bombay as represented by the Collector of the District of Kaira in which Nadiad is situated. Nadiad is an important town in Gujarat with a population of about 35,000. Its municipality has an elected chairman and contains a majority of elected members. Nadiad is noted for its educational activity and has the honour of having produced some of the best educated sons of Gujarat. The town has two high schools. Its aided high school has been discontinued. The municipality runs several primary schools which instruct over five thousand children.

The question before the citizens was to nationalize all the primary schools. The ratepayers, instead of withdrawing the children from these schools, passed a resolution calling upon the municipality to nationalize the primary schools. They were in receipt of a yearly grant of Rs. 21,000 and were naturally under the control and supervision of the Education Department. The municipality, therefore, resolved in accordance with the instructions of the electors to nationalize the schools and informed the government accordingly. It will be noticed that the municipality in its proceedings has directly referred to the Congress resolution on Non-co-operation and has adopted this bold policy in furtherance of the attainment of Swaraj.

There was the technical point about the municipality's statutory obligation to conduct schools under the direct supervision of the Government.

On the other hand, the municipality is stated to be in complete sympathy with the movement of Non-co-operation designed for the attainment, among other things, of full *Swaraj* and so long as this municipality remains in existence, it will be its bounden duty to help the people of Nadiad in achieving the national purpose... So far as the legal difficulty is concerned, it is respectfully suggested that *sec 53*, if it runs counter to the express wish of the residents of Nadiad, must automatically remain in abeyance because if the Board correctly understands the temper of the people of Nadiad, they are clearly determined to have nothing to do with Government control over the education of the children, and it need hardly be pointed out that the Board is in full sympathy with the determination of the people."

No one can take exception to the admirable spirit of the people or the correctness of the attitude of the municipality. Of course, the Government may, if it dare, disband the municipality. But any such disbandment must be futile if the rate-payers are determined not to have government control over the education of their children. This is a peaceful revolution on a small scale. The success of the movement is due to the cohesion of the people and their ability to manage and finance the education of their children. Violence being eschewed, the people of Nadiad are able to give an education in *Swaraj* to their children. What is true of the municipality regarding the education of the children is true of the whole of India in every other respect.

When the people have one mind, ability of management, and recognise the necessity of non-violence, if only as a business proposition, *Swaraj* is won. Finance is a matter of little consideration. For the Government does not bring money from heaven. It receives, to paraphrase an expressive Gujarati saying, an anvil weight of metal and returns a needle weight. And the pity and the disgrace of it is that, even with that niggardly donation, it imprisons and emasculates the tender mind of the nation. Were it not for self-delusion, we would at least refuse to be party to the ruin of our own children. The municipality of Nadiad has shown how easy the whole process of nationalization of education is; Lala Daulat Ram's articles have shown how easy the question of finance is, and how the ordinary fees are almost enough to conduct all our educational institutions. I hope that the objection given by the municipality of Nadiad will not be lost upon other municipalities similarly situated.

FRESH SHACKLES IN S AFRICA.

[From *The Indian Opinion*.]

The Indian community has been thrown into a state of consternation by the Governor-General-in-Council assenting to the recent ordinances promoted by the Municipality of Durban.

ABOUT THE TRADE LICENCES.

In regard to the question of licences, the powers now conferred upon the Town Council, or in other words its Licensing Officer, are as extraordinary as they are extensive. He has the power now to refuse to grant a licence if he is satisfied that it

is or is probable that the applicant will be allowed to carry on business in the locality in which the premises are in respect of which he has applied for a licence. We know in practice this will be applied against the Indian that it is undesirable that he should trade in a certain locality, and thus gradually Indian trade will be localised, or in other words segregated. He has the power also to exclude businesses in a locality and here too it is left to his discretion. This provision should really be so defined specifically in the law that the Licensing Officer will be bound to act within the specified requirements and not be at liberty to follow his own predilections without any let or hindrance. The observations that we have made apply *fortiori* to the further provision that such conditions and restrictions as may be concurred in by the applicant shall be endorsed on the licence sought. The Indian, whose chances of getting a licence are remote, but if he be fortunate enough to get it, will find that the conditions or restrictions endorsed on the licence will give him the shadow of a licence for the substance. But this does not promise an *Hobson's Choice*. This endorsement provision tends but to make the Licensing Officer of Durban (Col. G. Molyneux) all powerful and practically master of the situation in dealing with licence questions, for it is within the knowledge of the public that he declared in unequivocal language before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission that "Indians were refused as a matter of course if the application was a new one."

If a licensee fails to observe any or all of the conditions endorsed on the licence, such failure renders the licence then and there as of no effect. Surely nothing could be more arbitrary!

"THE INDIAN MARKET."

The Durban Municipality has had the monopoly to establish and carry on markets in the Borough. It was empowered so to do by an act of the then Natal Parliament, but it certainly has never had the power to create markets for any race or class of persons. It is true the Market in the use and occupation of our countrymen has been referred to as "The Indian Market" in the bye-laws regulating it. But there was no racial or colour principle laid down in the enabling law. And this objectionable principle is now indirectly sanctioned in the Ordinance which empowers the Town Council to impose peculiar licences, restricted in their application, to those carrying on business in the Indian Market. Here again, the Licensing Officer may issue or revoke the licences on such conditions and under such restrictions as he thinks fit. Licences for the businesses in the Indian Market are as unnecessary as the incidence of the imposition of licence fees would be unjust to the people who are engaged in petty businesses therein. They are mostly struggling for an existence, and most of them make but a bare living out of it and a fair percentage of them are women, dependent on themselves, who are endeavouring to live an honourable life.

The Union Government appointed the Asiatic Enquiry Commission to enquire into the questions

of licences and trading and to make recommendations. It has toured the country taking evidence at great cost to the State. It has not yet presented its report. In the meantime the municipality rushes through a measure affecting the trading rights of an unrepresented people. And the Government with the Governor-General assent to it in spite of the protests of the people who are affected by it. Why the Government has been a party to such rank class municipal legislation even not waiting for the report of its Commission is the cause of much speculation as well as what will be the destiny of that report. The action of the Governor-General with his Government in not hesitating to assent to this Ordinance and to the other relating to the tramways of Durban has disturbed any confidence the community might have had in them to protect it against the vagaries and prejudices of those who enjoy the power of the vote in the land, and from the predilections of those in whose hands the administration of laws especially in local affairs is vested. We have had but recently, not to go far afield, the case of Ally Hassan in Maritzburg whose application for the transfer of a retail licence from 128, Commercial Road to 132, on the same Road was refused and within the month the case of E. O. Rewat and Sons, also in Maritzburg. In this application the father who was a resident in Maritzburg for some 40 years asked for the transfer of his licence to a firm in which he had included with him his two sons. On appeal, from the Licensing Officer's refusal to the Town Council that body upheld the decision of its employees.

THE TRAMWAYS.

In the tramway ordinance also the colour bar has been laid down. The Municipality of Durban may allow an Indian to travel in a tram or segregate him kind on a separate tram. What the conductors haltingly did to men of colour, they will now do with all the arrogance that is borne of some in possession of unlimited powers. As in the licence question, so in regard to the trams the policy of the Town Council is apparently to create a too stern policy based on consideration of colour, but were it not well that they who rule today look beyond little Durban to the hills and dunes in the distance.

(Continued from page 42.)

With of the residents of Nadiad, must automatically remain in abeyance because, if the Board correctly understands the temper of the people of Nadiad, they are clearly determined to have nothing to do with Government control over the education of the children, and it need hardly be pointed out that the Board is in full sympathy with the determination of the people. This Board would therefore ask the Collector to ascertain as quickly as possible the decision of the Government. Meanwhile the Resolution in question having been communicated to him only for the information of Government should be immediately enforced and steps be taken to put the education of the children on a national footing and in keeping with the real requirements of the people of Nadiad.

On copy of the above being communicated to the Government, they defined their attitude in Memorandum No. 5487, dated the 17th December, 1920 which reads as follows:

GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

Education Department,
Secretariat, Fort, Bombay,
Dated the 17th Dec, 1920.

Memorandum,—

The undersigned presents compliments to the Commissioner, N. D. and with reference to his Memorandum No. M. U. N. 123, dated the 19th November 1920, is directed to point out that while the Municipality of Nadiad in its resolution dated the 17th Nov 1920, has requested the Collector to ascertain as quickly as possible the decision of Government, it has not stated on what particular question a decision is required. Before the attitude of Government can be fully defined it is necessary to ascertain the views of the Municipality on one or two points on which, as it has considered all the pros and cons of the matter, a decision has doubtless been reached, but in regard to which the Municipality has not favoured Government with the result of its deliberations.

2. The Commissioner is accordingly requested to be good enough to ascertain from the Municipality of Nadiad whether it proposes to retain the services of the existing staff of teachers in the Municipal schools and to continue to interchange them with the Local Board Staff, or whether it proposes to engage a separate staff. If the former, the Municipality should be requested to state whether it undertakes to be responsible for the full and prompt payment of the salaries and allowances admissible to the staff under the code as well as of their pension contributions. If on the other hand it is the intention of the Municipality to engage its own staff it should be required to state for the information of Government from what date or dates it proposes that the existing staff should be withdrawn from each school. It will readily be unable to agree to the mixed staffing for any school.

3. As the Municipality of Nadiad has already drawn two-third of the current year's grant, and as it continues to employ the existing staff, it will require the remainder of the grant amounting probably to sum of Rs 8000. Unless this sum is replaced from the other sources indicated in its financial proposals, the Municipality should be requested to state if it decided to employ the present staff, whether it proposes to draw the remainder of the grant this year, either as a whole or diminished by the amount which is expected to be credited to the Municipal fund by the end of March 1921, from other sources. The amount already credited to the Municipal fund for donations in Nadiad and elsewhere should also be ascertained and reported to Government.

(Sd) J. C. KER,

Secretary to Government,
Educational Department.

The Nadiad Municipal Board met on the 18th January last to consider the Memorandum quoted above and passed by a majority of votes the following resolution:—

"That the Municipality wishes to engage the present or new staff independently of Government and to that end is already negotiating with the staff. The Municipality does not desire to draw any further grant from Government but proposes to supplement the deficit by voluntary contributions. The Municipality will discharge all the obligation already incurred in connection with the present staff. The Municipality would like Government to withdraw the whole of the staff but within one week of the receipt of this letter, or as soon thereafter as possible."

"Lastly the Municipality of Nadiad respectfully points out that its action is based upon the express wish of the ratepayers and is strictly in accordance with the Resolution of the Special Session of the National Congress at Calcutta in last September and reaffirmed at Nagpur in December last."

To H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught.

The following letter, which has appeared in the Press, was sent by Mr. Gandhi to H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught last week.—

Sir, — Your Royal Highness must have heard a great deal about Non-co-operation, non-co-operationists, and their methods, and, incidentally, of me, its humble author. I fear that the information given your Royal Highness must have been in its nature one-sided. I owe it to you, to my friends and myself, that I should place before you what I conceive to be the scope of Non-co-operation, as followed not only by me, but my closest associates, such as Messrs. Shaikat Ali and Mahomed Ali.

For me it is no joy and pleasure to be actively associated in the boycott of Your Royal Highness' visit. I have tendered loyal, voluntary assistance to the Government for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years in the full belief that through that lay the path of freedom for my country. It was, therefore, no slight thing for me to suggest to my countrymen that we should take no part in welcoming Your Royal Highness. Not one amongst us has anything against you as an English gentleman. We hold your person as sacred as that of a dearest friend. I do not know any of my friends who would not guard it with his life if he found it in danger.

We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. We do desire to destroy the system that has emasculated our country in body, mind, and soul. We are determined to battle with all our might against that in English nature which has made O'Dwyerism and Dyerism possible in the Punjab and has resulted in a wanton affront upon Islam, a faith professed by seven crores of our countrymen. We consider it inconsistent with our self-respect any longer to brook the spirit of superiority and dominance which has systematically ignored and disregarded the sentiments of thirty crores of innocent people of India on many a vital matter. It is humiliating to us. It cannot be a matter of pride to you that thirty crores of Indians should live day in and day out in fear of their lives from one hundred thousand Englishmen and, therefore be under subjection to them.

Your Royal Highness has come, not to end the system I described, but to sustain it by upholding its prestige. Your first pronouncement was a laudation of Lord Willingdon. I have the privilege of knowing him. I believe him to be an honest, amiable gentleman, who will not willingly hurt even a fly, but he certainly failed as a ruler. He allowed himself to be guided by those whose interest it was to support their power. He is not reading the mind of the Dravidian provinces. Here, in Bengal, you are issuing a certificate of merit to a Governor who is again, from all I have heard, an estimable gentleman, but who knows nothing of the heart of Bengal and its yearnings. Bengal is not Calcutta, Fort William and the

palaces of Calcutta represent an insolent exploitation of the uncomplaining and highly cultured peasantry of this fair province.

The non-co-operationists have come to the conclusion that they must not be deceived by the reforms that tinker with the problem of India's distress and humiliation, nor must they be impatient and angry. We must not in our impatient anger resort to stupid violence. We freely admit that we must take our due share of blame for the existing state. It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary co-operation.

Our non-participation in a hearty welcome to Your Royal Highness is thus in no sense a demonstration against your high personage, but it is against the system you come to uphold. I know individual Englishmen cannot, even if they will, alter the English nature all of a sudden. If we would be the equals of Englishmen we must cast off fear. We must learn to be self-reliant and independent of schools, courts, protection, and patronage of a Government we seek to end, if it will not mend.

Hence this non-violent Non-co-operation. I know we have not all yet become non-violent in speech and deed, but the results so far achieved have, I assure Your Royal Highness, been amazing. The people have understood the secret and value of non-violence as they have never done before. He, who will, may see that this is a religious, purifying movement. We are leaving off drink. We are trying to rid India of the curse of untouchability. We are trying to throw off foreign tinsel splendour, and by reverting to the spinning wheel reviving the ancient and poetic simplicity of life. We hope thereby to sterilize the existing harmful institutions.

I ask Your Royal Highness as an Englishman to study this movement and its possibilities for the Empire and the world. We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam in the manner we are, we are protecting all religions; in protecting the honour of India, we are protecting the honour of humanity. For our means are hurtful to none. We desire to live on terms of friendship with Englishmen, but that friendship must be friendship of equals both in theory and in practice, and we must continue to non-co-operate, i. e., to purify ourselves till the goal is achieved. I ask Your Royal Highness, and through you every Englishman, to appreciate the view-point of Non-co-operation.

I beg to remain,

Your Royal Highness' faithful servant,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Copies of 'Mr. Gandhi's Mirzapore Speech' including his advice to medical students in pamphlet form can be had from the Manager "Young India," Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad for one anna a copy, or by sending 6 pice stamps by post.

THE DUTY OF STUDENTS

The opening ceremony of the National College, Calcutta, under the auspices of the Board of Education, recently formed by Sriyuts Chittranjan Das, Jendralal Banerjee and other Non-co-operation leaders, took place on Friday the 4th inst. A hymn from the Gita was sung by a number of boys at the commencement.

In opening the College, Mr. Gandhi addressed the students and professors as follows:—

'ACT WELL YOUR PART'

Friends,—You have just now heard the beautiful prayer sung by the students over there, and I hope that all of you will ponder over the magnificent language of that prayer. If we will base all our acts in this Institution on prayer, I have very little doubt that we shall come through with added glory to ourselves and to our country. I have had the privilege, during these few months, of opening several institutions in several parts of India. But I must confess to you that, in opening no other institution have I been so weighed down with anxiety and fear as I am in performing the opening ceremony in connection with this institution. As I have elsewhere remarked, all the eyes, all the attention of the student world are centred upon Calcutta. You have seen so many telegrams reproduced in the press, I have seen many more telegrams not reproduced in the press, congratulating the students on the magnificent response to the country's call. You may have also noticed that as a result of your response the students all over India are withdrawing themselves from Government institutions. Great, therefore, is your responsibility and the responsibility of the professors and teachers connected with this Institution, of Mr. Das and myself also. For myself, I can only assure you that my prayers will attend all your efforts in making this institution a success. But I know that no prayer that I can offer, no prayer that our clearer hearts can offer, can be of the slightest service unless the students approach their task in humility and in their fear of God, with perseverance, with single-mindedness and with love and a devotion for the country in whose name and for whose sake they have abandoned Government institutions. It is not a light task for a student expecting certificates of high merit, expecting a great career in his own estimation. It is no light task for a student with all these expectations to surrender them in the hope that he is rendering a service to the country and therefore a service to himself. Personally I have not the slightest doubt about it. I hope you will never have to regret the day that you left Government institutions. But I know also that you must have to regret the day if you will not use your time usefully, if you have left under the impulse of moment as so many of our leaders who mean well of the country have already expressed their fears. Let me hope that you will falsify their fears.

You will at the end of the year so discharge your selves that those who are to-day filled with doubts may come forward with an expression of opinion that their doubts were misplaced. Let me not conclude from you, the students of Calcutta, what certificate Indians in other parts of India give to you. Many of the students, and many grown up men also, who have talked to me about the movement have expressed a sense of nervous fear. You have been credited with a great deal of emotion, you have been credited with a great deal of impulsiveness, you have not been credited with the same amount of calmness and industry.

BE TRUE TO YOUR TRUST.

You are embarking upon a new career. You are turning over a new leaf. You are shouldering a great responsibility. You are counting yourselves among the makers of India of the future. And if you realise this responsibility, I have no doubt, you will dispel all these fears which have been expressed in other parts of India. Those who know Bengal well are in a position also to testify that Bengalis on many an occasion have not been found wanting; and for my part I shall certainly decline to believe that those students who have responded and who will join this institution will be found wanting. I shall hope also that the professors and the teachers will prove true to their trust. What I said in all humility to the professors and teachers at the time of performing the opening ceremony of the Gujarat National College, I am tempted to repeat here: that the success and failure of this institution will very largely depend upon the honest exertion that the professors and teachers may put forth. At this critical moment in the history of our dear country every one of us, who intends to mould the young mind of the country, has a serious responsibility, and if the professors and the teachers are found a creep, if they are overtaken with doubt, if they are overtaken with fear as to the future, God help the students who come under their charge. And I shall pray to the Almighty that he may bless the professors and teachers with wisdom, with courage, with faith and with hope.

ESCHEW ALL VIOLENCE.

I have in one of my speeches told the students that whilst they might go on with the course that they have mapped out for themselves they must not interfere with others. You have perhaps read the paragraph that appeared in the newspaper to-day with reference to Barisal. I do not know whether it is an exaggerated account of what had happened there. I do not care whether it is an exaggeration, and whether it is an understatement, but it furnishes a lesson for you and for me that we must on no account resort to violence, that we must on no account exert undue pressure. And as I said at one of the meetings day before yesterday, I hope that the students will not sit *dharma*—they will not exercise any pressure whatsoever upon those students who would not come out of the schools and colleges. It is sufficient that those who feel it is sinful to belong to these institutions ought to come out of them. If we have sufficient faith in ourselves we shall remain steadfast though not a single other student responds to the call. It does betray want of faith in our own mission when you become impatient. And if we are impatient we begin to compel others to do what we have done. I hope no one of the students who will belong to this institution will be filled with any such doubt as to the correctness of his conduct.

SAVAGE THROUGH THE HIDDEN TREASURES OF HINDUSTANI.

I hope also that when I renew your acquaintance a month hence, as I hope I shall be able to do, you will not call upon me to address you any longer in English but that you will have mastered sufficient Hindustani to be able to understand whatever message I might have to give to you in our national common language. I assure you when you approach your study of Hindustani some of you will find it simple and easy. To some of you the words will seem perfectly natural, because the vocabulary is common to Bengali, Hindi and most of the Indian languages, barring the Dravidian stock. You will find also it will feed your intellect and it will satisfy

all the intellectual requirements of intellectual Bengal. And if you want to go in for literature, I promise you will find treasures hidden both in Hindi and Urdu whatever scripts you take up—and whatever books you take up first. You talk of the poverty of Hindi literature—you talk of the poverty of to-day's Hindi, but if you dive deep into the pages of Tulidas, probably you will share my opinion that there is no other book that stands equal to it in the literature of the world in modern languages. That one book has given me faith and hope which no other book has given. I think that it is a book which has a soul and any criticism and any scrutiny alike in literary grace, in metaphor and in religious fervour.

AND OF SPINNING.

I hope also that when I come back you will have made sufficient progress in making yarn and have it woven by some village weaver for your own use. But I hope that you will be able to give sufficient proof of what wonders you have performed in spinning and I hope you will be able to share with me the same poetry and the same intellectual treat that I find in spinning if you spin with faith and hope with reference to the future of India. I hope also that your professors and teachers will give their lectures through Bengali, and I hope that, all the knowledge that you have acquired in your Government institutions, you will translate for yourselves in Bengali and that you will be able to find equivalent expressions for the richest thought that you have learnt from English poets and from English literature.

HAVE FAITH.

I hope also that you will approach your task with a religious faith. If this movement of ours is not religious I am free to confess to you that this movement will not only fail but it will discredit us. It is a new method of applying ourselves to the task and if we consider that we can solve the problem of India by bringing some changes only upon the old methods, we shall be doomed to disappointment. If you approach the task with the same religious fervour for which Bengal is noted, I know you will find that Swaraj is within easy reach. May God help you. May God help the professors, and may God give you the strength that our friend Sriyut Chitranjanandas needs. I have much pleasure in declaring this institutions open.

OUR FIRST DUTY.

Maulana Mohamed Ali in the course of his address spoke as follows:—

I should like to make one or two observations. Although we are starting an educational Institution here to reform education, you must not think that we have undertaken to educate you to reform education. In the first instance we come to our fellow-countrymen, as patriots asking you to do the right thing by your country, and that is to cease to co-operate with the Government which the whole nation has now made up its mind to end if not to mend in time. But seeing we are responsible to a great extent for the welfare of the nation, and the nation includes youngmen and the youths of the nation, we cannot shirk our responsibility for your education. Therefore, although our work ceased as non-co-operators when we got you out of the University, still as fellow-citizens, as patriots, our work has not ceased and we do provide for your education and while we do it we must see to it that it must be the best possible.

LET FREEDOM BE THE FOUNDATION OF ALL EDUCATION.

We are not only great ideas—ideas which we conceive to be better than those which form the basis of your

education in other Universities, and you will soon see the fruition of that idea. But we also require you to consider that these are not normal times. The ordinary normal curriculum of the University would only begin when normal times return. These are very abnormal times—indeed, these are times which we call phenomenal. Therefore we should ask you to realise clearly that the provision of educational progress of the nation should be retarded while we are preparing a curriculum of study for you in this National University. After all the whole is greater than the part and though we provide education for you we must think of the nation as a whole. I wish it to be clearly understood by every English man in this country, by every co-operator Indian in this country and by every non-co-operator Indian in this country that Swaraj India, free India does not want uncultured, untutored and uneducated Indians. We want the best culture and the best education, but we want freedom first. Do you wish it to be written down in the history of this great movement that when the peasantry of India, when the agriculturists, the artisans of India,—the poorer classes of India—the labourers of India were fighting for the freedom of Motherland, the cultured or the would-be-cultured classes of India, when the fight for freedom between slavery and freedom was going on, were busy with the books? Do you wish it to be written down that when you were preparing for the Examinations of Calcutta University a most severe test was imposed upon you—not of your mind—but of your soul. At times like these you must do the abnormal yourselves. That abnormal is that you must concentrate all your attention on the peaceful revolution—on the bloodless revolution that you are going to make in history.

THE DOCTRINE OF CHARKA.

We have sufficiently talked about Charka and how it is going to free India—how a nation that came through the Charka to this country as traders, merchants and travellers settled themselves down as rulers with our co-operation, and how non-co-operation and by means of that very Indian Charka they will go back to their own country if they cannot live as fellow-citizens in India.

There are peoples who say—"how can you expect the Mahomedans to be non-violent?" Now, I do not want to speak out. I want the Charka itself to speak out. The whole Europe will know when we place these Charkas in our mosques. Something like 800 Charkas had been ordered for the mosques so that the people who come there should be able to produce Indian yarn with which Indian clothes should be woven by Indian hands in Indian houses to clothe our nakedness or at least to provide home spun shrouds for us. Thus every revolution of the Charka I can assure you, will bring the success of this bloodless revolution nearer every day. That is the doctrine of Charka. Therefore I ask you to work up this doctrine which will be a great advertisement both of our determination to win freedom, and if possible, through peaceful means.

If you are determined to have the freedom of your country if you want to see the cessation of our slavery in which we are living for close upon two centuries, it requires from you a peaceful battle—the battle of the Charka.

* The Reference in Mr. Gandhi's Speech to Barisal in connection with the alleged obstruction of students still attending their classes by non-co-operationist students catching hold of the former's feet and other methods.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

We propose to abolish the V. P. System by the end of this week. Intending subscribers who have already asked for V. Ps. will have the V. Ps. sent to them. But fresh subscribers are requested to send their subscriptions, Rs. 5 yearly, Rs. 3 half yearly, in advance, to the Manager, 'Young India', Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad, and to ask for printed receipts for their subscription, in case the same are not received by them.

Notes.

What will Kill Non-co-operation?—Certainly violence on the part of non-co-operators. But that is not what I wanted to answer. What can the government do to kill Non-co-operation?—is the question I have been asked. A settlement of the Khilafat in accordance with the Muslim demand, a settlement of the Punjab in accordance with the Indian demand, and the grant of Swaraj in accordance with a scheme to be framed by authorised representatives of the nation.

What is Swaraj?—That is the next question. It is partly answered in the foregoing paragraph. No one man can produce a swaraj scheme because it is not one man's swaraj that is wanted nor can a scheme be framed in advance. What may satisfy the nation to-day may not satisfy it to-morrow. Our evolution is and must be an organic growth. National will is therefore subject to change from day to-day. But some broad outlines can certainly be laid down in advance for any scheme of Swaraj. The nation's representatives must have full control over education, law, police, and military. We must have full financial control. And if we are to be self-governing not a soldier can leave India without our consent.

What About European Interests?—They will be as safe in a self-governing India as they are today. But there will be no privileges of a superior race, no concessions and no exploitation. Englishmen will live as friends in every sense of the term but not as rulers.

And the British Connection—Nobody so far as I am aware wants to end it for the sake of ending it. There must be complete independence if England's policy is in conflict with the Muslim sentiment on the Khilafat question or with the Indian sentiment in the Punjab. In any case it must be a partnership, at will, based upon mutual love and esteem.

Is India Ready for this?—Time will show. I am convinced that it is The Swaraj that the Congress demands is not one that is to be granted by England. It must be that which the nation demands and can enforce, in the same sense that South Africa received it.

Dhoti and Chhadar—Signs of the times are unmistakable. A councillor in the reformed council is reported to have appeared in Dhoti and Chhadar and insisted upon taking his oath in Bengali. The councillor deserves congratulations upon his pluck. It is the most natural thing for us to appear in our national costume at all functions. And one may hope that councillors wherever they can will co-operate with the nation in spite of their having in many cases flouted the nation's wish in insisting upon going to the councils. They will certainly render a service if they will have the courage to appear at Council meetings in Khaddar dress and speak in their vernaculars. It is easier for the few Englishmen to speak our vernaculars than for the many of the nation to speak English.—M.K.G.

THE GROWTH OF INTOLERANCE.

Mr. Andrews writes to us:—

Telegraphic accounts of the intolerance practised in Bombay towards such respected Indians as Messrs. Shrinivas Shastri and Paranjpye had reached me on this side of India, and I had waited very anxiously indeed to find out, from more detailed information, whether there was anything that would modify the picture. But the full, authorised report of the 'Bombay Chronicle' has only confirmed my worst fears.

I regard this intolerance as no slight symptom of disease, but of gravest danger to our national life. I wish to make every allowance for mere boyish enthusiasm and for any juvenile ebullition of feeling; but these and other previous acts have gone far beyond this. They amount to persecution and cruel humiliation. We are not doing to others, as we would wish to be treated ourselves.

I have watched, for a long time, with the greatest pain, that in spite of all that Mahatma Gandhi has done to condemn the evil, it has increased, and it is not confined to one part of India only. As it is entirely opposed to the principle of non-violence, which attracted me so strongly to the Movement, and drew me out of the retirement of Shantiniketan to take part in it,—I feel that the time has come for me to declare publicly and openly my detestation of these practices. I cannot go on in the movement with the same heart, if these practices continue.

—S. A. M. S. S. S.

Running Comments.

MY RESPONSIBILITY.

(By M. K. G.)

The *Servant of India* has referred me to the remarks of a Poona non-co-operator to illustrate that all non-co-operators are actuated not by love but by hate. I have never doubted it. On the contrary, I have admitted that many non-co-operators are impelled by hate, the most are impelled by a sense of justice, and some few by love only. The recital of the Poona facts is followed by a rebuke. Thus the writer ends:— "To enrol under the banner of love and peace the forces of hatred and violence, to believe that a simple doctrine can convert every heart into the purest gold, to persist in smoking a peaceful pipe on a stack of hay and in apparent innocence to disclaim all responsibility for the consequences, is amazing conduct even in a prophet." The rebuke, I am sorry to say, is based on three unwarranted assumptions. I have not enrolled under the banner of love and peace the forces of hatred and violence, but I have enrolled under the banner of justice all those who wish to secure it; and in doing so, as a practical reformer, I have not hesitated to take in those who I know are actuated by hatred. Even the latter are entitled to justice. Only I must see that they do not give play to their hatred. I claim that the vast majority of the haters are honourably fulfilling the compact, because they realise that non-violence is the best and the only policy for the country if it is to attain justice, and not merely to vent anger. I therefore do not need to believe that "a simple doctrine can convert every heart into the purest gold." But I do believe that practical experience is likely to change policy into creed. For I believe that people are by nature loving and peaceful. When they hate and kill, they do so against their better nature. I am not "smoking a peaceful pipe on a stack of hay and in apparent innocence disclaiming all responsibility for the consequences!" On the contrary, as an expert miner, I am moving in a coal-mine full of explosive gases with a safety lamp well protected against explosion, with a due sense of responsibility, and with the full knowledge that, in spite of the apparent safety of the lamp, the gases may, by some mysterious processes, any moment explode. If they do, I shall not shirk responsibility. I shall ask forgiveness not from avenging and indignant countrymen but from God, Who knows my motive and Who knows that He has created in me a frail mortal liable to err and has yet given him the faculty to judge and act. I claim to be a soldier, and a soldier is nothing if he does not take the blindest risk. The reference to "a prophet" is an unwarranted coming from *The Servant of India*. The writers in that journal should know that I do not claim to be a prophet. But I do claim to be a devoted servant of the country with a burning mission to assist in delivering it from the intolerable yoke which has given it a stoop which it does not even sometimes recognise.

HAND SPINNING AGAIN.

(By M. K. G.)

The *Servant of India* has a fling too at spinning and that is based as I shall presently show on ignorance of the facts. Spinning does protect a woman's virtue, because it enables women, who are to day working on public roads and are often in danger of having their modesty outraged, to protect themselves, and I know no other occupation that lace of women can follow save spinning. Let me inform the jesting writer that several women have already returned to the sanctity of their homes and taken to spinning which they say is the one occupation which means so much *barkat* (blessing). I claim for it the properties of a musical instrument, for whilst a hungry and a naked woman will refuse to dance to the accompaniment of a piano, I have seen women beaming with joy to see the spinning wheel work, for they know that they can through that rustic instrument both feed and clothe themselves.

Yes, it does solve the problem of India's chronic poverty and is an insurance against famine. The writer of the jests may not know the scandals that I know about irrigation and relief works. These works are largely a fraud. But if my wise counsellors will devote themselves to introducing the wheel in every home, I promise that the wheel will be an almost complete protection against famine. It is idle to cite Austria. I admit the poverty and limitations of my humanity. I can only think of India's *Kamadhenu*, and the spinning wheel is that for India. For India had the spinning wheel in every home before the advent of the East India Company. India being a cotton growing country, it must be considered a crime to import a single yard of yarn from outside. The figures quoted by the writer are irrelevant.

The fact is that in spite of the manufacture of 62·7 crores pounds of yarn in 1917-18 India imported several crore yards of foreign yarn which were woven by the mills as well as the weavers. The writer does not also seem to know that more cloth is to-day woven by our weavers than by mills, but the bulk of it is foreign yarn and therefore our weavers are supporting foreign spinners. I would not mind it much if we were doing something else instead. When spinning was almost compulsorily stopped nothing replaced it save slavery and idleness. Our mills cannot to-day spin enough for our wants, and if they did, they will not keep down prices unless they were compelled. They are frankly money-makers and will not therefore regulate prices according to the needs of the nation. Hand spinning is therefore designed to put millions of rupees in the hands of poor villagers. Every agricultural country requires a supplementary industry to enable the peasants to utilise the spare hours. Such industry for India has always been spinning. Is it such a visionary ideal—an attempt to revive

expressed in the wonderful fabric of India and which was the envy of the world?

And now a few figures. One boy could, if he worked say four hours daily, spin $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of yarn. 64,000 students would, therefore, spin 16,000 lbs per day, and therefore feed 8,000 weavers if a weaver wove two lbs. of hand-spun yarn. But the students and others are required to spin during this year of purification by way of penance in order to popularise spinning and to add to the manufacture of hand-spun yarn so as to overtake full manufacture during the current year. The nation may be too lazy to do it. But if all put their hands to this work, it is incredibly easy, it involves very little sacrifice and saves an annual drain of sixty crores even if it does nothing else. I have discussed the matter with many mill owners, several economists, men of business and no one has yet been able to challenge the position herein set forth. I do expect the 'Servant of India' to treat a serious subject with seriousness and accuracy of information.

THE BHIL CONFERENCE.

Of the many submerged communities which are being crushed between the mill-stones of the social tyranny of the high caste man, and the political and economic tyranny of the Government and the *owkar*, the Bhil community of Gujarat is perhaps the worst off. The Bhils are a strong, sturdy and industrious people, living chiefly by agriculture. But driven to hunger and desperation under the intolerable yoke of excessive land revenue with all its attendant evils, and the viles of the money-lender, they have fallen an easy prey to the vices of drinking and stealing, and thus been reduced to a state of utter servility and poverty. But the fact that they too are making an earnest effort to purify themselves and thus help the great national movement may be seen by the extraordinary gathering they held at Dahad, in Panchmahals, under the Presidency of Mr. Vallabhai J. Patel, in circumstances not very encouraging. They were meeting to resolve to give up their habits of drink and stealing and to protect themselves against "begar" and other forms of forced labour. Those responsible for the maintenance of peace, order and prosperity in their provinces however, seem, to have felt uneasy and even annoyed at this revolt of the Bhils against their own weaknesses; the propaganda of temperance among them had already affected the Government's excise revenue, and the officials could ill-brook the Bhils' efforts to resist against 'cheap,' or "voluntarily free labour." The arrest of their leader, *Guru Govind*, was therefore contemplated and dramatically effected. This *Guru Govind* has a history behind him. In the early part of the last decade attempts were made by some educated reformers to lift up the Bhil community from its helpless state, but the gulf dividing our reformers from their fallen brothers seems to have been too wide to

be bridged. Sprung up among them and this *Guru Govind*, who was one of them, began to preach abstinence and non-stealing. A wonderful effect this had on many a Bhil, who gave up drinking altogether. This obviously dealt a hard blow at the excise revenue of the province and some adjoining states and ultimately is said to have resulted in a shocking incident—the arrest and order of execution of *Guru Govind*, and the shooting down of scores of the *Guru's* followers by armed constabulary.

This was in 1914 and, 18. *Guru Govind*, however, was saved from the gallows to undergo penal servitude for life which was again reduced to a sentence of ten years rigorous imprisonment, but he was finally released in Dec. 1919, under the Royal Proclamation, he returned to his followers, though broken both in health and spirit. But the spirit he had infused had survived him and the Conference held last week of which we are writing was its fruition.

At about 1 A. M. on the morning of the day the Conference was to meet, *Guru Govind* was rudely awakened from his sleep and asked by the District Superintendent of Police to see the Dist. Magistrate at once. He was not even allowed to dress himself properly or speak to his son who was sleeping inside, and removed to an unknown destination. We are now informed that he is confined in the Sabarmati Jail. This arrest of *Guru Govind* naturally led to excitement and consternation at first but by the efforts of the workers, calm was restored. And the fact that he was removed in the presence of hundreds of his followers without any of resistance, whereas his last arrest had resulted in violence and bloodshed, is in itself a sufficient proof of the control his followers exercised on their passion. The lively proceedings of the Conference too were throughout marked by peaceful attitude and solemn determination of the audience of over 20,000, to give effect to the resolutions of self-purification and non-violence they were passing. They passed resolutions enjoining abstinence, non-stealing and non-violence and many assembled took a vow of temperance. We certainly do not desire ignorant and credulous peasantry to be made a tool in the hands of unscrupulous men but we do desire their social and political uplift. In this the Bhil Conference affords a lesson.

ANOTHER MUNICIPALITY NON-CO-OPERATES.

The Municipality of Ahmedabad, which is the second city in the Presidency, has not been slow to respond to the call of the nation. On the motion of Mr. Vallabhai J. Patel, one of the best workers in the province and in the Municipality, a resolution not to receive the education grant from the Government was passed by a large majority, in pursuance of the N. C. C. Resolution of the Nagpur Congress. This decision of one of the major municipalities in the province

has evoked strong criticism from *The Servant of India* and *The Times of India*. To minimise the above decision of the Municipality, our contemporaries attack its efficiency and wisdom. Their main ground of such an attack seems to be that some ten years back, i. e., two elections before the last, the Municipality had been superseded. *The Times of India* goes even further and cites the opposition to certain measures offered by the rate-payers and the Municipality some 25 years back, but we have not heard one word before this from the mouth of our contemporaries against the present body during the two years of its existence. It is childish to damn it for the alleged sins of its predecessors. *The Servant of India*, ignorant, perhaps, of the origin of the resolution, expects the residents to raise a strong protest, and compel the Municipality to go back on its present resolution. The facts, however, are that the resolution is in full consonance with the wishes of the residents, that a referendum was first taken, and the resolution only moved after the will of the rate-payers had been ascertained. The Municipality would have failed in its duty, if it had not acceded to the declared wish of the people.

The Servant of India shows concern for the elementary education of the people. It exclaims: "What a mockery of the promised *Swaraj* it is that elementary education should be deliberately sacrificed for the sake of a mere fad." It would look as though the municipality had closed down its schools, though even that would not be too great a sacrifice if it were necessary. As a matter of fact, all the schools of the municipality are running as usual; only the School Committee wrote to the Department of Public Instruction on the next day informing it of the resolution of the Board, and its intention to conduct the coming examinations independent of the Department. The examinations have since been managed entirely by the municipality. On the other hand the fear expressed by *The Servant of India* would have been well-founded if, as a result of the going back of the municipality upon the express wish of the residents, and of the subsequent withdrawal of their children, the schools might have had to be closed down. As to the reference by our contemporary to sec. 58 of the Municipal Act, we would only repeat what the Nadiad Municipality has pointed out that the said section must remain in abeyance if the wishes of the rate-payers were to be respected, and there could be no other alternative except the disbandment of the municipality. But that too would not stay the decision of the rate-payers to withdraw their children from the schools in which case the Government would have only the mud and plaster of the empty buildings of the schools to exercise their control upon. On the other hand the rate-payers might have to question the propriety of being served, against their express wishes, by an agency by which they do not want to be served.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 16th, February, 1921.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Strikes are the order of the day. They are a symptom of the existing unrest. All kinds of vague ideas are floating in the air. A vague hope inspires all, and great will be the disappointment if that vague hope does not take definite shape. The labour world in India, as elsewhere, is at the mercy of those who set up as advisers and guides. The latter are not always scrupulous, and not always wise even when they are scrupulous. The labourers are dissatisfied with their lot. They have every reason for dissatisfaction. They are being taught, and justly, to regard themselves as being chiefly instrumental in enriching their employers. And so it requires little effort to make them lay down their tools. The political situation too is beginning to affect the labourers of India. And there are not wanting labour leaders who consider that strikes may be engineered for political purposes.

In my opinion, it will be a most serious mistake to make use of labour strikes for such a purpose. I don't deny that such strikes can serve political ends. But they do not fall within the plan of non-violent Non-co-operation. It does not require much effort of the intellect to perceive that it is a most dangerous thing to make political use of labour until labourers understand the political condition of the country and are prepared to work for the common good. This is hardly to be expected of them all of a sudden and until they have bettered their own condition so as to enable them to keep body and soul together in a decent manner. The greatest political contribution, therefore, that labourers can make is to improve their own condition, to become better informed, to insist on their rights, and even to demand proper use by their employers of the manufactures in which they have had such an important hand. The proper evolution, therefore, would be for the labourers to raise themselves to the status of part proprietors. Strikes, therefore, for the present should only take place for the direct betterment of the labourers' lot, and, when they have acquired the spirit of patriotism, for the regulation of prices of their manufactures.

The conditions of a successful strike are simple. And when they are fulfilled a strike need never fail.

- (1) The cause of the strike must be just.
- (2) There should be practical unanimity among the strikers.
- (3) There should be no violence used against non-strikers.
- (4) Strikers should be able to maintain themselves during the strike period without falling back upon Union funds and should therefore occupy them-

(6) A strike is no remedy when there is enough other labour to replace strikers. In that case, in the event of unjust treatment or inadequate wages or the like, resignation is the remedy.

(8) Successful strikes have taken place even when all the above conditions have not been fulfilled, but that merely proves that the employees were weak and had a guilty conscience. We often make terrible mistakes by copying bad examples. The safest thing is not to copy examples of which we have rarely complete knowledge but to follow the conditions which we know and recognise to be essential for success.

It is the duty of every well wisher of the country, if we are to attain Swaraj during the year, not to precipitate any action that may even by a day retard the fulfilment of the great national purpose.

SOCIAL BOYCOTT.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Non-co-operation being a movement of purification is bringing to the surface all our weaknesses as also excusses of even our strong points. Social boycott is an age-old institution. It is coeval with caste. It is the one terrible sanction exercised with great effect. It is based upon the notion that a community is not bound to extend its hospitality or service to an excommunicate. It answered when every village was a self-contained unit, and the occasions of recalcitrancy were rare. But when opinion is divided, as it is to-day, on the merits of Non-co-operation, when its new application is having a trial, a summary use of social boycott in order to bend a minority to the will of the majority is a species of unpardonable violence. If persisted in, such boycott is bound to destroy the movement. Social boycott is applicable and effective when it is not felt as a punishment and accepted by the object of boycott as a measure of discipline. Moreover, social boycott to be admissible in a campaign of non-violence must never savour of inhumanity. It must be civilised. It must cause pain to the party using it, if it causes inconvenience to its object. Thus, depriving a man of the services of a medical man, as is reported to have been done in Jhansi, is an act of inhumanity tantamount in the moral code to an attempt to murder. I see no difference in murdering a man and withdrawing medical aid from a man who is on the point of dying. Even the laws of war, I apprehend, require the giving of medical relief to the enemy in need of it. To deprive a man of the use of an only village-well is notice to him to quit that village. Surely, non-co-operators have acquired no right to use that extreme pressure against those who do not see eye to eye with them. Impatience and intolerance will surely kill this great religious movement. We may not make people pure by

There are no doubt serious difficulties in our way. The temptation to resort to social boycott is irresistible when a defendant, who submits to private arbitration, refuses to abide by its award. Yet it is easy to see that the application of social boycott is more than likely to arrest the splendid movement to settle disputes by arbitration which, apart from its use as a weapon in the armoury of Non-co-operation, is a movement fraught with great good to the country. People will take care before they accommodate themselves to private arbitration. Its very simplicity and inexpensiveness will repel many people even as palates jaded by spicy foods are repelled by simple combinations. Awards will not always be above suspicion. We must therefore rely upon the intrinsic merits of the movement and the correctness of awards to make itself felt.

It is much to be desired if we can bring about a complete voluntary boycott of law courts. That one event can bring about Swaraj. But it was never expected that we would reach completion in any single item of Non-co-operation. Public opinion has been so far developed as to recognise the Courts as signs not of our liberty but of our slavery. It has made it practically impossible for lawyers to practice their profession and be called popular leaders.

Non-co-operation has greatly demolished the prestige of law courts and to that extent of the Government. The disintegrating process is slowly but surely going on. Its velocity will suffer diminution if violent methods are adopted to hasten it. This government of ours is armed to the teeth to meet and check forces of violence. It possesses nothing to check the mighty forces of non-violence. How can a handful of Englishmen resist a voluntary expression of opinion accompanied by the voluntary self-denial of thirty crores of people?

I hope, therefore, that Non-co-operation workers will beware of the snares of social boycott. But the alternative to social boycott is certainly not social intercourse. A man who dares strong clear public opinion on vital matters is not entitled to social amenities and privileges. We may not take part in his social functions such as marriage feasts, ~~we may not receive guests from him.~~ But we dare not deny social service. The latter is a duty. Attendance at dinner parties and the like is a privilege which it is optional to withhold or extend. But it would be wisdom to err on the right side and to exercise the weapon even in the limited sense described by me on rare and well-defined occasions. And in every case the user of the weapon will use it at his own risk. The use of it is not as yet in any form a duty. No one is entitled to its use if there is any danger of hurting the movement.

NOTICE.

All our Agents are requested to clear up their Accounts with our Office, *agosto-dato*.

THE EAST AFRICAN DEMAND.

(By C. F. Andrews)

I have received from East Africa, by the last mail, a very important document. It is the Representation sent to the Prime Minister of England, on behalf of the East African Indian National Congress. It is the most convincing reply yet given to Lord Milner's Pronouncement, in the House of Lords, on July 14th, 1920, and to his Despatch, which Sir Edward Northey read out formally to the Indian community, as the final word on the Indian Question, at a public meeting in Nairobi last August. Since those statements of Lord Milner, which were of a pro-European character, we have had three definitions of the Indian case:—

- (i) The Government of India Despatch.
- (ii) Mr. A. M. Jewanjee's Presidential Address at Mombasa Indian National Congress.
- (iii) The Representation, drawn up by the Committee of the East African National Congress, on behalf of the Indian community, and sent to the Prime Minister.

It is noticeable, that all these three documents are very nearly identical in their main demands. They claim, in unequivocal language, the cancelling of race segregation, the grant of a common franchise to Indians and Europeans alike on a common register (both for provincial and municipal council elections), and the withdrawal of all prohibitions, which would prevent Indians acquiring land in the Upland area.

Mr. A. M. Jewanjee, on his own personal account, went farther in his presidential speech, and demanded that East Africa should be made an Indian Colony, under the Government of India Administration. In this, he expressed his own individual opinion. This demand was not made by the National Congress as a whole.

The Representation to the Prime Minister includes the further demand of a minimum of two Indian seats on the Executive Council. I believe that this was also made a part of the Congress Resolutions. Personally, I should be strongly in favour of pressing this demand. Racial equality can hardly be obtained without some fundamental equality in the supreme Government itself. I am also strongly in favour of the claim, that the Civil Services should be thrown open, from top to bottom, to Indians, on the same terms as to Europeans; and that posts should be offered in India as well as in England for those services.

It is interesting to note the difference in the tone of the three documents. The Government of India Despatch is necessarily the most cautious and apologetic of the three. It is really a despatch from one Government office to another Government office. It was therefore, of necessity, formal. But, all the same, for any one who has been accustomed to study official language and its conventions, there can be no doubt whatever, that its tone is more than usually strong, and certainly its meaning

could not possibly be mistaken. As far as East Africa is concerned, the Government of India have now burnt their boats behind them. They cannot take anything less, for Indians, than equal racial status with the Europeans.

The speech of Mr. A. M. Jewanjee is a fighting speech, and in certain places it is open to criticism, as being too highly coloured and overstating the facts. The presentation of the facts would have been far stronger if they had been given barely and rigorously, and without the slightest touch of exaggeration: for they are tremendously convincing as they stand. But, on the other hand, it may be said for the speech, that it was delivered with such an impressiveness of enthusiasm and such a depth of conviction, as to leave the deepest sense of seriousness upon the minds of the audience. It also gained most striking comments from the European Press. It is not often that the "East African Standard" and the "Mombasa Times" write so sympathetically on the Indian Question, as they did after the National Congress.

The Representation to the Prime Minister is almost in the form of a legal document; but it breathes earnestness and conviction in every paragraph. It does the greatest credit to those who have drawn it up. It will remain a documentary record, long after the whole struggle is over.

—The Bombay Chronicle.

ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

Thus the Leader:

THE Nation is probably not less disgusted with western civilization than Mr. Gandhi is. It writes in its issue of December 24:—

"For six years not a Christian deed has been done in the name of any Christian nation, nor, save in mockery of man's despair or in vain appeal to the moral sense of his rulers, has one Christian word been spoken in their behalf. It may even be said that our Christianity, professed but not followed, does us more harm than good, for, while we use it to consecrate war, and to cloak greed and polity as religion, we mask our souls with a new and deep falsification. The Christian world is a simple dwelling, built for humble-minded men. We rear our proud temples on selflove and the depreciation of our neighbour. Worshipers of Moloch and Mammen, of Power and of Empire, would it not be better for us to own up, and, confessing that the God we worship lives not in the spirit of Jesus, so low a frank Diabolism in place of a sham Christianity?"

Thus is a terrible indictment but in large part it is true. The European nations fought among themselves not for the high ideals they avowed, but, as the peace treaties prove, for domination. The Central Powers were more frank in the statement of their war aims, but the Allies indulged in any amount of camouflage, and had they been not victorious and their real designs not been exposed by the sordid treaties, the world would have continued to believe in the sincerity of the professions made by them during the war. But they have proved false to the ideas preached by

EAST AFRICAN MEMORANDUM.

The following is a gist of the memorandum submitted by the Committee of the East African Indian National Congress, and referred to by Mr. Andrews in his article published elsewhere. The memorandum is a refutation of Lord Milner's statement in the House of Lords, and puts forward the Indian case in a very reasonable and dispassionate manner.

Firstly to prove that ever since the Colonial Office took the administration of the colony, "Indian interests have been ignored and trampled upon, and a deliberate policy to drive out Indians slowly, but surely, has been relentlessly pursued," it cites some of the administrative and legislative measures, designed for this purpose:

1. The Mining Ordinance passed in 1912 expressly excludes all Indians from the mining industry, as it is laid down that only Europeans can obtain a Prospective Licence, whereas the Mining Regulation of 1902 made no such distinction. The same may also be said of the Ostich Farming Ordinance passed in 1907. The Crown Lands Ordinance, though it contains nothing that can be said to be harmful to Indian interests, yet is so adversely administered that the net result has been the almost entire exclusion of Indians from the farming industry.

(2) From the Memorandum of an interview between Sir Edward Northey and the deputation of the Indian Association at Nairobi, on the 21st March 1919, and from a letter of the Chief Secretary we learn that "though the Indian interest should not be lost sight of, European interests must be paramount throughout the Protectorate."

(3) Invidious distinctions were made between the Indian and the European ex-soldiers. "A soldier settlement scheme was formulated for the sole benefit of the European ex-soldiers and more than 1500 farms were allotted under it. But the Indians were shamefully treated. When a request was made that Indian ex-soldiers should also be given land, the reply was given that any land available would be given to European applicants, and if there was any residue the Arabs and Africans of the country would have the first claim." Not only this: the Indian ex-soldiers were denied the benefits of war-bonus, gratuity, etc., which were given to the Europeans.

The claim for equal representation in the Municipal Councils is thus stated.

Not are the Indian interests safe in the keeping of Europeans. Because, whereas money is lavishly spent on the sanitation and lighting of the European quarters so remote as Parkland and the Hill, the Indian Bazar and Indian locality in the town is hopelessly neglected. Bad lighting, atrocious condition of roads and stinking filthy drains are their share of the bargain. Thus, when the bulk of municipal revenue comes from their pockets. No amount of political platitudes or adroit shuffling of arguments can get over this state of facts.

SEGREGATION.

There is no subject on which the Secretary of State for the Colonies has been more misinformed than this. It is unfortunately true that at present Indians in East Africa are compelled to live in a sort of ghettos for the

simple reason that though there are vast areas of land available, the Government has never made any provision for residential quarters for Indians, they are even visited with warnings from the Government against building residences for their own occupation in the reserved European areas. The insanitary conditions in the Indian Bazaar are due to the congestion brought about by the negligence of the Government to provide even the necessary sites for the housing of the Indian community. The latter, after showing that this policy is due to "protect" European interests proceeds.

INDIANS' DEMANDS.

52. Our Demands—

(1) Legislative Council.—Common franchise and common register preferably or as a step towards it same number of elected members as those of Europeans elected.

(2) Executive Council.—Two Indian members and no less.

(3) Municipal Council.—We prefer to have common franchise and common register, or as a step towards it equal members as those of Europeans.

(4) We demand that segregation in any sense or in any area disappear altogether, and we ask for guarantee that it will not be introduced under any pretext or form.

(5) We also demand that there shall be no reservation of highlands for Europeans; and that henceforward an Indian shall be able to acquire and develop land in any part of the country on equal terms with Europeans without restrictions.

RENOUNCEMENT OF PRACTICE

The following Vaktis of Salem have now suspended practice and taken up national organising work in their district:—

1. Mr. V. S. Subramania Aiyer, B. A., B. L.
2. " M. G. Vasudevayya, B. A., B. L.
3. " K. V. Subba Rao, B. A., B. L.
4. " D. S. Gopalachar, B. A., B. L.
5. " N. Rama Rao, B. A., B. L.

Mr. G. A. Sundaram, B. A., B. L., of Madras has also suspended practice.

TO INTENDING SUBSCRIBERS

It has been noticed that a number of V. Pa. sent as per orders are returned to us after a lapse of a month or two or sometimes even three, the addressees refusing or not claiming the V. Pa. while they have been receiving the paper during the period. We therefore propose to send the paper until all the back issues from the first week of January, after receipt of the V. P. Money. As notified in another place, we are abolishing the V. P. System altogether and we would request our intending subscribers to send the subscriptions, Rs. 5 yearly, Rs. 3 half yearly, per money order.

NOTICE

Copies of "Hind Swaraj" By M. K. Gandhi can be had from our Madras Agents, Messrs S. Ganesan & Co. Triplicane, Madras.

YOUNG INDIA

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(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

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Notes.

How may lawyers and students help?—Everywhere I have been asked whether lawyers and students who do not carry out the Congress resolution affecting them can help the movement in any other way. The question is rather strange for it assumes that if a lawyer or a student cannot non-co-operate as such he cannot help at all. There are undoubtedly hundreds of students and scores of lawyers who are not suspending their normal studies or their practice, as the case may be, only out of weakness. A lawyer who cannot suspend practice can certainly help with money, he can give his spare hours to public service, he can introduce honesty and fair dealings in his profession, he can cease to consider clients as fit prey for his pecuniary ambition, he can cease to have anything to do with touts, he can promote settlement of cases by private arbitration, he can at least do spinning himself for one or two hours per day, he can simplify the life of his family, he can induce the members of the family to do spinning religiously for a certain time daily, he can adopt for himself and his family the use of Khaddar. These are only some of the things that can be done by every lawyer. Because a man cannot or will not carry out a particular part of the non-co-operation programme, he need not be shy about the other items. One thing a practising lawyer may not do, he may no longer figure as a leader on public platform. He must be content to be a silent worker. What I have said about practising lawyers applies to students also who cannot or will not withdraw from schools. Most of our volunteers are drawn from the student world. Volunteering is a privilege and a student who has not been able to withdraw from Government schools cannot receive privileges from the nation. They too must be content to be unambitious servants of the nation. Even if we cannot completely boycott schools and colleges, we must destroy their prestige. That prestige has almost gone and is daily decreasing. And we must do nothing that would restore their prestige till they are nationalised and answer the requirements of the nation.

Rowdyism.—Certainly, Non-co-operation has received a rude shock by disgraceful behaviour at the Bombay and Poona meetings towards Messrs Shastri and Prampya. I have seen the explanation that

the hooliganism was resorted to; not by non-co-operation students but by those who wanted to discredit the movement itself, and to rouse prejudice against non-co-operation students. The explanation is likely to be partly true for there are undoubtedly men who would for the sake of killing the movement even create violence. For Non-co-operation to be speedily successful, we must be able to provide even against such contingencies. A soldier cannot plead difficulties in defence of his defeat. When General Buller failed to relieve Ladysmith he was superseded. When Lord Roberts failed to finish the South African War, Lord Kitchener took over command. This Government will live on only so long as it can circumvent non-co-operation. If non-co-operation students did not want to be discredited why did they attend the meeting either in Bombay or in Poona? The notices clearly stated that only those who wished to hear the other side of the question were to attend. There was, therefore, no excuse for the scenes that were enacted in Bombay and Poona. Moreover, it is often forgotten that Messrs Shastri and Prampya are among the ablest and the most public spirited men we have in the country. They are as much lovers of their country as non-co-operators themselves. We may consider them to be mistaken in their view as they consider us to be mistaken. But we shall grievously err if we refuse to listen to the arguments of our opponents.

Nor need we seek to justify rowdysm on the strength of English precedents. We may not call the movement religious and continue still to copy the bluster and violence of English meetings. Our strength lies in not copying foreign or other precedents without discrimination. This movement if it is to be non-violent in essence, as it must be to be successful, has to retain its distinctive character at every step and at all times. —M. K. G.

"The Absurdity of the Lines"—The whole of the Viceroy's speech, inviting the Duke to declare the Houses of Legislature open, is not only a summary of the Report on Indian Constitutional reforms of which the Viceroy was the joint author with Mr. Montagu. And the sum and substance of that summary is contained in the claim that the Indian Government have slowly but surely gone on conceding the popular demands for Reforms, attempting not "any dazzling and brilliant, but inevitable unsteady progress".

but adjusting always its progress to "the progress sanctioned by the people," so that "of India under British rule, it may be truly said, as has been said of England herself, that she has been a land where freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent." Nowhere has this fetish been repeated in season and out of season as it has been in India. How the Government have adjusted their institutions to the degree of the people's progress, may be seen from the impartial testimony of an Indian Civilian who saw many more years of service and personal knowledge of the people of India than the present Viceroy, and whose mind, happily, was not an "old curiosity shop" like that of most of his brother Civilians. Mr. Fielding Hall wrote his book "*The Passing of Empire*" about five years ago. He saw then that the fever of unrest was deep-seated in the people, that it was remittent and affected the whole system. We do not know what he would say of the present state of things. But talking of the prejudices by which the whole bureaucratic mental frame is infected, he says:

The prejudices "are innumerable and serious. You will in consequence find that administration and even legislation are affected by them. The whole attitude of Government to the people it governs is vitiated in this way. There is a want of knowledge and of understanding. In place of it we have fixed opinions based usually on prejudices or on faulty observation, or on circumstances which have changed, and they are never corrected. Young Secretaries read up cack circulars, and repeat their errors indolently. That is 'following precedent.' They will quote you complacently 'Freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent,' and never see the absurdity of the lasso. Freedom is the disregard of the precedent where the precedent is wrong or out of date."

Repression in Behar.—But the mention of Mr. Fielding Hall puts us in mind some of the glaring evils of the system vividly described by him, and which to-day poison the system with, if possible, more stinging rigour. Look at what is being enacted in Behar at the present time. Some of the most active and energetic of the younger workers are being clapped into jail under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, without a tithe of evidence against them. In one instance a worker has been asked to show cause why he should not furnish security for good behaviour because his conduct in a particular place was prejudicial to public safety. The gentlemen assured us in all honesty that he had never been in that place at all! But the brave men are quietly refusing to pay any security and are cheerfully going to jail.

This is how Mr. Fielding Hall describes the administration of these sections:

Nothing could demonstrate how utterly out of touch with the people the courts are, how useless in preventing crime, than the fact that every year Government are obliged to provide for a further hold to heavy security, or send to jail with hard labour (mainly two years) over two thousand per-

sons who are not only not convicted of any offence, but are not accused of any offence. The exact number in 1910 was 2143—and in 1919?

"This is done under the Preventive Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, and anything more unjust, more useless, more provocative of crime than this misuse of the sections it is impossible to imagine." The cases of the legitimate use of these sections are rare. "There are general circulars in force obliging magistrates and police to use sections to their utmost. When officers are on tour they are enjoined to demand at each village they visit if there are any idle or doubtful characters about, and, if so, to prosecute them. Pressure is brought to bear on headmen to produce such characters, and they do produce—every one they have reason to dislike."

That the number of these general circulars has increased in proportion to the increase in the panic of the officials in these Non-co-operation days can easily be imagined.

"The whole Penal System of India is wrong," concludes Mr. Fielding Hall, and says, "I believe I could keep a district in greater quietness and peace if its Criminal Courts were abolished altogether and I were allowed to use the village organisation in its proper form for preventing crime. For the essential truth in dealing with crime, as with disease, is that it can be prevented but can rarely be cured."

Here then is an emphatic reply, by one who speaks with authority supported by experience, to those who say that the abolition of Criminal Courts would spell the end of peace and order. That they have not come to us and in spite of the Courts being practically boycotted by the people is truly demonstrated in the Tihri Division of Behar. They are everyday curtailing the number of private disputes and dealing speedy and effective justice in case of offences. One wonders if repression is not resorted to just to keep the idle magistrates busy!

Civil Courts.—Mr. Fielding Hall has devoted a chapter to prove the futility and wastefulness of Civil Courts. Some of his statements we quote for the edification of lawyers who are still sticking to their courts. Speaking of Burma he says that in 1910 "there were 70,203 suits filed and decrees given, but in 53,594 of these satisfaction could not be obtained and so the decree-holders had to come to Court for warrants of execution. That is to say in over five suits out of seven the losing party could not or would not pay. (It does not follow that in the other two out of the seven he did pay. The decree-holder in a percentage of cases no doubt did not think it worthwhile to go any further.) But in 53,594 cases he came to Court for execution. What did he get? In half of these cases he got absolutely nothing; the execution was 'wholly infructuous.'..... I do not think it would be an overestimate to say that for every pound originally in dispute two pounds were spent in costs and only ten shillings recovered, and to get this, think of the trouble, the worry, indignity and the self-contempt involved. Besides, think of the waste of time—to say nothing of truth."

Is there any doubt that these Courts, which thus in themselves were sinks of iniquity, now are horribly worse after the Punjab revelations?

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 23rd, February, 1921.

THE CONDITIONS OF SWARAJ.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Swaraj is easy of attainment before October next if certain simple conditions can be fulfilled. I ventured to mention one year in September last because I knew that the conditions were incredibly simple and I felt that the atmosphere in the country was responsive. Past five months' experience has confirmed me in the opinion, I am convinced that the country has never been so ready for establishing Swaraj as now.

But it is necessary for us as accurately as possible to know the conditions. One supreme indispensable condition is the continuance of non-violence. Bowdism, hooliganism, looting that we have recently witnessed are disturbing elements. They are danger-signals. We must be able to arrest their progress. The spirit of democracy cannot be established in a year in the midst of terrorism whether governmental or popular. In some respects popular terrorism is more antagonistic to the growth of the democratic spirit than the governmental. For the latter strengthens the spirit of democracy, whereas the former kills it. Dyerism has evoked a yearning after freedom as nothing else has. But internal Dyerism, representing as it will terrorism by a majority, will establish an oligarchy such as will stifle the spirit of all free discussion and conduct. Non-violence, therefore, as against the Government and as between ourselves is absolutely essential to speedy success. And we must be able to devise means of observing it on our part in spite of the gravest provocations.

The next condition is our ability to bring into being the Congress organisation in terms of the new constitution, which aims at establishing a Congress agency in every village with a proper electorate. It means both money and ability to give effect to Congress policies. What is really needed is not a large measure of sacrifice but ability to organise and to take simple concerted action. At the present moment we have not even succeeded in carrying the Congress message to every home in the 75 lacs of villages of India. To do this work means at least 250 honest workers for as many districts, who have influence in their respective districts and who believe in the Congress programme. No village, no circle need wait for instructions from head quarters for founding their respective organisations.

There are certain things that are applicable to all. The most potent thing is Swadeshi. Every home must have the spinning wheel and every village can organise itself in less than a month and become self-supporting for its cloth. Just imagine what this silent revolution means and there would be no difficulty in sharing my belief that Swadeshi means Swaraj and Swadharma.

Every man and woman can give some money—be it even a pice—to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. And we need have no anxiety about financing the movement. Every man and woman can deny himself or herself all luxury, all ornamentation, all intoxicants at least for one year. And we shall have not only money but we shall have boycotted many foreign articles. Our civilisation, our culture our Swaraj depend not upon multiplying our wants—self-indulgence, but upon restricting our wants—self-denial.

We can do nothing without Hindu-Muslim unity and without killing the snake of untouchability. Untouchability is a corroding poison that is eating into the vitals of Hindu society. Varnashram is not a religion of superiority and inferiority. No man of God can consider another man as inferior to himself. He must consider every man as his blood-brother. It is the cardinal principle of every religion.

If this is a religious battle, no argument is necessary to convince the reader that self-discipline must be its supreme test. Khilafat cannot be saved, the Punjab humanity cannot be redressed, without godliness. Godliness means change of heart,—in political language, changing the angle of vision. And such a change can come in a moment. My belief is that India is ripe for that change.

Let us then rivet our attention on:

- (1) Cultivating the spirit of non-violence,
- (2) Setting up Congress organisations in every village.
- (3) Introducing the spinning wheel in every home and manufacturing all the cloth, required for our wants, through the village weaver.
- (4) Collecting as much money as possible.
- (5) Promoting Hindu-Muslim unity and
- (6) Ridding Hinduism of the taint of untouchability and otherwise purifying ourselves by avoiding intoxicating drinks and drugs.

Have we honest, earnest, industrious, patriotic workers for this very simple programme? If we have, Swaraj will be established in India before next October.

NON-CO-OPERATION—ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

[The following is published not for its originality but as an able contribution by a young Panjabi student who has non-co-operated lately.]

There is no denying the truth contained in Thoreau's saying that that Government is best which governs least and therefore an ideal government would be one which governs not at all. In fact the saying is a self-evident truth, for certainly an ideal state of society would be one in which everybody thought right and did right of his own accord without standing in need of any guidance or interference from outside. But since the state of our society is far from being perfect and some measure of evil is almost always present in it, man parts with a fraction of his individual liberty in exchange for the sundry benefits which are ex-

pected to accrue from association with the State; and thus the institution called the State comes into existence.

The association of the individual with the State is thus a purely voluntary matter, and it is clear that the sole justification for the existence of the State is the assumption that it promotes the well-being of the people. This alone constitutes its claim to the allegiance of its subjects. Therefore, it goes without saying that as soon as it begins to fail in its duty or begins to pass measures and frame laws which are contrary to the conscience and the best interests of the people, it loses its right to their allegiance, and it not only becomes necessary but a matter of religious duty for the people to withdraw their support from the State when the dictates of conscience require it.

But although theoretically speaking this association of the people with the State is, and ought to be a purely voluntary affair, the State has everywhere grown to be a most formidable engine of tyranny and repression, of organised violence and plunder, by which a few persons govern and exploit the many. "Man is born free and yet," lamented Rousseau, "he is everywhere in chains"—This is the sad spectacle which today meets our sight on whatever side we turn.

All efforts made hitherto to cope with this evil have not only signally failed, they have, on the contrary, simply served to aggravate the evil. Democracy which, at one time, it was hoped would serve as a panacea for all social evils has proved to be far worse than the lawless, feudal regime of the Middle Ages. It has simply replaced the erratic plundering raids of the "crag barons" of the mediaeval times, with a silent, universal process of organised robbery of the modern capitalistic State, all the more dangerous because it lulls the people into a false sense of security while vampire-like it sucks their life-blood, all the more deadly because whereas, the "crag-baron" of the past times could only enslave the body, the modern "crag-baron" with the far bitter poison of his purse infects and destroys the soul as well.

Now the methods tried so far to cure this evil might conveniently be described as:—

- (1) Those based on the principle of Reform
- (2) Those based on the principle of Violence.

They failed because, either they were half-measures or were unsound measures—that is no measures at all. Reforms have already failed as they are bound to fail because they imply a compromise and co-operation with the principle of evil. Now a State does not exist by virtue of sheer brute-force but by gaining the moral support of the good people in it. Evil in itself is sterile. It is self-destructive; it exists and flourishes through the implication of good that is in it. Further, the acceptance of partial reforms takes away the ground under the reformer's feet. Science teaches us that a lever cannot move a body unless it has got a resting point outside the body against

which it is applied. Similarly, in order to overcome evil one must stand wholly outside it i. e. on the firm, solid ground of unadulterated good.

The methods of violence, again have not only failed in their purpose but have produced an effect opposite to what they were intended to produce. Because, when once physical force comes on the scene, it calls forth a superior physical force which subdues it for the time being. Then it puts forth more force and the chain of violence lengthens and strengthens. This method is wrong because it overlooks the fundamental fact that evil can never be overcome with evil, it ceases only through good. We will remember how Lord Krishna in Bhagwad Gita, in the vision of the cosmic form allowed to Arjuna, Duryodhana and the other Kauravas as self-destroyed already by their own evil. "Kalo-sam kalamidam" says He, "I am a priori time seated—in a priori space." Nor must we forget that in Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound' Zeus, the principle of evil, is dethroned not by any form of force but topples down by its own weight. It is dethroned by Cronos which is the same thing as "a priori time seated in a priori space."

Both these methods fail because they deal with the superficial symptoms only and do not touch the root of the evil, the disease itself. Advocates of these methods think that by partially reforming the various institutions which constitute the State, they would be able to put an end to the sufferings of Society. They overlook the fact that the State-evil is not the cause but the effect of Social evil just as the sea-waves are the effect and not the cause of the storm. The only way of curing a disease is to remove the causes thereof. Let people purify themselves, let them cease to indirectly participate in the evil of the State and it will disappear by itself.

Self-purification, then, and not violence, or reform is the real remedy. To purify oneself by withdrawing co-operation from the State: This is the great doctrine of Non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation, however, does not in any way mean anarchy or absence of order. For non-co-operation with the State means a closer co-operation among the people themselves. Thus Non-co-operation is a process of evolution: It has most aptly been described as Evolutionary-revolution.

Now the question naturally arises: what are the various methods by which a State maintains its hold on the people? To describe briefly, they are four in number:—

(1) Intimidation—Representing the State as something sacred and immutable, punishing any attempt to alter it. Thus it does through the agency of its law-courts and councils—the latter investing the former with the authority which they rigorously use in the interests of the State. And as for the councils it is clear that no real reform can ever come through them. For the rulers having the power to sanction or disallow any law they like would never allow any measure to be passed which in any way curtails their power. What they really

do is something like this:—when any particular individual or section of the community becomes too noisy and troublesome they say, "Look here, be quiet and we will widen our system of plunder a little so as to admit you into it and then we will together exploit the masses and I have the plunder between us." This they call reform and so the process of exploitation goes on.

(2) *Corruption*.—Taxing the workers in order to pay salaries to officials who are bound in return to maintain the State in the process of exploiting the masses, and also by rewarding its agents by bestowing titles, honours and honorary offices.

(3) *Hypnotism*.—Through the State-aided and State-controlled schools and colleges where children are taught to regard allegiance to the State as something higher than allegiance to their conscience and are infected with false doctrines regarding patriotism and "duty of obedience to superiors" so that they easily fall under the spell of "the creak of the rotten state-machine"

(4) *Militarism*.—By selecting men who have been enslaved by the foregoing three methods and by uniforms, drilling, barracks, music etc, deadening their conscience till they cease to be men and become submissive machines.

The only way in which people can escape from the clutches of a corrupt state, then, is to cease to participate directly or indirectly, in its evil by—

(1) Lawyers suspending their practice, and the people boycotting the law-courts and settling disputes among themselves by private arbitration, along with which must go the process of organizing the village communes and Panchayats.

(2) People refusing to accept titles, honours, salaried posts or any other benefits from a government whose hands are shown to be unclean.

(3) By emptying the Government schools and colleges and thus saving their children from the deadly effects of intellectual asphyxia to which they are subjected there, such withdrawal being accompanied by the establishment of national-schools where the children should receive national and religious training and learn the habit of self-respect and that of following their conscience.

(4) By refusing to serve the military and the police and abjuring all violence so as to remove the necessity of the former.

It is clear that when all these things are gone through the necessity of paying taxes will automatically disappear. The people then should refuse to pay taxes and patiently abide by the conse-

This, then, is a brief outline of the great doctrine of Non-co-operation. This sacred, fundamental and inalienable right of the people to non-co-operate with a government, when the dictates of conscience require it, has been accepted by all the thinking minds of all the ages. Even an ardent apostle of "Constitution," like Tennyson has paid homage to it.

"Should banded unions persecute
Opinion and induce a time,
When single thought is civil crime
And individual freedom mute;
"Though power should make from bound to bound
The name of Britain trebly great—
Though every channel of the State
Should fill and choke with golden sand—
"Yet wait me from the harbour mouth
Wild winds, I seek a warmer sky,
And I will see before I die
The palms and temples of the South."

But the one thing absolutely essential for success is that people should scrupulously shun all violence in word, deed or thought. The slightest attempt at violence would injure the cause. It would take away from the people the power of patient and clean suffering by tainting their conscience and let loose the retaliatory machinery of the Government which would be but too glad to find some pretext for its use.

People must bring, to the altar of liberty the offerings of pure self-sacrifice and patient suffering. There will be provocations and oppressions which will tax their powers of endurance to the utmost but as it has been said, "He alone who endures on to the end shall be saved." Thus alone would they gain real liberty, real freedom, real Swaraj; thus alone will they get true happiness, thus alone will they gain real victory for in the immortal haes of Shelley:—

To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night,
To love, to bear, to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, to falter, nor repent,
This like the glorious Titan is to be
Great, good and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone life, joy, Empire and Victory.

A CIVILIAN REPLIES.

We reproduce below the correspondence that recently took place between Mr. Fremantle of the Indian Civil Service and Mr. Gandhi, with reference to the latter's letter "To every Englishman in India" published in these columns—

MR FREMANTLE'S LETTER.

To Mahatma Gandhi Sahib,

Sir,

I have not had the pleasure of perusing in full the open letter to Europeans in India which I understand you indicated last year, and am acquainted with its contents merely through a Hindi translation which I have partly read.

You began, I believe, by some detail of the services you had rendered to the British Empire. Have you ever asked yourself, and if you have not, I would request you to do so now, how far you can hope to impress us with them, having in regard the circumstances. Between August 4, 1914 and November 11, 1920, thousands of Englishmen, I am not including those thousands who fought because they were already in the services, or for country's sake, or for adventure, or who were conscripted,

thousands of Englishmen joined the colours merely for justice's sake. All of these last men who had no lust for conquest, who would never have fought in the Boer War or any other war of which they in their consciences did not approve, cheerfully faced, not death merely,—that was nothing,—but the exquisite torture of lying wounded for hours in "No Man's Land," and the foul ignominy of a German prisoners' camp. Many were wounded again and again. Many more who have escaped unscathed were six years ago starting hopefully on their careers and now see themselves, by their own voluntary act in joining up cheerfully at the call of right, reduced to indigence. And all this not for a particular motive, but, I repeat, to establish a universal principle. Compared with these what have you suffered? What have you lost that you should presume to place yourself upon an eminence on the strength of any losses or sufferings, and to lecture others?

An eminence? Yes, you are upon one. I will not, deny it, but of what elevation? Do you know the delightful story of Alphonse Daudet about the Alpine Club, at Tarascon? You may have seen the low hills he speaks of, from the train between Marseilles and Paris. They had seal and "selflessness"—these members their arrangements were perfect; they had axes to their seal and ropes and alpenstocks and all the paraphernalia of mountaineers; they climbed zealously and with reckless courage to the very topmost point which they from their provincial boulevards could descry; but it was not Mont Blanc. Scarcely one tenth as high! Just similarly you have merely reached just the highest pinnacle within your own orbit of vision and cannot get higher without first going down, which you are not likely to do. There is another thing which distinguishes you, your "idealism". I do not myself think great things of that shallow quality, that miscalled idealism which turns from history and experience to evolve a misty Utopia out of the inner consciousness. To me it seems more like cynicism. To suppose, for example, that the history of the dealings of the West with India, a history of the invitation of British and French traders, soldiers and administrators to settle among people who believed that the West had something valuable to give, of the relinquishment—often voluntary—of large territories to their sway, the eventual secure establishment of a pax Britannica, to suppose that this was all merely a sort of Babel's progress ending in the aggrandisement of a power with Satanic attributes, is not this to take a cynic's view of human nature?

But though you have not that higher idealism which looks hard at the facts and perceives the ideal in them, which finds in the great march of history a continual progress towards good, you have yet idealism of a kind, low, you are yet high above the depths, above those revolutionaries whose weapons are lies, the dagger, and the bomb. Violence you will not have within the orbit of your personal influence;—we have much to be thankful for. On truth you appear to set a peculiar value. One would suppose that you were in possession of some special Ithuriel's spear, a the touch of whose celestial temper "no falsehood can sustain." It would be a mistake however were we to be so dazzled by the high idea you set before yourself as not to realise that practice trails painfully behind. Not only—to take a recent example—does your unnecessary letter to H. R. H. the Duke of Cornwall contain two flatly

false statements, but truthful yourself in the main, you are not—if newspaper reports are correct—scrupulous about lies uttered in your presence. Witness the disgusting aspersion on a British officer now recognised as the Kachgarhi fable, about his brutally smashing the face or neck of the helpless dying Pathan. It is said that when these edifying details had been recounted before you by the Khilafat lecturer, you far from rebuking what the most elementary knowledge of Englishmen and their ways would have revealed as an absurd concoction,—got up at the close and made a feeling allusion to the story, treating it as accepted truth. The "Tribune" apology is published; we await yours and are likely still to await it. For what is your responsibility? Merely that of getting the seal of your approval on a lie. And what is the seal of your approval worth? Little even in your estimation.

But a public expression of regret for publicly countenancing a gross libel is a sacrifice to truth too great for you to make. It would be too much, too, to expect you to renounce what we mean by ingenuitance; to comprehend that a plain man does not—as you do—postpone the issue of orders counteracting the excessive zeal of subordinates till it is too late. But you are not a plain man. If you were, you would condemn a rule permitting direct pressure to be brought on school boys of over sixteen to leave school, but not upon those of under sixteen, as the most transparent humbug. But we cannot expect you to see this. You cannot perceive Mont Blanc from where you sit, even although it is upon a pinnacle of veracity far above the Serbonian morass of that rill-rill of followers of yours which undertook to explain to Punjab peasants what the Rowlett Bills were about.

If you have had patience to follow me so far, you will have been enabled dimly to perceive why I am far indeed from accepting your claims to a sort of spiritual ascendancy, claims which, I am afraid, strike me as profane. Neither they nor anything else that I know of entitled you to write an "Open Letter to Europeans in India." But as you have done so, I consider myself equally entitled to reply.

I do not ask you to retrace your steps. Not only because it would be useless to do so,—not only because I would not for the credit of human nature and the good of India have you reveal yourself what I suspect you of being at heart—a co-operator waiting only for a suitable time to come to terms with this Satanic Government. No the reason is because you are already on the right path, if you would only pursue it further, even though you yourself hardly know why it is the right path. You have right ideas, however, if you have come by them. But it is necessary to strip off unworthy motives. Cease even to recognise Government by struggling against it. Take a step further and ignore it. Those of us who love learning for its own sake and have been shocked time and again to see it pursued for the sake of degree,—and the degree itself valued only as a stepping stone to government service,—would be glad indeed to see educational institutions which are really independent of Government. Then again there is litigation. You appear to have recently recognized the evil,—an evil grossly apparent to my self from the day,—twenty years ago,—when I first landed in this country. But it is well that you have done so. Only in the last few months in my district I have had to deplore two distressing cases of homicidal

arising directly out of litigation. Empty our law-courts, not because you are under the fond impression that Government likes them full, but simply because litigation is bad. Another idea is that of home industries. It is puerile to connect the spinning-wheel with Swaraj, as if it were any more likely to introduce Swaraj than the American Constitution or the Great Moghal. But you are on the right road if you teach your fellow country-men to love and beautify their homes more than they do, to esteem the dignity of manual labour, and to discard shoddy machine-made goods. If the Spanish saying is true that fine words butter no parsnips it is equally true that harsh words do not either. The work that lies before you needs no admixture of racial hate. If you can carry it through, it will be a hard task enough, and yet an easier, as well as a more useful one than the subversion of the British Government.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully

12th February 1921 8d) A. F. FREMANTLE

Indian Civil Service.

MR. GANDHI'S REPLY.

Dear Sir,

I have just received your letter of the 12th inst. You will please excuse me if I do not reply to your letter in detail.

You have hardly done justice to yourself, in criticising a letter you have never seen and whose translation you have only partly read. If you had read the letter, you would have seen that I did not mention my services to demonstrate my sufferings, much less to show that they were selfless. I mentioned them merely to show how consistently loyal I was to the British connection even in the midst of adverse conditions. My services were not selfless, because I believe that I would by those services be assisting my country's progress towards freedom. Your mention of British bravery and selflessness is therefore irrelevant. British bravery and capacity for suffering are beyond question. The claim to national selflessness, you will permit me to deny in toto. I did not believe then, the world does not believe today, that the late war was one for justice or was selfless. You wanted to crush the Germans, and for the moment you have succeeded. I do not believe that the Germans are the fiends the English Press has made them out to be, nor do I believe that the world would have come to an end if they had won.

You think that I am on an eminence. I assure you that I am unaware of that. I am however on the top of a volcano which I am trying to turn into hard incombustible rock. It may erupt any moment before I have succeeded. That unfortunately has always been a possible fate for a reformer.

My idealism worries you. If you had taken pains to read my writings, you would have known that it is intensely practical.

You have rightly guessed that I am at bottom a co-operator. How would I be otherwise having been that for nearly thirty years? I am certainly for the first opportunity to co-operate; but believe me my co-operation will not be tendered until English men have realised the necessity of settling the Khilafat terms in accordance with the Muslim sentiment, until they have repented of the calculated torture of the Punjab, and until they have ceased to consider themselves as our patrons and rulers. India will gladly have Englishmen as friends, fellowworkers and equal partners in India, but if they desire to exploit the country for their own gain, they must do so if they can without

You have seen fit to accuse me of deviation from truth. Here again your amazing ignorance is to blame. You were rightly informed that I believed the statement about the Kachagarhi incident, made to me upon oath by persons whom I had no reason for doubting. I published over my signature a denial as soon as I received it. I refer you to the file of Young India. Lastly may I ask you to try to study and understand the movement of non-co-operation! You will find that it is not anti-English in spirit. It is a religious movement, it is a purifying movement. It is a movement intended to resist injustice, untruth, terrorism and to establish Swaraj in India. You will admit that it is better to replace mutual distrust and fear by trust and fearlessness.

This movement is an attempt to end that unhappy state. And I seek your cooperation in the effort.

I am,

Yours Faithfully,

(8d), M. K. GANDHI.

'DID CHRIST NON-CO-OPERATE?'

MISSON HOUSE,

RAJKOT, 22-1-21

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I see from 'Young India' of the 12th inst. that you have been kind enough to find time to criticise my last letter to you. In reference to your remarks please permit me to say that while agreeing for the most part with much of what you write I wish to make my position absolutely clear. Of course for all Christians the Lord Jesus Christ is the Great Exemplar. But, while He who was perfectly holy and just was in a position to denounce the wicked hypocrisy of the scribes and Pharisees of his day, after He had with a perfect love done his utmost to convert them to a life of sincerity and purity, yet we mere men imperfect in wisdom and love and holiness as even the best of us are, can neither afford nor assume the right to denounce finally and absolutely any of our fellows however depraved. While loathing their vice we should try to seek out and reform them. While we must not 'countenance a son who disgraces himself by a life of shame and vice' yet we should co-operate with him—and this is true cooperation—by waiting for the prodigal in 'anguished love' and with prayerful soul-energy and when he returns receive him with open arms. Such is my belief and therefore it is that I advocate co-operation as against non-co-operation even with a Government that is said to have been "guilty of fraud, murder and wanton cruelty."

While I am at it, may I go on to suggest if the present Government be hard to be still unrepentant and desirous of covering up its guilt by untruth, now is the time to draw up explicit memoranda of its sins of omission and commission backed by incontrovertible proofs, with a view to laying the whole matter before the incoming Viceroy. If the present Government be beyond redemption, at least give the new one a fair sporting chance before refusing to co-operate with it. Lastly may I add that I read with much interest and loving sympathy your article on the 'sin of untouchability.' As I read it and could not help thinking 'what is the mistake of non-cooperation with a few Government officials as compared with the sin of untouchability practised by Indians against millions of their own brethren?' Might not one be justified in questioning any non-co-operator who tried to defend untouchability?

saing of Jesus, "Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eyes, and then shall thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." Please make whatever use you like of this letter.

With kind regards,

I am

Yours sincerely,

S. GILLESPIE.

The reader will perhaps agree with me that the Rev. Gillespie has made a bad case worse. Every non-co-operator will I am sure be prepared to co-operate on the same terms that he mentions in connection with the prodigal son. Let this prodigal Government return like the Biblical son and all Non-co-operators will rejoice exceedingly. The incoming Viceroy will have all the assistance he may expect from the Non-co-operators if he means to do well. As to untouchability Rev. Gillespie is on safe ground. No one who hugs untouchability has any right to denounce this Government. He who seeks equity must come with clean hands as a maxim of universal application. And the Rev. gentleman will find that those who want to retain untouchability are certainly among the co-operators. Non-co-operation is nothing if it is not reformation from within.

M. K. G.]

"SYMBOL OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY."

MR. GANDHI'S OPENING SPEECH AT TIBBI COLLEGE.

Mr. Gandhi in opening the Tibbi College said that he had undertaken to do so because he regarded Hakim, as an embodiment and his institution as a symbol, of Hindu Muslim Unity. Referring to the Report of the institution read by Hakimji he said:

It is a record of substantial progress and strenuous labour. It shows what one man's energy, devoted with singlemindedness, can do. May God grant long life to the Hakimji and enable him to complete the programme sketched out by him. I hope that the moneyed men of the country will lighten his labours by sending him unsolicited donations. You will note that besides declaring this institution open I am to unveil the portraits of Lord and Lady Hardinge. It will give me particular pleasure to be privileged to perform that function giving us as it does an opportunity of showing that in the battle of Non-Co-operation we are not actuated by an anti-British spirit and that our national ideal includes the treasuring of the memory of good deeds done by any body, be he English or Indian.

PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE.

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of my views on medicine, I would have your indulgence for a few moments over a very brief exposition of them. I have expressed them in a booklet much criticised at the present moment. I believe that a multiplicity of hospitals is no test of civilisation. It is rather a symptom of decay even as a multiplicity of *luxurpales* is a symptom of the indifference to the welfare of their cattle by the people in whose midst they are brought into being. I hope, therefore, that this college will be concerned chiefly with the prevention of disease rather than with the cure. The science of sanitation is infinitely more commanding, though

more difficult of execution, than the science of healing. I regard the present system as black magic, because it tempts people to put an undue importance on the body and practically ignores the spirit within. I would urge the students and professors of the college to investigate the laws governing the health of the spirit and they will find that they will yield startling results even with reference to the cure of the body. The present science of medicine is divorced from religion. A man who attends to his daily "namas" or his "Gayatri" in the proper spirit need never get ill. A diseased spirit must build a clean body. I am convinced that the main rules of religious conduct conserve both the spirit and the body. Let me hope and pray that this college will witness a definite attempt on the part of the physicians to bring about a reunion between the body and the soul.

Modern medical science, having ignored the condition of the permanent element in the human system in diagnosing diseases, has ignored the limitations that should naturally exist regarding the field of its activity. In trying to cure a body of its disease, it has totally disregarded the claims of subhuman creation. Man, instead of being lord, and therefore protector of the lower animal kingdom, has become its tyrant, and the science of medicine has been probably his chief instrument for tyranny. Vivisection in my opinion is the blackest of all the blackest crimes that are at present committing against God and his fair creation. We should be able to refuse to live if the price of living be the torture of sentient beings. It ill becomes us to invoke the blessings in our daily prayers of God the Compassionate, if we in turn will not practise elementary compassion towards our fellow creatures. Would to God that the college founded by one of the best of Indian physicians may bear in mind the limitations that God in my humble opinion has set upon our activity.

NEED FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

Having said this much, I would like to pay my humble tribute to the spirit of research that fires the modern scientist. My quarrel is not against that spirit. My complaint is against the direction that the spirit has taken. It has chiefly concerned itself with the exploration of laws and methods conducing to the merely material advancement of its clientele. But I have nothing but praise for the zeal, industry and sacrifice that have animated the modern scientists in the pursuit after truth. I regret to have to record my opinion based on considerable experience that our Hakimis and Vaidis do not

follow without question formulae. They carry on little investigation. The condition of indigenous medicine is truly deplorable. Not having kept abreast of modern research, their profession has fallen largely into disrepute. I am hoping that this college will try to remedy this grave defect and restore Ayurvedic and Unani medical science to its pristine glory. I am glad, therefore, that this institution has its Western wing. It is too much to hope that a union of the three systems will result in a harmonious blending, and in purging each of its special defects. Lastly I shall hope that this college will set its face absolutely against all quackery, western or eastern, refuse to recognise any system of medicine that it will meddle with.

suffering. With the prayer that God may bless the labours of its founder and organisers, I formally declare the Tibbi College open.

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Notes.

Repression Galore—I have devoted a special article to the Bihar repression. Since writing it I have come across more news in the press about Bihar. And if there is no second Jallianwala in Bihar, it will be due, not to want of goading by the authorities, but to the exemplary self-restraint of the Biharis. What is there to prevent an officer from shooting an unsuspecting crowd which he may allege, and believe, to have collected in defiance of an order? Such a thing may easily happen, and the catastrophe may go down to history, written by a government historian, as an "error of judgment."

Repression is assuming definite shape in the United Provinces also. Public speakers are being restrained.

The Calicut Magistrate has rendered himself famous by imprisoning Mr. Yakoub Hassan and his companions.

But it is the expected that is happening. Swara, cannot, must not, be cheaply attained. Why should not all, young and old, suffer imprisonment? It is common suffering that will indissolubly bind us together. As Non-co-operation begins to tell, the authorities are bound to lose their heads.

For, it is clear, that as yet there is no real desire to repent. The Duke has spoken sonorous sentiments, and it is said that, whilst H. R. H. was pronouncing these sentiments, he was visibly affected. The Council has accepted a resolution recording its regret over what happened during the fateful April of 1919, and, as if to mock us, almost at the time that these empty sentiments were being uttered, the magistrates in various provinces were hatching plots of repression. It was a most telling illustration of what is meant by wordy repression.

India to day wants no magnificent action. What she is thirsting for is the barest justice. She is entitled to demand the stoppage of pensions from the Indian treasury to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. She cannot be satisfied so long as officers who have misbehaved are still in the enjoyment of high offices.

But so long as this elementary justice is withheld, so long must India continue the battle of Non-co-operation, and so long must the Government continue its policy of repression.

What to do—We must treat repression as the touchstone wherewith we are to be tested. If we can stand it without wincing or without losing our heads, all is well. Do no good and bring us nearer the goal. If we are in earnest we shall go through the ordeal without losing temper. After all, we are trying the temper of the government by refusing co-operation, but its instinct of self-preservation keeps it sober upto a point. It loses balance after that point is reached. As a rule, we respond by becoming angry in turn and so the Government feels stronger for our weakness. Non-violence teaches us that we make no response to the Government. And, if we carry out the lesson in practice, the Government must lose. Repression will have lost its edge because of our non-response, even as an arm swinging in the air becomes dislocated for want of response.—M. K. G.

Amphibious Creatures—In a recent speech on "The Present Situation", Mr. Mahomed Ali showed clearly the unenviable position of "Ministers." They resembled, he said, the amphibious creatures who could not live in water and die on land. The Ministers could not live, or come in contact, with the people, and when they went to the Government they could not get much satisfaction from that quarter either. Mr. Mahomed Ali can be assured that the Ministers have reasons as well as intelligence enough to realise their awkward position. But knowledge of their position is in itself not quite sufficient to make them renounce the luxury of serving the country on the line of least resistance and of minimum inconvenience.

How Simla Translated Dyer—The description given by Dyer, in one of his lectures at the Ambassador's Theatre in London, of a campaign he conducted against raiding tribesmen in Persia in 1916, gives an insight into the methods adopted by Simla in conducting Military expeditions. Dyer was only a Lieutenant-Colonel when he started the campaign at the head of 117 men. He told his audience, that in order to impress the raiders he proclaimed himself a "General". He told Simla that this rank was necessary. Simla gave the reply: "You are a General" and, the Lieutenant-Colonel, told his great audience.

Spreading Terror.—Dyer entertained his audience with another very interesting story. In a brush a ruler chief lost seven men. To excuse his retreat he declared he had lost 700. General Dyer, however, was not the man to be beaten so easily. He improved his enemy's yarn by calmly saying he must have lost at least 7,000, with the result, he informed his hearers, that the terror of his name was spread throughout the country. This episode is sufficient not only to show the logic of events which followed but also the inevitable degradation of those who have implicit faith in terrorism. Dyer began with inventing yarns for the purpose and ended with Amritsar.

Dyer Undaunted.—There are not many who are quite familiar with the altruistic phases of the "hero" of Jallianwala Bagh. His "splendid brutality" at Amritsar has almost universally been misunderstood. A man of average human mould would have, after this melancholy experience, in despair, given up the task. But Dyer is obviously not of the average class. He continues his philanthropic endeavours. He has undertaken to give a series of lectures on subjects apparently meant to indicate the magnitude of his contribution to British traditions. It was his desire, naturally, to distribute the proceeds of these lectures among the relatives of his victims at Amritsar. But he is again misunderstood. The offer of his help has been rejected with contempt. He is, however, undaunted. If his victims do not appreciate his help, there are other sections of humanity that can give a better response, and benefit by his assistance. He has therefore, changed his mind, instead of helping the victims, he now proposes to give the proceeds of his lectures to a fund for supplying medical aid to the wives of British officers in India. Dyer's heroic altruism is no doubt founded upon his unique capacity for self-deception. Men like him are invariably gifted with illimitable optimism. They never despair.

The Foot-Rule from Europe.—It is, after all, not very surprising that there should be people who find it impossible to understand the true character of the non-violent N. C. O. movement. They are so brought up, that it has become almost an instinct with them to borrow, what Mr. Mahomed Ali calls, the "foot-rule from Europe" whenever they desire to measure any movement. That is the only charitable explanation that could be offered for the innumerable stupid misrepresentations, current at present, of the movement. We realise that it is very difficult for Englishmen to grasp its spiritual significance. But we refuse to believe that those among our countrymen who misinterpret the movement suffer the same handicap as the outsiders. We are sure that if they honestly attempt to discard the borrowed foot-rule they would soon perceive, in the movement, immense spiritual potentialities. Will they try? Can we request them to cease talking excitedly about violence? It is amazing that they seldom trouble to think about the regime of violence

violence conducted against tremendous odds by Non-co-operators, would have inevitably followed Amritsar. God knows, even after that, there has been provocation enough!

The Lost Pretext.—Not long ago, it paid reactionaries in this country to exaggerate the distinction between the "classes" and the "masses." Times are changed. The distinctions, as a result of the constant educative efforts of N. C. O. workers, are disappearing faster than the expectations of their critics. Their determination to organise the villagers, to make the villagers understand and take an intelligent and active interest in politics, and generally to bring the "masses" in a line with the "classes," no doubt, alarms those whose interest it is to perpetuate the distinction. It was, till very recently, utilised as a pretext for thwarting the national aspirations of the intelligentsia. That pretext is well-nigh lost. The villagers are being politically educated and, as Mr. Mahomed Ali says, it will not be easy to divide the people into "classes" and "masses". The critics, are, therefore, now busy exploring what they assume to be the peculiar psychology of the Indian "masses." Their researches are not complete. We shall have to watch closely how they exploit these.

The Way Out.—The following is not a philosophical narrative by Mr. Bernard Houghton. It is not the story of the impossible vision of a religious fanatic. The failure to win freedom by the sword and the triumph of non-violent Non-co-operation is a matter of history.

"After Hungary had failed in 1840 to win freedom by the sword, her plight seemed indeed desperate. The master nation, Austria, differing from her both in race and in language, knew no mercy. As a brutal bully bludgeons and kicks his prostrate victim, so did the Austrian General Haynau deal with the conquered Hungarians. But, beaten in the field, their spirit remained unbroken, and, under the guidance of patriot Deak, they found a way out. That way lay in a *rigid boycotting of the Austrian Government in other words, in Non-co-operation*. Supported as he was by a resolute people, Deak showed himself a leader amongst thousands. No vague promises would induce him to accept aught short of independence, no violence could sting him into a breach of the peace. The boycott continued, stern, universal, relentless as death. At length, after sixteen years of struggle, the Emperor Francis Joseph gave way, and in 1868 was crowned King at Buda-Pesth of an independent Hungary".....(Our Notes)

For Non-Co-Operators—

Whether the weather be cold,
Whether the weather be hot
Whether the weather be dry
Whether the weather be not
We must weather the weather,
Whatever the weather,
Whether we like it or not.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 2nd, March, 1921.

REPRESSION IN BIHAR.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Bihar is a province in which the most solid work is being done in connection with Non-co-operation. Its leaders understand the true spirit of non-violence. They are trying to curb, and are succeeding in curbing, the zeal of those who would cross the boundary-line, even in speech. There is no danger of an outbreak of violence in Bihar. The province has a splendid record of purifying work. The temperance movement has made such rapid strides that the excise revenue is likely to be very considerably affected. The educational movement is making great progress. Many pleaders have suspended practice. The people are settling their disputes by arbitration. There are signs on every side of a national awakening of which any popular government would have been proud. Not so the Bihar Government. And, yet, people had high hopes of Bihar, for, had it not an Indian Governor, one of the ablest of India's sons, an ex-president of the Congress? Even Lord Sinha has his limitations. He has become part of a machinery which is grinding the people, and his abilities can only be utilised to run that machinery, or he must fail out.

Repression is most rampant in Bihar because the officials have become daring under the cover of an Indian Governor. Lord Sinha has become a shield for official offenders.

Let the reader judge from the following facts. Maulana Mazarul Huq and Babu Rajendraprasad, both well known in Bihar, were prevented from going to Arrah. A letter from a friend says: "In the Districts of Muzaffarpur, Saran, and Champaran, notices under sections 144 and 107 are being continuously served. Those who decline to be bound over are imprisoned. Thirty such persons have already gone to gaol. Action against others is pending. It is a matter of pleasure that some of these are old men and that the womenfolk, instead of being downcast over these imprisonments, have felt unconcerned, if not elated."

Maulana Shafi or Babu Ramchand have received the following notice:—

Whereas I am reliably informed and I am satisfied that you intend addressing a Public Meeting in Hajipur, in which you will exhort your hearers to suffer imprisonment even in the cause of Non-Co-Operation, and will also speak on other matters in connection with Non-Co-Operation, which exhortations are likely to cause excitement amongst your hearers and a breach of the public tranquillity may reasonably ensue, I therefore by virtue of the powers vested in me as M. C. P. C. hereby order you to abstain from delivering any speech on Non-Co-Operation in any of its forms within the limits of my jurisdiction.

The Sub-Divisional Officer who has signed the notice claims to have known before hand what the gentlemen were going to speak. And it was Non-co-operation! Speakers all over India have been asking people to prepare themselves for imprisonment. It has caused no breaking of public tran-

quillity anywhere. All the most popular organisations have preached Non-co-operation, and it is being preached daily from a thousand platforms. The terms of the order virtually prevent the speakers from speaking on Swadeshi, temperance, untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity. They are all 'forms' of Non-co-operation.

Another order runs as follows:—

Whereas it has been reported to me that Brahmachari Ram Rakusha of Bangra P. S. Gopalganj, Saran, addressed a meeting yesterday in which he denounced the Government and the British people as treacherous, pledge-breakers and tyrannical, and stated that the policy of the British Government was to set one race against another in order to rule both, and that the Government is bound to disappear on account of its *Sin*, and that if all Indians responded to the call of Gandhi they could expel the British Government within ten days, and it has further been reported that this speech caused great excitement; and that another such speech is likely to cause a breach of the peace, and whereas it appears that the said Brahmachari Ram Rakusha intends to make a similar speech again today, I hereby forbid him under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. to abstain from making any speech whatever to any gathering of five or more persons in any part of the Sitamarhi Sub-Division in any open place during a period of one month from the date of this order.

Again, what the Brahmachari has been gagged for has been uttered by thousands of lips. The charge brought against the government by the Brahmachari occurs in the preamble of the Special Congress Resolution. I have myself had the honour of denouncing the Government as 'treacherous, pledge-breakers and tyrannical.' It was left to the Magistrate of Sitamarhi to discover that it was a crime to denounce the Government in such terms.

Now the question is: what can Lord Sinha do short of resigning? He cannot supersede the orders of even magistrates. If he did the magistrates will non-co-operate, strike, and make his position intolerable and government impossible. Therefore, for the sake of, some day and in some way, serving his country as Governor, he makes himself believe that it is better for him to hold on to his post than make room for an English Governor. This is but the beginning of his rule. The public will find that the Civil Service under his regime will have consolidated its power more thoroughly than under an English Governor. And this, for two reasons; the Civil Service will make a greater grievance of every restraint under Lord Sinha than they would under an English Governor, and the people would submit to wrongs more cheerfully because they would naturally want to make his regime successful. And thus the strongest Indian who could possibly have been selected for the high post of a Governor will fail not because of want of effort or ability but because of the inherent evil of the system. His Excellency has been called upon to administer. It gives me no pleasure, thus, to have to criticise the rule of one for whom I entertain very high regard. But even a Gokhale would have failed had he been called upon to administer the system with its existing faults.

WHAT IS "PROFITABLE?"

In its issue of the 10th, the *Servant of India* again ridicules the revival of hand-spinning. The writer of the comments has not obviously yet made any attempt to know the precise nature of the revival advocated by Mr. Gandhi. If the income from the spinning wheel is low it can, he says, "only deepen the country's poverty instead of remedying it, firstly, because the wage is not sufficient for the worker's maintenance and secondly, because it prevents him from following a more profitable occupation." His assumption is gratuitous. No one suggests that hand-spinning should replace any wage-earning occupation. It was never made to do that even in pre-British days. It has always been regarded as a supplementary occupation. Assuming that it was to be a wage-earning occupation—two annas being the daily wage earned by an average spinner,—it promises a better yearly income than the average income at present. The latter income has never yet been estimated over 27 rupees per head per year! If the *Servant of India* is prepared to provide work, at the rate of two annas per day, for every worker we would entrust thousands of workers to its care. But the fact is that the average income per day is not two annas and that hand-spinning need not prevent anyone from following "more profitable occupations." A vast population of the country remain, part of the year, practically without any occupation. Many of the women of the upper classes have ample leisure. It is for them that hand-spinning is recommended as a profitable occupation for idle hours. And does the *Servant of India* seriously contend that the vast mass of students, who spend their days and nights in cramming, indiscriminately, Shakespeare and Milton, are engaged in a "more profitable occupation" than hand-spinning?

But to come to figures. The *Servant of India* argues that "the combined production of all the students of the arts and professional colleges—about 64000—would not be equal to the output of a single spinning mill." According to it, 235 mills, employing less than one and a half men in spinning, were able to produce only 65 crores of yarn in one year. Let us now see how much the nation can produce if it determines religiously to dedicate its spare hours to spinning. Taking the population of India as consisting of five crore families, let us assume that a fourth of them are either families of co-operators or of those not convinced of the virtue of hand-spinning. If only two members of the remaining four crore families give two hours per day to spinning, they would spin a crore lbs. of yarn everyday, i.e. 365 crore lbs. of yarn in the year, which means nearly six times as much as the yarn produced by our mills.

But the only proper way of comparing between the economic value of the spinning wheel and a

cost of one spindle which can produce a pound of coarse yarn (of six counts) per day is not less than Rs. 10. For a mill producing 20,000 lbs. of coarse yarn, we have got to invest for the full supply of 20,000 lbs. no less than 20 lacs of rupees.

Let us see how much the same capital invested on spinning-wheels would yield. Twenty lacs of rupees would give us four lacs of spinning wheels producing on an average half a pound of yarn daily i.e. two hundred thousand pounds of yarn. This is enough to show the extent of the wastefulness of the spinning mill. But economic wastefulness is not the only, or the principal, factor to be considered. Think of the huge moral wastefulness involved, of strikes and similar evils under which the industrial world in Europe is reeling. One shudders to think of perpetuating the inhuman slums that form an universal feature of modern industrial towns. We do not speak here of the utter impracticability of erecting spinning mills in a year or even in the course of a score of years, sufficient to clothe the country. The *Servant of India* by quoting the import figures tries to make out that as we can not turn out fine counts neither in our spinning mills nor on the spinning wheel, we must remain dependent on the foreigner for a large part of the yarn we import. Not being a non-co-operator the paper evidently forgets that the enforcement of the Congress Resolution regarding abolition of foreign goods presupposes abolition of all finer fabrics. The figures of exports of yarn only strengthen our case. It is contemplated that, not only should even one out of the 123 millions pounds of yarn not go to foreign countries but, that not a pound of raw cotton should be exported. In the year 1919-20, 8,558,747 cwts. of raw cotton of the value of Rs. 58,60,40,510 was exported to foreign countries. Under the proposed scheme where every adult will devote some spare hours to spinning there will be room enough for every pound of cotton that is at present exported and work enough for every weaver in the land. Under this scheme, therefore, and under no other, is it possible to win our economic freedom.

It is strange that whilst the country's efforts to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth are jeered at by a section of publicists in this country, their magnitude has been completely realised by men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. Sherrock. The latter in the course of a very long article in the *Evening Standard* writes:

Look for a moment at some hard facts and figures—Our annual trade with India based on the most recent figures available, must be worth at least £ 30,000,000. If "Non-Co operation" succeeds we should at one stroke lose to that extent in work and wages, and this at a time when the cry of unemployment, due mainly to the tardy revival of our export industries, is daily growing in strength. Factories which cater for this Eastern market could never survive such a blow.

From the Lancashire cotton mills alone we export

North, iron and steel worth £21,139,000.....

Nor would the £80,000,000 represent our total loss. So intimately is one trade interlocked with another that any blow to the chief industries immediately reacts on every other industry. ...

It will be seen, then, that if Mr. Gandhi's programme is actually carried through, the position of this country will be very different from that represented by the latest Board of Trade returns headed "Indian Imports and Exports." Great Britain would be poorer by many millions a year. It would be poorer in actual earnings moreover. As every producing country pays for its imported food by manufactured goods, the closure of any big market for such goods means inevitably a new addition to the high cost of living.

It is not necessary now to point out that the scheme of Non-co-operation does not aim at starving any labourer outside the country, it is meant to stop him from starving and keeping naked the people of India.

M. D.

CHELMSFORD ANALYSIS

Lord Chelmsford in his farewell address to the Members of the Calcutta Club claims many things. He has, he believes, a sense of humour. He illustrates it by a flippant American quatrain. He believes in "arguments pruned of every epithet." And, he quotes Browning and forgets to understand him. He takes heart with regard to the "success" of the policy adopted by the Government. Non-co-operation, it follows, has failed. But he believes that the Government may well claim from Indians help in combating this "agitation." We shall grant all that he claims. Although, we do not understand why, if Non-co-operation is proved a failure and the policy of the Government an acknowledged success, he has gone out of his way to imagine that "a moment may come when" their "policy fails." We said we will grant his claims. But we cannot help feeling greatly amused by his attempts at analysis. He sees that the Non-co-operators are depriving the Government of one of their stock arguments against self-determination. He, therefore, analyses their efforts and attributes their 'attention' to the "masses" to the failure of the movement as regards the "classes". He makes a similar futile effort to analyse the "Moslem aspect" of the present situation. He believes that the Mahomedans have been "led into" the movement by their views with regard to the Turkish Peace Treaty. Hindu-Muslim unity and the unity between the "classes" and the "masses" are inconvenient things indeed. We shall not, therefore, deny him the little consolation he secures from his inventions. But we may point out that if he really wants his successor to benefit by his own experience he should endeavour to formulate a better analysis of the Non-co-operation movement than the one he gave at Calcutta. Non-co-operation is not spread, any more than Christianity, by propaganda. If the sufferings in

could be called Christian propaganda, we shall agree that the spread of the present movement is due to propaganda. If the movement had relied on propaganda it would never have begun. The gigantic propaganda machinery of the Government would have strangled it long ago. Lord Chelmsford knows that the Publicity Bureaus, subsidized journals, Anglo-Indian organs of opinion, Reuter, the foreign correspondents of English newspapers and similar innumerable agencies of propaganda have been mobilized to misrepresent and counter-act the movement. Non-co-operation has spread not on account of, but in spite of, propaganda. Amritsar needed no propaganda. Khilafat was not the outcome of propaganda. Non-co-operation, no doubt, "takes hold of grievances where they may exist." It does something more. It tries, against tremendous odds, to remove them. We are glad that the departing Viceroy recognises that it behoves the Government to remedy the grievances. The failure on the part of his Government to do so is universally acknowledged. That failure, not propaganda, is responsible for the spread of Non-co-operation. If the Government honestly wishes to remedy the grievances it knows how to do so. That it dare not. We are already perceiving the shadows of coming events. The failure to understand the present situation, plausible analysis and pious wishes spread Non-co-operation—not propaganda. The shadows that are beginning to darken the country will establish Non-co-operation.

THE POINT OF ATTACK

There is, still unfortunately, a good deal of misconception in the country on the question of 'Non-co-operation in education.' That 'anti-non-co-operators' should consider it a disastrous step is but natural. That sturdy non-co-operators should object to it is, however, an enigma. The position is not even logical. To understand the rationale of 'Non-co-operation in education,' it is absolutely necessary to have the clearest conception of the end in view and the means by which it is proposed to be attained. The end aimed at is Swaraj. The nation is of opinion that the present system of government is an evil and that it should be replaced by Swaraj. The present system of government is, like any other, a combination of three different elements, viz. (1) the personnel, (2) the machinery and (3) the spirit. The personnel is the concrete part and, in reality, the least important. The machinery is partly concrete and partly abstract and is not of much importance. The spirit—the abstract entity—is the most important of all. On it depends the merits of any system of government. When we say that the present system of Government is alien and an evil, what do we mean? We do not surely mean that the 'alienness' is in the Englishmen. Much less do we mean that Englishmen are the evil, for they are, as men,

which is alien and that alone constitutes the evil. Change merely in the personnel and machinery does not constitute Swaraj.

Swaraj is not at all compatible with the spirit of the present system. And what is this spirit? The spirit of the present system of Government is the system of modern civilization which is another name for western civilization. This civilization is based on materialism, Imperialism, and commercialism. It is the negation of Humanity, Christ, God. The acquisition of the whole earth cannot satiate its hunger, nor the command of all the oceans quench its thirst. In its mad pursuit, it does not hesitate to wipe out humanity. Its essence is Mammon-worship and exultation of brute force. This is incompatible with our conception of Swaraj. We have always associated Swaraj with *Swadharma*. It must be founded on the spiritual civilization we have inherited.

Now to the means. Brute force can never destroy brute force, for success on either side means only more glorified exaltation of brute force. It cannot establish Swaraj. There is only one means that can destroy brute force and at the same time establish Swaraj, that is soul force. That, if I understand aright, is the search of the essentially spiritual movement of Non-co-operation. The question therefore is how effectively to destroy this ungodly spirit of modern civilization and the systems of government that thrive under it. We can ill afford to dissipate, much less misuse our soul force.

The spirit of modern civilization is obviously fostered by the present system of education.

Mere knowledge of different subjects is but the crude material that can be put to any use, good or bad. It is the spirit, the outlook of life, the purpose, that goes, to mould it that is everything. Education, at present is but the handmaid of modern civilization and systems of government. It dolls, or destroys, the divine in man, and exalts the lower—the animal side. It holds out all sorts of tempting prospects—wealth, power, fame and prestige, and says, "all these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

There is another aspect to be noted. Under modern civilization, only two sorts of existence are possible, either as the dominant power or as the subject nation. The education which the dominant power imparts to its own youth is coloured naturally by the belief in its being a nation of supermen. The education that the youths of the subject nation, on the other hand, receive is deliberately directed towards making them silent and submissive to the ruling autocracy. Slave mentality is the inevitable outcome of the system of 'controlled' universities, 'affiliated' and 'aided' educational institutions, 'approved' textbooks and curricula of studies, 'trained' teachers, and regulations as to dress and discipline, all these go to serve the same end. The present system of education has, no doubt, given us super-

ficial 'knowledge' of different subjects, but it has relegated God to the back ground. We are trained to despise our ancient spiritual culture. We are strangers in our own homes and willing political and economic serfs in our own land.—"What has a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

Education is the stronghold of this civilization. Attack this vital spot, concentrate the spiritual power of soul force against this and modern commercial civilization, and its systems of government will crumble silently into dust. Non-co-operation in education thus lays the axe at the very root of the evil.

India will thus not only have vindicated God, Humanity, and Love but will have delivered her message to the world.

Time Spirit.

"DERELICTS"

We have received the following from Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak, Hon. Secretary of the Indians' Overseas Association. The facts stated therein are, he says, hardly of a character to encourage further Indian emigration to the Colony. The appalling facts render exaggeration superfluous.

Extract from "The Daily Argosy" Mail Edition, Demerara, Jan. 1st 1921.

Some time ago we called attention to the unfortunate East Indian derelicts that are seen in city and town, and suggested the building of a home or shelter for these poor unfortunate specimens of diseased humanity. Money was collected but apparently the authorities considered the granting of a site for building of such a shelter would encourage vagrancy and the type of unfortunates we had in view.

This serves to show how little really is understood of the lot of these half-witted wholly diseased specimens of mankind. Quite recently we observed a few derelicts being sent to Georgetown apparently to the Almshouse, from Barbuda. They were all East Indians. Amongst them, being transported at Government expense, was what would pass as a man. The bones were staring through his stretched skin, the eyes fixed before him as is often the case with those who see death and can never take their eyes off the dread spectacle. This unfortunate skeleton of a man was clothed up to his lower limbs in a bundle of old sugar-bags and from the waist upward was clothed in no thing at all—but even the pointing of his bones through the bare skin and his general emaciation cried aloud for pity. Surely the Government authorities responsible for this man's removal should have provided at least something better than a jumble of old bags, over which in his weakened state he now and then tripped. To cover his nakedness a cheap shirt could easily have been provided. Such things ought not to be. We maintain we have a duty to perform in connection with these outcasts. But for the grace of God, which of us might not be in the same plight, disease-stricken, harmless, witless, and without literally a rag to our backs. If the Immigration Agent despatched the man of whom we are writing to the workhouse in the condition we saw him, he ought to be called upon to explain this callousness.

"NO JOKE"

...ith in non-violence is apparent. In a note attached to his letter he says he will 'die satisfied' if his countrymen act according to that doctrine.]

To the Editor,

Young India, Ahmedabad

brothers,

It is no joke to follow what Mahatma Gandhi says. However, if you can act in the play, then remember one thing which is most essential. Never forget your true self, though you are thrown in the fire, crucified on the Cross—no matter by enemies or your own brethren. Bear up with all impatience by love and fortitude, and you my beloved brothers are sure to win the victory.

My experience of full 15 years in active service since 1903 (when none thought of Non-co-operation) teaches me that there is no solution whatever without Non-co-operation. Of course eages, rishis, and saints have preached from time to time about this. By gaining victory over your mind (the bureaucratic raja within) you defeat the whole world and become *Jug-jit*.

I have returned badly wounded, not by enemies but by my own beloved brethren, whose interests I want to serve at the cost of everything near and dear in life.

May the Lord inspire the Bureaucracy to purify each one of you in the fire and grant you the courage to suffer in silence, with love, and come out a real Swaraj.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN BIJAPUR

[It is essential that N. C. O. workers should endeavour to keep in constant touch with the progress of the movement. We would, therefore, request the directors of National Association, Congress Committees, Schools, Colleges and similar institutions to keep us regularly informed of their activities. We reproduce below a report from the Hon. Secretary Bijapur District Congress Committee. It is written admirably. It states, as it should, briefly the work actually done. We hope to receive constantly from other N. C. O. workers similar reports. That is essential for the information and mutual guidance of the work.]

1. Immediately after their return from the Congress, Messrs S. V. Kowjalg and J. M. Deshpande two leading pleaders of the Bijapur Bar having announced suspension of their practice and commenced national work. So far two results have been encouraging. The various forms of Non-co-operation have been attended to as well as seen from the following brief account of the work done by them and the other co-operators in the district.

Thus far, the following are the persons:

1. Mr S. V. Kowjalg B. A. LL. B. Bijapur
2. " J. M. Deshpande M. A. LL. B.
3. " Y. S. P. and A. L. B.
4. " H. S. Kowjalg B. A. LL. B.
5. " M. R. Kowjalg B. A. LL. B.
6. " H. T. Deshpande B. A. LL. B. Madhavpur

7. " S. R. Kowjalg Pleader Bagalkot
8. " Shrinivasrao Katti Do
9. " ... The full win,

places were visited by a party of non-cooperators headed by Messrs S. V. Kowjalg and J. M. Deshpande:—Bagalkot, Manugol, Badam, Muddebira, Talke, Cummalg, Hangad, Lkal, Koadg, Galgan and Bilgi. Non-co operation was preached in all these places and Congress Committees were formed. Up till now about three thousand people have been enrolled as members of the Congress Committees established in the

4. *National Schools*—National Schools at Bijapur, Bagalkot and Muddebira have been opened with 80, 100 and 30 boys on the rolls respectively. Buildings for the schools at Bijapur and Bagalkot have been given free of charge by Seth Ramdas Darbar of Bagalkot. Annual subscriptions for the national schools promised up till now amount to Rs. 5000.

5. *Boycott of Colleges*—About 10 College students belonging to this district have returned from their respective colleges. Only a few still remain in the colleges. Of these 10 students, about a dozen have been engaged on the schools staff. The rest are set apart for propaganda work. Lessons for the same are being given at Bijapur by the leading non-co-operators. As soon as they are found fit to undertake the work they will be posted at various centres throughout the district to carry on continuous propaganda under the guidance of some responsible non-co-operators. Funds will be needed for the maintenance of these young workers.

6. *Spinning and Weaving*—About 10 spinning wheels have been at work in the two schools at Bijapur and Bagalkot. Some ladies at Bijapur have enthusiastically taken to this work. Weavers in the district are being organised. At Lkal, many weavers have promised to weave Saris of hand-spun yarn to supply any such demand.

7. *Arbitration Courts*—Rules for arbitration courts have been framed and published in Kanerese and the District arbitration court will be shortly opened at Bijapur.

8. *Funds*—Pleaders in three places in the district viz. Bijapur, Bagalkot and Muddebira who are at present have promised up-till now about 6000 Rs. annually and it is intended to add this amount for the remuneration of the pleaders who have suspended practice, but there is the difficulty of funds, and as the local funds are supplemented by outside funds it has been thought inadvisable to ask the intending pleaders to suspend practice. Therefore, I believe, an Anand fund set apart for the remuneration of such pleaders who suspend their practice and undertake to carry on propaganda work will require monetary help for the maintenance of their families. Therefore, I suggest that Mr. S. V. Kowjalg, M. A. LL. B., resident of the District Congress Committee in this district be requested to approach the members of the Anand Congress Committee to secure the fund for the provision of more pleaders who are ready to suspend their practice.

9. *Spinning, Weaving*—Spinning is a very important work in the district but much more work is to be done in this respect. Progress in this direction is bound to be slow for some

Thus, it will be seen that we are at present working under great difficulties. Owing to famine we are not in a position to collect much funds but we shall require greater funds for the provision of workers and for the various works including the famine relief work that we intend to undertake without any further loss of time. It is therefore requested that the All-India Congress Committee should be approached for allotting certain funds out of the All-India Funds for the district of Bijapur.

M. R. KEMBHARI

Bijapur,
February 22,
1921.

Hon. Secretary,
Dist. Congress Committee
Bijapur.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN ORISSA

WORK OF ORGANISATION.

Mr. Rajabandhu Das, Secretary Utkal Swaraj Sewak Sangha, Cuttack, writes:—

The Non-co-operation movement is spreading like wild-fire in the Oriya speaking tracts. District Congress Committees have been formed in Cuttack, Puri and Sambalapur. The Ganjam District Committee which was recently in Andhra is being reorganised to be affiliated to the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee to be started at Cuttack. Pandit Gopalendhu Das will soon start for Chakradharpore to organise a District Congress Committee for Singhbhum, to be affiliated to the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee. A District Congress Committee will also be formed for the Madras Agency Division including Jaypur. Steps are going to be taken to start Committees for the Oriya tracts in Q. P. and Bengal.

Swaraj Aaram has been started at Cuttack, where student non-co-operators are receiving training for village propaganda. A Swaraj Sewak Sangha has been started under the Presidency of Pandit Gopalendhu Das. The Utkal Swarajya Siksha Parishad has opened a National School and a College where Hindustani and spinning have been made compulsory subjects.

All subscriptions are being collected under the name of Tilak Swarajya Fond, Utkal Branch. National Schools have been opened in Satyabadi Sambalapur, Chakradharpore, in Singhbhum, Berhampur and Parlakimedi, in Ganjam. Several batches of propaganda workers are now touring in the different centres and have organised arbitration centres.

The Mussalmans have organised the Orissa Khilafat Committee we hope to organise the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee by the first week of March. Cuttack is very enthusiastic over Non-co-operation. Several meetings are being held daily in different parts of the town. Pandit Gopalendhu Das is making extensive tours in Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Ganjam, Sambalapur and Singhbhum.

The peasants and agriculturists are very active. People of Orissa are eagerly expecting Mahatma Gandhi who has held out a promise to visit Orissa very soon after his Bengal tour. Orissa is not lagging behind other provinces in the fight for Swaraj. Some Pleaders have suspended their practice. Many students have suspended their studies and spinning is reviving in every place.—*The Independent*

JOINED N. C. C.

—Janab M. Abdul Hafiz Saib, son of the late Khan Bahdur Rahman Saib, Retired Councillor Mysore Government. Of the three elected Sunni Muslim Commissioners of Bangalore he was the last to resign. The other two gentlemen, Janab Haji Usman Saib and Janab M. Abdul Azur Saib having already vacated their seats in obedience to the call of their religion. The Municipal President advertised for the two vacant Muslim seats. But none, out of a population of more than 20,000 Sunni Muslims, responded.

—The Charotar Education Society has resolved to nationalize its educational activities, and to get affiliated with the Gujrat Vidyapath.

—M. P. A. Tyaga Raja Iyer, teacher at the R. H. School at Kollangode has sent in his resignation to the school authorities "in obedience to the Non-co-operation resolution passed by the Indian National Congress."

BENARES POLICE ACTIVE.

Benares Feb. 26,

For persuading the students against attending, armed mounted police paraded about the roads near the college, and cruelly drove the crowd which was orderly, quietly watching the arrest of Doctor Abdul Karim Sanyas Akhshanand and Prempuri and seven students. The Superintendent drove his horses back crying "Maro Salenko". Four Sanyasis were driven forward and cased at the same time. There is complete hartal throughout the city. More arrests are expected. Complete peace was observed by the public and the students.—By wire.

The Independent.

TO INTENDING SUBSCRIBERS

It has been noticed that a number of V. P.s sent as per orders are returned to us after a lapse of a month or two or sometimes even three, the addressees refusing or not claiming the V. P. while they have been receiving the paper during the period. We therefore propose to abolish the V. P. System altogether.

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Notes.

Telegraphic Embargo.—A message was required by my assistant at Ahmedabad regarding the Duke's visit to Bombay. I sent the following wire: 'Bombay should certainly boycott Duke's visit like other cities.' The message was sent on the 18th ultimo. I received the following reply dated the 24th ultimo at the Lahore Telegraph Office: 'Your telegram addressed to Anandavand, Navajivan, Ahmedabad, on the 18th has been held up at Ahmedabad as objectionable under rulings of the Department. A refund will be granted on your applying for same.' Nobody can seriously object to the prevention of the telegraph line being used for destroying a system in whose interest, chiefly, it is run. Only, the embargo further discredits the system. If one man alone thought it evil, the embargo would enable the thinker to hang his theme on the 'atrocious limitation of the liberty of the public. In a case like the present it was very like the attempt to stop with a straw an onrushing torrent. In either case the prohibition of bona-fide propaganda, even though it may be objectionable from the Government's standpoint, must be a useless procedure. The present embargo, however, is symptomatic of a government tottering to its own destruction.

Its Lesson.—Though I consider this embargo to be an exhibition of mere local overzeal, it has a lesson for us. Any day the Government may prohibit the use of the telegraph, the post, the rail, and the press by non-co-operationists. Will it stop the struggle for a single minute? I hope not. It has been conceived so as to be independent of Government sufferance. For it depends for success upon its universality. Non-co-operation by stray individuals is, no doubt, possible and conceivable. It has then to take a somewhat different shape. But when the spirit of it pervades the whole of India, we need not feel dependent upon the telegraph, the post, the rail, or the press. Our work can be done quite effectively without the aid of these agencies. We can send messages from mouth to mouth with electric speed. The railway train quickly transfers leaders from place to place, but it quickly transfers thousands of curiosity-mongers who serve no purpose and cause national waste. I can contemplate with perfect calmness the prohibition of the use of the rail by all except those who sign

the creed of co-operation with the Government—we should have an automatic census of co-operators. So long as we have pen and paper, or even slate and pencil, we need not despair of transmitting our thoughts in writing, if we have enough volunteers. I have often been told that the independence of our printing press is a great desideratum. I admit that it is a convenience but I was able to show during the Satyagrah week in the April of 1919 that it was possible to issue a written newspaper. Given a sufficient number of volunteer writers, we can multiply copies indefinitely. I can foresee many advantages in non-co-operationists being confined to their pens only.

The Bihar Government.—When I wrote about the Bihar Government last week, I did not know half as much as I do to-day. I rarely get the newspapers during my incessant travels. When I do get some, I find little time to read them. It was only during my visit to Lucknow that I saw the extraordinary circular of the Bihar Government practically inviting the officials to lawlessness. No wonder Non-co-operation has become in Bihar almost a statutory crime. No wonder a Bihar Magistrate has the impudence to assault an inoffensive *sanyasi* in the presence of a large crowd of admirers. I do not know that such a non-violent atmosphere was possible a year ago. No wonder such a respectable leader like Mian Mahomed Shafi of Muzaffarpur was prohibited from seeing the *sanyasi* and his position as a Congress secretary ignored. I am hoping that the Government employees will answer the Bihar Government circular by attending Non-co-operation meetings in a body and dare it to dismiss them. One can understand the prohibition against public servants not speaking at such meetings. But to restrain them from attending Non-co-operation meetings, or contributing funds to national institutions, or introducing the spinning wheel, is unpardonable restriction on individual liberty, to which, I trust, the public servants will refuse to be party by complying.

Government Propaganda.—The Bihar Government is illustrating the meaning of counter-propaganda by Government, referred to in his speech by Lord Ocheunford. This Government has gagged non-co-operationists of unimpeachable character and invited its official and other supporters to conduct

an unopposed campaign against Non-co-operation. I understand that overzealous chowkidars announce these Government meetings in my name. The people gather, see unfamiliar faces, and most of them retire. Those who remain to listen to the eloquence of co-operators are told that, if the law-courts are abandoned and the drink shops closed, the Government revenue will suffer. Thus, these co-operation speakers put a premium on drink and litigation. I have given the substance of a graphic description given to me by a most reliable worker. It is a highly probable picture. A moment's thought will show that the Government speakers must say what my informant has attributed to them. A non-co-operationist usually begins by describing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and demonstrating the satanic nature of the system under which we are governed. He ends by asking people to be peaceful, to renounce intoxicants, law-courts, schools, and foreign goods, and to take up the spinning wheel. A thoughtless Non-co-operation speaker also abuses co-operators and ignorantly advises their social boycott. A Government speaker must declare the Government as almost angelic in spite of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and ask the people not to give up law-courts because they give justice, and not to give up drink because an occasional draught is no crime, and it brings revenue to the Government and enables it to conduct schools. The spinning wheel, he must contend, is an antediluvian fad impossible to reintroduce in our homes, and foreign goods we cannot do without till India has become educated and industrial to the extent of being able to compete with foreign markets. Thus Government propaganda must at least indirectly encourage drinking, litigation, and use of foreign goods.

An honest Government responsive to the wishes of the people will seize this golden opportunity of allying itself with the people, thus getting rid of the drink curse, will encourage even indifferent experiments in national education as a lesson in self-help, will stimulate the desire for settlement of disputes by arbitration, and will welcome the revival of hand-spinning, if only as an aid to machine manufacture and industry in the place of idleness. A Government anxious for public welfare will recognise the inner meaning of the struggle, will understand its religious nature, and, conscious of its good motive and moral strength, will be indifferent to the opposition against itself and will hail the great unadmitted revival of a yearning after strength, character, and purity. But that would mean a change of heart on the part of the Government, which need not be expected just yet.

The Nagpur Incident—Not only is it too early yet to expect any such change of heart, but the Nagpur prosecutions make it clear that the G. P. Government intend to take severe notice of temperance workers. Dr. Cholkar and Mr. Pranjapye are well-known workers. They are both undergoing prosecution virtually for temperance pro-

paganda. The Magistrate's notice, which I have seen in the papers, clearly shows that Government cannot look with unconcern upon a diminution in the drink revenue. They insisted upon holding their sale of liquor licences by a show of force, when it was their plain duty not to hold such a sale at all in view of public feeling but take advantage of it to abolish the drink traffic altogether.

And Madras?—Madras has not lagged behind either in the campaign against Non-co-operation. It may be noted, in passing, that Madras has not shown even the rowdism that has been noticed elsewhere. Mr. Yakoob Haseen and his companions have rendered a great service by refusing to be bound over and electing to suffer imprisonment. A telegram has just arrived saying that four more Malabar leaders have preferred imprisonment to giving security. It is evident that this wave of repression that is passing through India is not due to accident but to design. I am inclined to believe the Bazaar talk that the word has gone from the central authority that the local administrations are free to take up energetic measures to kill Non-co-operation.

Duty of non-co-operationists—Our duty in the face of this repression is clear. We have undertaken to suffer for the sake of Islam, the Punjab, and Swaraj. We must therefore welcome these prosecutions and the resulting imprisonments. Every good movement passes through five stages, indifference, ridicule, abuse, repression, and respect. We had indifference for a few months. Then the Viceroy graciously laughed at it. Abuse, including misrepresentation, has been the order of the day. The provincial Governors and the anti-non-cooperation press have heaped as much abuse upon the movement as they have been able to. Now comes repression, at present yet in its fairly mild form. Every movement that survives repression, mild or severe, invariably commands respect which is another name for success. This repression, if we are true, may be treated as a sure sign of the approaching victory. But, if we are true, we shall neither be cowed down nor angrily retaliate and be violent. *Violence is Suicide*. Let us recognise that power dies hard, and that it is but natural for the Government to make a final effort for life even though it be through repression. Complete self-restraint at the present critical moment is the speediest way to success, and the easiest way of blunting the edge of repressive measures is a more extensive boycott of titles, schools, law-courts, and foreign cloth, and a more intelligent activity for the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

Journalistic Ignorance—It has been my lot to be misrepresented and misunderstood throughout a busy life of thirty years, often by the respective Governments with whom I had to deal, and sometimes by the people whom I had to serve. Having been intimately connected with the press, both as a journalist and as a public man, I have

had to suffer also for its ignorance. But at no time have I so much realised the measure of ignorance betrayed by the press as at the present moment. The outtings that friends at times send me from England and America add even unscrupulousness to ignorance. The latest instance of careless reading and gross ignorance that has come under my notice is that of the *Leader*. It has an article on spinning which misinterprets the very article it quotes. One of the young men travelling with me showed it to me. I was pained at the ignorance and carelessness betrayed by the writer. I asked the young man in question to write out his own reply if he had understood the *Leader's* fallacies. His reply is so effective that I give it elsewhere instead of attempting it myself.

Census enumerators—I have been asked as to whether census enumerators should cooperate with the Government by responding to the Government's call. Not being clear myself I have hitherto shirked a public answer. The spirit of civil disobedience in me has pulled me one way, my loyalty to the existing programme has pulled me in the opposite direction. My loyalty has triumphed and I am clear that we must cooperate with the Government in the matter of the census. I am convinced that it strengthens our cause. It disciplines us in the habit of even reluctant obedience to ~~the~~ *the* rules when they do not hurt our conscience or honour and demonstrates the high and non-violent character of our struggle. We must resist the temptation to offer civil disobedience even when it is so great as in the matter of the census. Thousands of us have a singular opportunity presented to us of showing our dislike of the existing system of Government. But the exercise of restraint at the present moment enables us to prepare for civil disobedience in future. Let us, therefore, help the Government to complete the census operations, not because we fear the punishment of disobedience, but because we are by nature and training law-abiding, and we need not as yet disobey unmerited laws, whether by way of protest or with the view of destroying the authority of a Government which no longer enjoys our confidence. That extreme step in non-violent Non-co-operation is open to us but we recognise that the atmosphere for its working has not yet been sufficiently created, and that we may not take extreme steps whilst milder measures are open to us. I hope, therefore, that all those who may be called upon in terms of the existing law to help census operations will render the required assistance to the authorities.

More Gaggling Orders—Since writing the foregoing notes, I have seen the text of the orders served on Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury and Dr. Saifuddin Kichlew. They are orders under rule 38 of the Defence of India Consolidation Rules 1915 and run as follows: "Whereas in the opinion of the Local Government there are reasonable grounds for believing that (name given) has acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, His Excel-

lency the Governor is pleased hereby to direct that the said (name) shall until further orders abstain from attending or addressing any public meeting."

I congratulate both the receivers on the orders. The Government, I hope, will find that the movement still goes on as merrily as ever. I have already suggested to the Pundit and the Doctor that they should now write out all the thoughts worth publishing and send them to the Press and to those meetings which they may wish to attend. And they may devote to spinning a portion of their enforced leisure from talking. I would advise the other speakers also to accommodate the Government by speaking as little as possible and confining their attention to quiet organizing. I know that all these gentlemen would gladly invite imprisonment by disregarding these arbitrary orders. The time for such action has not yet arrived.

But there is the other side to these orders. Now that we do not wish to seek the protection of the law courts, it would be idle to speculate as to the legality of their orders. Everything is or can be made legal for a Government that wishes to rule arbitrarily. But the co-operators may well bestow a moment's reflection on what is happening in India. The Indian members of the Executive Councils and the responsible ministers are as much privy to these orders as are the respective Governors. Grant that the non-co-operators are wicked persons. Are the co-operators satisfied with the exercise of arbitrary powers against them? Mr. Raghupati Sahay of Gorakhpur might have been a deputy collector if he had chosen to be one. He is a cultured educationist. But he has the misfortune to have organising ability and to have a hold on the citizens of Gorakhpur. He also, I just learn from the papers, has been gagged. Nobody preaches violence in the land. Mr. Raghupati Sahay is the last person to do so. But a Magistrate under a 'Home Rule' Government has been able to prohibit him from speaking at public meetings!

M K Q

Snatching Shadows—Those who are, even slightly, in touch with the present situation, know how difficult it is for the co-operators to justify their existence in face of the universal disillusionment and the absolute loss of faith in British justice that has overtaken the country. It is not their fault, therefore, if they anxiously await every passing shadow. Their blind, but perhaps honest, faith in the gospel they have adopted makes them incapable of distinguishing the substance from the shadow. If the *Servant of India* jumps at the "impression" produced by Lord Sinha at a round-table conference with prominent non-co-operators, it does so unconsciously and because it has got to. If it goes further and congratulates Lord Sinha for the "impression", it simply follows the natural consequences of its faith. Probably, the journal thinks that "the pink of courtesy and refinement" and the intention to mix freely with

people will remedy effectively their grievances and ensure 'permanent good' to them. It hopes, therefore, that the district officers will prefer the round table conferences to repression. We admit that there may be alternatives, which are in fact not even palatives, besides repression, to granting the full demands of the Congress. But the country has by now enough experience to know that it is worse than futile to pick and choose alternatives. From its standpoint the pastime of creating impressions is as harmful as repression. It can no longer tolerate these. It is at once definite and determined in its demands.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday 3th, March, 1921.

THE VICEROY'S TWO SPEECHES.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

His Excellency the Viceroy has made two important declarations, one on the Khilafat and the other on Non-co-operation and the policy of the Government arising from it. On the Khilafat His Excellency has given an exact indication of the Government mentality. He thinks that he has discharged his responsibility fully towards the Muslims of India by pressing their claim. Whereas, the Indian contention is that, on a matter so vital to the Muslims, he should have resigned when he found that the Imperial Government had disallowed the Indian claim. Nobody accepts the plea of Britain's helplessness at the Council table of the League of Nations. The public may also recall the fact that, when the terms of the treaty of Sevres were published, the Viceroy entered upon an elaborate defence of the part played by the Premier. How comes it, then, that he finds himself, again, pleading the Muslim cause? Would he have done so if there had been no Non-co-operation? And what has he to say even now? If the claim is disallowed and Non-co-operation is still pursued, he assumes that anarchy will be the result. Therefore, the Government, by force, will step in to restore order. We know what "restoring" order means. His Excellency forgets that, if there is anarchy in India, it would be due to the criminal breach of their duty, both by the Imperial and the Indian Governments, towards the three hundred millions of the people of India.

A Viceroy may be satisfied with merely pleading the case of India. Can India be satisfied? Can a man who is dying of hunger be satisfied with mere sympathy, especially, when he knows that the sympathiser can give more than mere sympathy? When the Indian Government pleads the duty of subordination to an immoral superior power, it must share the adverse judgment that may be pronounced against the latter. No duty devolves upon any servant of submitting to orders in breach of trust or honour. The treaty of Sevres is a breach of solemn pledges and the ordinary crimes

of honour. One who sincerely sympathises with a starving man is presumed to share such sufferings, and is not expected to shoot him when the latter shows symptoms of becoming mad through the pangs of hunger. The responsibility for anarchy, if it does overtake India, will therefore rest with the Indian Government and with those who support it in spite of its wrongs, not upon those who refuse to perform its wrongs, not upon those who refuse to perform the impossible task of making people forget vital wrongs and try to direct their anger in a proper channel.

His Excellency wonders at the description of the Government as satanic. He is wrong in adopting the description for himself. For nobody has accused individuals of being satanic. His Excellency's adroitly taking in that category his Indian colleagues, is too artless to deceive anyone. But the system that the Viceroy and his colleagues, whether Indian or English, administer, possesses all the attributes of Satan—deceitfulness, hypocrisy, unscrupulousness, and unmitigated tyranny on occasion and its justification tempered by half-hearted confessions. His Excellency may rest assured that there is no partiality in Non-co-operation. There is always a place of honour for an Englishman in the ranks of non-co-operationists. And no Indian co-operator will be spared the criticism that may be deserved by him for his complicity in the crimes of an evil Government.

His Excellency is on safest ground when he enunciates the doctrine of meeting Non-co-operation by propaganda—by the counter propaganda of co-operation. He is entitled to take all the comfort he can from the fact that both the title-holders and the students have made a poor response in point of numbers and that sufficient Indians have been found to act as members of the reformed legislatures. Non-co-operationists, whilst admitting that the numerical response might have been greater, manage, however, to take pleasure in the times and the schools and the law-courts having fallen into disrepute. These institutions no longer remain the objects of adulation that they once were. Non-co-operationists are satisfied that practising lawyers and title-holders can no longer be popular leaders. They know that even those, who have not given up their practice, or schools, are at heart non-co-operationists and confess their weakness.

His Excellency has been misled by his advisers in believing that non-co-operationists have only now turned their attention to the masses. Indian! they are our sweet anarchy. But we are not going to tamper with them. We shall continue patiently to educate them politically till they are ready.

There need be no mistake about

As soon as we feel reasonably confident of non-violence, continuing among them in spite of provoking executions, we shall certainly call upon the sepoy to lay down his arms and the peasantry to suspend payment of taxes. We are hoping that that time may never have to be reached. We shall leave no stone unturned to reach such a serious step. But we will not think that the worst has come and the road has been

FROM COERCION TO FREEDOM

The people of this country have entirely ceased to have any doubts about the value and utility of their co-operation with the Government. They have now realised, as they never did before, how their "desire to help the administration" only made them "a willing instrument in the hands of the Government to forge oppressive measures." One of the most glaring instances of such pernicious abuse of the help given by the people is furnished by the manner in which the Press Act has been enforced. The representatives of the people although, they knew at the time of its enactment its obviously dangerous character, and although they were "most unwilling" and "hesitant," gave their consent to the statute. The country now knows the price it has been paying for their co-operation. The freedom of the Press is lost. And, journalists may at any time suffer from the injustice experienced by Mr. Horne under a most "barbarous measure."

The absolute futility of co-operation and the grim necessity of working independently of the Government, have now passed the phase of mere polemics. The people are not going to appeal to Government. They do not want, as Mr. Patel said in his speech at the meeting called by the Press Association of India, to repeal, much less to modify the Act. What we want is the power to repeal that and many other acts. For, as he said, if the Government had the power of repealing it they would also have the power of restoring it. It is that power we are fighting for. Again, therefore we do not want to appeal to Government for an amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code, "Men of substance", like Mr. Shastri, ought to have anticipated that it is against their tradition of irresponsibility that executive officers should submit to their being brought within the purview of the law. If Mr. Shastri's proposal about the onus of proving emergency on the executive officer was to be accepted, there would, therefore, be as Sir William observed, "very few soldiers and police officers who would be willing to accept service." If Mr. Shastri still needs must offer to co-operate with the Government he knows the terms on which his offer will be accepted.

Sir William Vincent has made his position abundantly clear. He must ignore the rights of the people and forget his duty towards them. That is not all. He must be prepared to make it possible for the executive officers to "do their duty" and not make them liable to "unnecessary prosecutions." The position of those who have determined to escape bondage is also clearly defined by the Government. The Government is bent upon helping them. It has started the engines of repression and helped the non-co-operators in swarming the people to the hard realities of the present situation in the country. It is not now left to the single-handed army of non-co-operators to

their purpose. The sternest order against Mr. Das has proved, that "we are more sore in our country and life is not bearable without Swaraj." It is these executive acts of undisguised repression that will both strengthen our determination and ensure the success of Non-co-operation. The historic truth shall, once again, be confirmed. Coercion hastens freedom.

JOURNALISTIC IGNORANCE

The *Leader* in its issue of the 28th February ridicules the idea of introducing spinning in National schools and colleges. Its arguments are, as will be presently seen entirely fallacious. In calculating the money value of four hours of spinning it has entirely misunderstood a passage from *Young India* which it quotes. We take only a sentence from the quotation. "Supposing a boy works at it ~~well~~ for four hours daily, he will produce every day 10 tolas of yarn and thus earn for his school one anna per day." This the *Leader* understands to mean that the boy will produce one anna worth of yarn in four hours. But here the *Leader* must prepare for total discomfiture. One anna will be the price—the minimum price—of his labour alone. Why does the *Leader* want to deduct the price of the cotton? The boy does not walk away with the yarn he spins. It goes to the school which also supplies cotton. 10 tolas of cotton, turned into yarn at the wage of ~~one~~ anna will bring to the school more than the combined value of the cotton and the labour of turning it into yarn. It will mean for the school more than the price of raw cotton and the labour of the boys.

But this correction, we are afraid, will not satisfy the *Leader*. It will want to know "who will purchase the uneven yarn?" We are sorry our journalist friends have not sat at the spinning wheel to test for themselves the simplicity or otherwise of the art. We recommend to them the use of the spinning wheel only for a day or two. Our task of driving home the truth of the theory will be the easier for their experience. They will cease to call it uninspiring. They will find that it needs but little effort and attention to guard against the "unevenness" of the yarn which may just now appear to them to be an insurmountable difficulty. There are expert spinners who claim that the art could be learnt in twenty minutes.

This of course does not mean that the art becomes child's play with the new learner in that time. It gives him a grasp of the theory and sufficient confidence to train his fingers without much further guidance or assistance. To be able to draw even yarn,—we speak from experience—it need not take more than five weeks' regular practice. Producing finer counts is a different matter altogether with which we refuse to trouble ourselves at the present moment, when the problem is one of educating India and not one of decorating her. But the *Leader* goes further and doubts the ~~possibility~~ of even standing in yarn. Well, it is true

that the weaver accustomed to weaving mid-spun yarn quarrels with hand-spun yarn, but the difficulty is more imaginary than real. The reason why hand-spun yarn, wherever it still survives, is used only as wool is easily explained: its demand having been artificially and cruelly reduced, the few old women who still keep the art alive, naturally became careless about the twist or the evenness of the yarn. Not that it is impossible to produce yarn on the wheel fit to be used as warp. If the yarn were produced in our schools under careful supervision it would acquire the required strength and evenness more quickly than if the process was left to individual effort. Even as it is, hundreds of weavers have already begun to use hand-spun yarn both as warp and wool. We know children who are spinning, after a month's systematic training, yarn which compares quite favourably with mill-spun yarn.

But our contemporary wants to know how the students are to earn their living if they spend their time after such unprofitable work as spinning. We never knew that the students in our schools and colleges ever earned their living. On the contrary we thought, that in days of high prices, the college student was a burden to his wage-earning father or guardian, which he would cease to be under the proposed system.

The question, how "a few thousand" spinning wheels will achieve Swaraj when seventy million spindles worked by power have failed to do so, also betrays ignorance. The spinning wheel is intended to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth, to distribute millions of rupees among the starving millions of men and women, to evoke national effort on a huge scale. A successful revival of the spinning wheel presupposes the existence of thousands of workers who would willingly labour and the poor, it presupposes determination, organising ability, and a desire for national co-operation. But the whole difficulty is this: Our orthodox pontificers dread to touch of any thing too striking, or too simple, or too drastic. The spinning wheel is too simple and yet too drastic and too striking as an instrument for Swaraj in one year.

A Disclaimer.

Mr. Deep Narain Singh, a leading Non-co-operator writes to "*The Searchlight*" contradicting its statement regarding Lord Sinha's interview with Non-co-operators. His disclaimer shows that there was, after all, not any truth in the impression about which *The Servant of India* congratulates Lord Sinha..... Ed. Y. I.

Order against Mr Das Cancelled.

The orders served under Sec. 144 Cl. P. Code against Messrs. C. R. Das, Manmohan Neogi and Talbuddin have been cancelled. The shops and bazars are reopened after three days of *Hartal*.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PEASANTS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

We give below a free rendering of the Hindi instructions addressed by Mr. Gandhi to the peasants of the United provinces during his visit to Oude. Pandit Motilal Nehru, in his capacity as President of the Kisan Sabha, has distributed them in thousands among the peasantry.

Attainment of Swaraj or redress of grievances is impossible unless the following rules are strictly observed.

1. We may not hurt anybody. We may not use our sticks against anybody. We may not use abusive language or exercise any other undue pressure.
 2. We may not loot shops.
 3. We should influence our opponents by kindness, not by using physical force nor stopping their water supply nor the services of the barber and the washerman.
 4. We may not withhold taxes from the Government or rent from the landlord.
 5. Should there be any grievances against zamindars they should be reported to Pandit Motilal Nehru and his advice followed.
 6. It should be borne in mind that we want to turn Zamindars into friends.
 7. We are not at the present moment offering civil disobedience; we should, therefore, carry out all Government orders.
 8. We may not stop railway trains nor forcibly enter them without tickets.
 9. In the event of any of our leaders being arrested, we may not prevent his arrest nor create any disturbance. We shall not lose our cause by the Government arresting our leaders; we shall certainly lose it if we become mad and do violence.
 10. We must abolish intoxicating drinks, drugs and other evil habits.
 11. We must treat all women as mothers and sisters and respect and protect them.
 12. We must promote unity between Hindus and Muslims.
 13. As amongst Hindus we may not regard any one as higher or lower caste there should be the spirit of equality and brotherhood among all. We should regard all the inhabitants of India as brothers and sisters.
 14. We may not indulge in gambling.
 15. We may not steal.
 16. We may not tell an untruth on any account whatsoever. We should be truthful in all our dealings.
 17. We should introduce the spinning wheel in every home and all—male and female—should devote their spare time to spinning. Boys and girls should also be taught and encouraged to spin for four hours daily.
 18. We should avoid the use of all foreign cloth and wear cloth woven by the weavers from yarn spun by ourselves.
 19. We should not resort to law courts but should have all disputes settled by private arbitration.
- The most important thing to remember is to curb anger, never to do violence and even to suffer violence with patience.

NEGLECTED FACTS

There are certain facts and considerations that are generally neglected in formulating the criticisms directed against the revival of Charka. "The Standard Bearer" recognises that if three million more out of thirty scores of our countrymen and women take to the Charka "the nation no doubt, will have a new and wholesome orientation in its life and a thorough discipline." But it believes that the movement is doomed unless an improved Charka, that can produce five or ten times the yarn from an ordinary Charka, is invented. It suggests that if the necessary invention is not forthcoming from this country a prize should be offered to inventors and designers in Japan and America. I do not grudge the prize to a foreigner. But I believe that it is more than probable that foreign inventors are likely to overlook local conditions. That is why improvements, suggested by outsiders with regard to hand-loom, have, as I know, not found favour in village homes. Japanese and other "improved" looms have, as a matter of fact, failed so far as our villages are concerned. It could not be otherwise. For, it is generally forgotten, particularly by outsiders, that the majority of weavers are living, not in modern industrial towns, but in villages far remote from them and under circumstances which make the use of complicated machinery practically useless. As a practical spinner and weaver, and as one familiar with village conditions, I am convinced that our indigenous Charka and loom are the best implements in the hands of the average villager. It may be that there might be some improvement as a result of the competition invited by Mr. Revashanker Jagjiwan Mehta who has offered a reward of Rs. 5,000 for the improvement of the Charka. But I am sure that these improvements for output would damage the vitality and the perfect quality of the yarn turned out by an expert Charka spinner.

The article further states that the yarn of 80-40 counts, enough for a five yard piece of cloth, would take a month for a Charkas to spin. Is that standard of fineness absolutely indispensable? Surely, a nation writhing for years under foreign tyranny cannot, as Mr. Gandhi says, afford the luxury of wearing fine garments made out of 30-40 counts yarn. He is right when he says that, in order to expel the kingdom of Ravson the nation should put on the garb of exile, even as Rama and Sita did. That is why, under our peculiar circumstances, we have got to wear Khadi. Is it a greater calamity for us to wear Khadi, hand-spun and hand woven by the patient labour of our next door neighbour than to remain trodden under the heels of the governing traders? And, after all, how many out of 32 crores of our people wear dhotees made of 30-40 counts? Our town population consists of 7 crores. I wonder if even 60 p.c. of our countrymen can afford to wear such fine dhotees. I know it as a fact that, if there is a supply of 120-140 counts yarn at 12-13 annas a pound,

hand-spun yarn, hundreds of men and women living in towns will adopt these.

Assuming that every one of us is prepared to wear khadi, let us examine some figures. They are not cited from any departmental statistics, but are taken from facts of daily experience. 10-12 count yarn spun on the ancient Charkas in five or six hours would amount to, at least, 5 tolas that is one eighth of a pound. The quantity would be double if spun at the best of ones capacity. If 80 lakhs, the present school and college going population of British India, of our students could spin out at least 5 tolas of 10 count yarn per every school going day we would have $(80 \text{ lakhs} \times .00 \text{ days} = 160 \text{ crores})$ one hundred and sixty crores of 5 & 10 cones in the next eight months—the Swaraj time limit. And that huge amount of cones, each containing a length of one thousand yards of strong yarn, would produce 3 crore yards of pearl white khadi; 36 in. wide, strong and durable. This, on account of its durability, would keep away at least twice the number of yards of foreign cloth. Calculating eight annas per every yard of foreign cloth we would thus save 3 crores of rupees from being drained out of India. This is only what 80 lakhs of our students could easily do. They could, as said above, do double it they work at their best. What about the 80 p. c. agricultural population of India, that is, 25 crores of people? The majority of the cultivators do practically nothing for the eight dry months of the year. The student Charkas brigadiers could surely inspire them. And, if 3 crores of more men and women take to spinning as is suggested by the "Standard Bearer," they would spin out all the cotton that India grows. Ten tolas per each whole time worker per day is not too much. That means three fourth crore pounds of yarn daily. If we assume that there are three hundred working days in a year, we would have 225 crore pounds of yarn every year, the cotton produced by India being 200 crore pounds. I invite the writer of the above article, if he has time to spare, to come here and examine for himself the accuracy of my figures. If he comes, he will also see how the Charkas spinning is spreading throughout this province.

The *Leader* of Allahabad in a recent issue also discusses the same question. It repeats the old story of 80-40 count. Its deductions about the wages earned by a hand-spinner are, however, difficult to understand. It says: 'that hand-spinning will not fetch more than an anna a day and that is the wages of 6 hours' hard labour every day without respite, and that at a time when the price of cloth is abnormally high.' Proceeding further it says "it should be remembered that from the monthly earning the price of raw material used will have to be deducted, and, that the price of labour may then come to not more than half an anna a day." It seems that the writer of that article has had no time to peep out of his office window. It is hard to work with such a low rate.

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Notes.

Humanity V. Patriotism—A dear friend has drawn my attention to what he considers is an unfortunate appeal to patriotism rather than humanity in my letter to the Sikhs. The portion objected to is this: "The purest way of seeking justice against the murderers is not to seek it. The perpetrators, whether they are Sikhs Pathans or Hindus, are our countrymen. Their punishment cannot recall the dead to life. I would ask those whose hearts are lacerated to forgive them, not out of their weakness—for they are able in every way to have them punished—but out of their immeasurable strength. Only the strong can forgive." I have read the foregoing again and again. I feel that if I had to rewrite the letter, I should not alter a single word in it. My appeal in that letter is to the Sikhs as Indians. And it was enough for me to confine my appeal to the point that could be easily appreciated and reached by those whom I was addressing. The main reasoning would be the same for all, and at all times. My letter as addressed to the Sikhs would have lost its force somewhat if I had broadened the appeal as from patriotism to humanity. A Sikh who will want to punish a non-Sikh criminal but would forgive a Sikh may be told that to him Sikh and Indian must mean the same thing in matters such as the incident covers. The appeal to an Indian as against an Englishman will be to his humanity rather than to his patriotism.

But I am free to confess that in the present state of feeling, an Englishman may easily misinterpret the motive of the letter. For me patriotism is the same as humanity. I am patriotic because I am human and humane. It is not exclusive. I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India. Imperialism has no place in my scheme of life. The law of a patriot is not different from that of the patriarch. And a patriot is so much the less a patriot if he is a lukewarm humanitarian. There is no conflict between private and political law. A non-co-operator, for instance, would act exactly in the same manner towards his father or brother as he is to-day acting towards the Government.

What about General Dyer?—Then why all the recalling incessantly of Jallianwala Bagh and the Crawling Lane, asks the friend? The answer is simple. To forgive is not-to-forget. There

is no merit in loving an enemy when you forget him for a friend. The merit lies in loving inspite of the vivid knowledge that the one that must be loved is not a friend. Ali, that Bayard of Islam, would not retaliate whilst the memory of a vile affront was still fresh in his mind and although he was more than a match for his adversary. India seeks not punishment of the criminals Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer but dismissal of servants who have proved unworthy of the trust reposed in them. And they are not fully dismissed so long as they receive any pension from the Indian treasury. A father is not only not bound to feed an unrepentant son but participates in his crime if he continues to support him.

The Congress Commissioners had their choice either to advise impeachment and prosecution or mere dismissal. They chose the latter on the grounds of humanity and not on that of expedience. The reader may be let into the secret that the Commissioners passed many an anxious hour over the matter. The report was finally shaped at Kashi within a stone's throw of the waters of the Ganges. The recommendation was hotly debated among them and they came to the unanimous conclusion that India could only gain by refraining from prosecution. Mr. Das in a notable speech at Patna recently referred to the compact then made between the Commissioners that, whilst and if they reduced their recommendation to a minimum, they must solemnly resolve to enforce them at the risk of their lives. The Commissioners are therefore non-co-operators as a matter of simple duty. But they chose to waive the right of punishment. It is true that the whole of India has not yet deliberately accepted the doctrine of humanity i.e. forgiveness. One often hears the talk of hanging the murderers and so on. But India does not yet feel strong as against British Governors and Generals. She still fears them. Forgiveness of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer is therefore a meaningless term. But India is daily gaining strength and qualifying for forgiveness. When an Indian talks of punishment of the Panjab criminals, he talks in impotent rage. But I am convinced that if India was today free i.e. strong enough to punish them, she would refrain. She only wants her deliverance from possibilities of Jallianwala. The whole campaign of Non-co-operation has been conceived in a spirit not of revenge but of justice.

Against the system:—Moreover, the battle is not against the individual but against the system. All the Governors are certainly not bad. Hakim Ajmal Khan, one of the greatest Indians and one of the best of Muslims, demonstrated this clearly when he had the portraits of Lord and Lady Hardinge unveiled at the opening of the Tibbi College. Non-co-operators have constantly invited the cooperation of Englishmen, and men belonging to all faiths to join this movement of purification. India is up in arms against the religion of superiority. India will not be exploited whether the system of exploitation is administered by Lord Chelmsford or Lord Sinha. The language of non-co-operators may not always be happy but their means are the choicest.

Pundit Malaviyaji—Writing of the means brings me to the recent happenings in Benares. The attack on Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is symptomatic of the temper of the people. If any man in India should be free from insult it is Punditji. His services to the Punjab are still fresh in our memory. After all, his labour alone has brought into being that great University in Benares. His patriotism is second to no one's. He is gentle to a fault. It is India's misfortune, not his fault, that he does not see his way clear to risk the temporary giving up of his idol. That he should have been treated in the manner reported is a matter of deep sorrow. If the Sanskrit students or the so-called Sanyasis chose to block the passage of the students, Punditji certainly had the right,—it was his duty,—to intervene and secure a free passage for co-operating students. In my opinion, the police were perfectly justified in prosecuting the ringleaders or those whom they believed to be such. That those arrested were roughly handled I can well believe. But we may not expect gentleness from the police even when we have attained Swaraj. I am, therefore, unable to extend any sympathy to those who so manifestly discredited a cause which they ignorantly claimed to represent.

The True and the False—It is one thing, however to condemn the excesses in the movement and another to condemn the movement itself. It is necessary to distinguish between the true non-co-operators and the false ones. The behaviour of the immature students and the ignorant Sanyasis was undoubtedly disgraceful and worthy of condemnation. But the vast body of the people know the limits of Non-co-operation and do not travel beyond them. I venture to claim that India has never been so tranquil as she is today, and yet it is not the inertia of the weak and the unknowing, but it is the enlightened quiet of those who are conscious of their daily growing strength. India knows the malady from which she is suffering and is preparing to throw it off by a course of inward purification.

To be ever watchful—At the same time we have to take care of what we say and do. Some of the best men of India are standing aloof because they have no faith in the people remaining non-violent in the face of provocation. And every little act, even of discourtesy, on the part of non-co-operators retards the fulfilment of our purpose. We cannot be wise, temperate, and farious in a moment, we are either violent or non-violent. We must lie in the bed we have made for ourselves. Having decided to pin our faith to non-violence, we may not acquiesce with violence. We would therefore warn ourselves against countenancing violence in any shape or form. If we do not build our movement on the solid rock of non-violence, it may anyday tumble, like a pack of cards, with a whiff. We cannot serve God and Mammon.

A Jullunder Circular—The instructions of the Dy. Commissioner, Jullunder on the Panchayats are innocent to look at. He has laid down the law in an unexceptionable manner but he has missed the point of attack. No doubt the decisions of private panchayats are not binding in law. But only those will seek the protection of the Panchayats who wish voluntarily to abide by their decisions and therefore need no process of enforcement of Panchayat decrees. No doubt compounding of a felony is wrong. But no court in the world can compel a man whose property is stolen to lodge a complaint. Even in my capacity as a lawyer, I have had the privilege of advising clients not to prosecute thieves they had known and have released some of them from the police. Neither the police nor I, much less did the client, compound a felony in such cases. Why should not a Panchayat excommunicate a habitual thief? Society does not deprive itself of social protection when law-courts are established for the punishment of offenders. The Government have their own remedy when they wish to punish thieves and other offenders. I would therefore strongly advise the Panchayats of Jullunder to continue their very useful work of giving people cheap, speedy, and efficient justice. Care must of course be exercised that they resort to no punitive measures. The only penalty that is at our disposal is the force of public opinion. There is not much danger of parties who voluntarily seek the protection of the Panchayat disobeying the latter's verdicts. We must run the risk of some disobedience; we must not in impatience, resort to force or intimidation for the purpose either of securing reference to Panchayats or execution of their decrees.

Impatient Cow Protestors—During my wanderings I have come across many instances of Hindus being in a hurry to protect the cow. I would respectfully remind them of the homely proverb, 'Haste is waste.' In several municipalities, Lahore for instance, they have been trying to pass a bye-law prohibiting slaughter of calves and

milk cattle. The object is laudable and unexceptionable. But these things cannot be brought about by majorities. It is entirely for the Muslims to take the initiative. Hindus cannot force the pace. And Muslims cannot be expected to take legal steps till we have attained Swaraj. Hindus cannot 'have the cake and eat it' too. Either we are non-co-operators or we are not. If we are, we cannot seek the assistance of the Government even to protect the cow. I hope, therefore, that Hindu non-co-operators in Lahore as elsewhere will dissociate themselves entirely from any movement to secure legislative protection for the cow. We must recognise that the Muslims are everywhere doing most handsomely in the matter. They are trying their utmost to respect Hindu susceptibilities. No man could have done more than Mian Chhotai and Mian Han Ahmed Khatri at the time of the last Bakr-Id. Impatient Hindus will actually injure their own cause by forcing the pace. Either we rely upon Muslim nobility or upon the force of arms or law. Having chosen the former we dare not resort to the latter. Let it be remembered that forces are still at work to destroy the growing friendliness between Hindus and Muslims. Mischief-makers are straining every nerve to break the tie that binds the two. They are already exploiting the Lahore incident. We must not play into the hands of 'the enemy'.

Mail from Mauritius—I have the following cable sent by Mr. Budnan a practicing barrister of Mauritius:—"Indians Mauritius request intervention attempts reintroduction immigrants. Governor Mauritius proceeding Ceylon thereabout protest sent Viceroy." I can only draw public attention to the scandal and urge redoubled effort to gain Swaraj. Immigrants can only mean indentured immigration or stimulated immigration. The first will be almost illegal and I can hardly conceive the possibility of a Viceroy agreeing to resumption of indentured emigration. The second is a possibility fraught with great mischief, for under it emigrants will go under the pretence of freedom. I hope, however, that workers in the labour districts of Madras and the United Provinces will warn the labour class against temptations that might be held out to them i. e. if the Government foolishly permit any recruiting for the so-called re-emigration. M. K. G.

Mrs Sarojini Naidu cables from Port Said to the effect that she reaches Bombay on the 21st instant per S. S. Soman.

CORRECTIONS

In our issue of 2nd March, in the article "Repression in Bihar", instead of "Maulana Shafi or Babu Ramchand have received the following notice" please read "Maulana Shafi and Babu Ramchand have received," etc.

In our issue of March 9, page 8, please read "S. Kanaka Raju" instead of "S. Ranga Raju."

We are sorry for the mistakes,

Young India

Ahmedabad Wednesday 14th March 1921.

THE OLD STORY

Whenever a great movement is going on sensation-mongering becomes the order of the day. A newspaper placard in Lahore is reported to have announced in flaming letters that I had said in *Navajivan* that Swaraj would not be attained because Messrs. Shastriar and Pranjapya were incited during the year. I have just read the back number of *Navajivan* and can find nothing in my writings warranting such a conclusion. Under the heading Swaraj will be delayed, I have severely criticised the conduct of the audience at Mr. Shastriar's meetings in Bombay, and I said that conduct such as this must put back the clock of progress. I have explained in the same article that but for such exhibition of rowdiness we should not take even one year to gain Swaraj. No one need feel anxious about my belief. I wish people will cease to think of what I believe and begin to believe something themselves. If I could infect India with the intensity of my belief, she can gain Swaraj to day, for the will of a nation composed of three hundred million men and women acting in unison cannot be withstood by any power on earth.

But Sir William Vincent was good enough to inform the Assembly the other day that India could not become even like the Dominions because she would fall an easy prey to any power that chose to attack her, and if that did not happen she would be torn to pieces by internal strife. If it is true, it is the severest censure that can be pronounced upon British rule in India. I have however suggested before now that we need not be afraid either of foreign invasion or anarchy within. British rule has certainly emasculated us. Disarmament has reduced our fighting power, and the policy of 'divide and rule' certainly succeeded for a time in keeping Hindus and Muslims apart. Common misfortunes have however made us brothers in distress. We need not fear foreign invasion, if we refuse to wear foreign cloth, and exchange with foreign nations only such produce or manufactures as we choose. South Africa has a poor standing army and no navy. It is true that every Boer is a fighter. But it is not the fighting quality that has made South African whites one nation. It is consciousness of oneness and ability to die for their country that has made them a nation. The consciousness of oneness is with us an evergrowing quality and with it must come the strength to die. This does not require training either in English schools or in Council halls, and, as I feel that India is reaching her unity with an undreamt of velocity, I believe there is every probability of evolving sufficient consciousness of unity and strength to make our demand for immediate Swaraj irresistible. Let us not fear the bugbear of anarchy. In spite of a Pathan occasionally running amuck in a Bombay street and a

Mahant turning satao in Nankhana Sahib. We are essentially good and inoffensive by nature. And when the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs and the Pathans feel as one nation, we have, if we want it, fighting material enough to give battle to any number of bandits who may wish to despoil us without any cause being given by us. It is the poisonous teaching that we are helpless, sedulously instilled into us by our rulers, that makes my soul rise against the system they have heartlessly administered for so many years. It is this belief of ours in our helplessness which makes the clock of progress go so slow. It is strange that we are in bondage at a time when we are fit for us to feel free to-day.

ALL INDIA TILAK SWARAJ FUND.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Punjab deserves the first place in having organised the Tilak memorial in a methodical manner. The new Committees should now be in working order and we must dot the whole of the country with collectors for the fund. In the Punjab, the Congress Committee has issued one rupee receipts, thus expecting those who can to pay nothing less than one rupee. A memorial week, subsequently extended to a fortnight was declared, and trusted volunteers went round to make collections. They have collected over one lac of rupees in that province. The Committee has already forwarded Rs. 25,000 on account of its contribution to the All India Congress Committee.

In my opinion, the rest of us cannot do better than copy the useful example of the Punjab. It is necessary to fix the sum we should collect. One crore of rupees for the whole of India is a most modest tribute to the memory of a patriot so great as the Lokmanya. It is a trifle when we think of the object with which the memory of the deceased is to be associated. To contribute one crore of rupees towards the attainment of Swaraj is not much. And it may be noted here that the money is not to be spent in foreign or other propaganda, but largely in spinning, weaving, and other educational activity. It is to be spent in educating our children. The collection has to be distributed among the twenty-one provinces and should be finished before the 30th June next. Each province will on an average be expected to collect about five lacs of rupees. But Bombay, Gujarat, Bengal, Punjab, and such other provinces, may be expected to collect much more than Orissa or Andhra for instance.

The Working Committee has made the task easier by allowing each province to retain 75% of the collection for provincial expenditure. It is to be hoped, therefore, that not a moment will be lost in organising the great memorial. It will be a fitting and noble tribute to the memory of one who gave his life to the attainment of Swaraj and died with Swaraj only in his thoughts. The Working Committee will no doubt issue authoritative instructions. But we need not await instructions in a matter of near duty. We may safely follow the Panjabis' lead and show to the forthcoming All India Congress Committee what we have done towards the fulfilment of our duty.

FAMINE INSURANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

When I wrote about the spinning wheel being a household instrument of famine insurance, I little realised its implications. What I then saw through the glass of reason darkly, I now see more clearly with the undimmed eye of experience. With famine staring us in the face in Bijapur, Ahmednagar and in some parts of Gujarat, it behoves us to consider carefully what this spinning wheel as an insurance agency means.

Let me give some figures. A spinning wheel costs, say, six rupees. If we supply a family of three with two wheels and all the members work at it together for eight hours each, they will, between them, earn at least six annas per day. I claim that six annas per day for a family will keep it going during a season of distress. I can conceive it to be possible for them to work at the rate of twelve hours each, when the work has to be done in their homes at their own leisure. They add fifty percent to the daily earning making it nine annas per day. Thus at an outlay of Rs. 12,000, we can support for four months one thousand families, or three thousand souls, and get from them a return of

$$1000 \text{ families} \times 6 \text{ annas} \times 120 \text{ days} = \text{Rs. } 45000$$

worth of labour. No doubt, forty five-thousand rupees will have to be found in the first instance for organising famine relief, in addition to garded cotton and the spinning-wheels. The whole of the yarn that may be produced by the famine-stricken people would be used by the nation. There will be some little waste during the first month of learning. I use the adjective 'home little' advisedly because cotton will not be absolutely wasted.

Suppose further that we make a present to these families of the spinning-wheels, they will never need to starve or be in need of funds. All that will be necessary for these families in future will be to be able to have a supply of cotton and a ready sale for the yarn they may manufacture. The experiment can be indefinitely multiplied, and I make bold to say that, if we introduce the spinning wheel in every family home, we insure the nation practically against famine. I have assumed here that the famine is one of money and that the distressed area is able to buy corn if it has funds. Such was the case in Kheda three years ago, such was the case in Orissa last year, and such is the case in Bijapur and Gujarat this year. I invite the public to try the experiment. I would ask the benevolent not to waste their benevolence by contributing funds to Government organisations which make people more and more helpless. I advise them to form their own committees of trustworthy workers and try the experiment themselves. Surely they will see that in it there is no possibility of failure or loss and every probability of the families helped becoming self-reliant and not feeling that they were living on public charity.

Let no one labour under the delusion that the spinning wheel was a toy of the moment. Thousands of wheels have been already made and are working. Several thousand rupees are every month being distributed in poor homes. A few more months of honest and intelligent toil, and the spinning wheel will have taken firm root. Pending organisation of such committees I invite the readers of *Young India* who believe in the spinning wheel as an instrument of famine insurance to send their contribution to the Manager, *Young India*. Every subscription will be acknowledged and will be devoted only to the introduction of the spinning wheel in the famine area under proper supervision. In the event of a committee being formed the money will be handed over to the committee. In any case the contributions will be utilised for the purpose suggested by me.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION. SURAT DISTRICT.

In response to our invitation to send us reports of the progress of Non-co-operation in the country, the Secretaries of the Surat District Non-co-operation Committee have sent the following notes:—

National Education:—

The Rashtriya Shala opened by Mahatma Gandhi with 57 students on its rolls has now nearly 500 students, 75 of whom went up for the National University Matriculation Examination.

The Rastriya Kelavni Mandal has been able to get an annual income of Rs. 20,000 from the Cotton Seeds merchants of the District and the grocers and grain merchants of the city. The Mandal has already secured for the College and High School nearly 22 bighas of land in the outskirts of the city at a cost of Rs. 16,000.

Handspinning and Hindi are compulsory subjects in all the classes of the Rashtriya Shala.

The entire number of students in the college has suspended their studies and joined the Swaraj Ashram as whole-time workers.

The Swaraj Ashram:—

This Ashram has been opened for the purpose of carrying out the programme of Non-co-operation. The Ashram has secured 3 bighas of land, and some tents, and a temporary shed have been erected thereon. There are now nearly 20 resident members. The work in each Taluka is in charge of a trained and experienced member with some assistants.

The working expenses of the Ashram are met mainly from the profits of the Swadeshi Vastu Bhandar.

The workers lead a simple life and spinning occupies a prominent place in the daily routine. The students and the other young workers are given lessons by way of preparing them for their propaganda work, the training class for the workers being conducted by local non-co-operators and the professors of the College.

The workers of the Ashram have so far been able within the short period of a month to induce as

many as ten villages to nationalise their schools. They have visited and addressed meetings in nearly 200 villages on the work before the country.

Congress Committee:—

The work of enrolling members of the Congress Committee was done by the teachers and students of the school. 5000 members have been registered in the Surat city alone and about an equal number in the District. More than 50 Village Congress Committees have so far been formed. It is interesting to note that nearly 700 ladies have become members of the Congress Committee.

Municipality:—

Perhaps the most important achievement of the non-co-operators is in connection with the Municipality. At the recent elections which began on the 9th instant, 37 out of 40 elected members, entered the municipality pledged to carry out the Congress mandate and any decision that might be arrived at by the All India Congress Committee. The citizens of Surat were fully informed of the detailed programme of the non-co-operators, both by means of hand-bills and public meetings attended by thousands of voters. The people were plainly told that the grant of nearly a lakh of rupees would have to be rejected and the education financed entirely by the people and an overwhelming majority of them who exercised their vote did so unhesitatingly, knowing that they were electing non-co-operators. The number of those who abstained from voting was almost negligible. It may be noted that the elections were managed in a clean and dignified manner and at practically no expense—the scramble for votes, the wasteful expenditure on gharras and refreshments for voters being scrupulously avoided.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

We summarise below an account of Non-co-operation in the Rohtak District, sent by the Secretary of the Local Congress Committee.

B. Shamlal, the leading pleader of the District has suspended his practice in pursuance of N. C. O. and has taken the lead. The workers have been divided into three groups and each group has been assigned a particular area of the District for propaganda work. The workers have just returned having finished their first tour.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS:—

The two Schools, Jath High School and The Vardh High School have been nationalised, the number of students being 120 and 150 respectively. A new building is being erected for the Vardh National High School and the buildings of the Jath National High School are thinking of developing its scope ultimately converting it into a National University.

SPINNING WHEELS:—

About 20 spinning wheels are at work in each of the National Schools. Spinning factories have been started at Rohtak and Beri and the spinning wheel is being introduced in many a home.

ARBITRATION COURTS:—

A meeting of the citizens of Rohtak was held yesterday and an Arbitration Courts has been formed. Rules for the Arbitration Courts have also been framed by L. Shamlal and will be published in a few days.

B. Shamal is frequently going from village to village and trying to settle private disputes by arbitration. Up to this time disputes involving thousands of rupees have been decided and settled, and no difficulty is experienced in the execution of the awards.

SWARAJ ASHRAM—

For the benefit of non-co-operating students going in for propaganda work a Swaraj Ashram has been started at Rohiak.

NANKANA TRAGEDY. MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO KHALSAJI

DEAR FRIENDS—Having made my pilgrimage to Nankana Sahib yesterday I would like to say a word to my Sikh friends. The tears that I saw of the massacre at one of the greatest of your temples and the stories related to me have left an indelible impression on my mind.

There seems little doubt that nearly one hundred and fifty men of the Akali party were foully murdered and their bodies mutilated on that fateful Sunday, the 20th Feb. whilst not a single one of the murderers was apparently hurt by the Akali party. There is, no doubt, that at least one Akali was tied to a tree in the temple ground and probably burnt alive. There is still less doubt that many of the corpses were soaked in paraffin, and, in order probably to hide the fact that only men of one party were killed, they were burnt. No one of the Akalis that gained entrance to the temple seems to have escaped to tell the tale of the butchery.

The temple presents the appearance of a fort. The walls of the rooms that surround the shrine are pierced to admit of shooting through them. The partition walls have connecting holes. The main door has massive steel plates evidently of recent make. The Granth Sahib bears bullet marks. The walls of the sanctuary and the pillars tell the same tale. The Akali party seem to have been treacherously admitted and the gates closed on them. Everything I saw and heard points to a second edition of Dyerism more barbarous, more calculated and more fiendish than the Dyerism at Jallianwala. Man in Nankana, where once a snake is reported to have innocently spread its hood to shade the lamb-like Guru, turned Satan on that black Sunday.

India weeps to-day over the awful tragedy. I am ashamed to find that there are men to-day who are capable of the crime committed by some of India in that holy temple. Information is lacking to show why the Akali party went to the temple and whether they offered resistance to the murderers. They had all their Kirpans and mostly their hatchets. There are three possibilities that could have happened.

(1) The party went by a show of force to take possession of the temple but were overwhelmed by superior force and died fighting bravely.

(2) The party went merely as worshippers, had no intention of taking possession and were treacherously murdered without being able to defend themselves.

(3) The party went as worshippers as in the second case, and were mercilessly attacked; but though able to defend themselves would not retaliate and willingly died being under a vow not to use violence in connection with the Gurdwara movement. The contention of my informants, who can only speak from hearsay, is that the party went and died as supposed in the third alternative. If it is so, the martyrs have showed courage and resignation of the highest order of which the Sikhs, India,

and the whole world have every reason to be proud. It is a matter of the greatest satisfaction that the Sikhs with whom I have discussed the possibilities persist in believing the last.

In the second instance, the bravery of the defenders was as unquestioned as in the last.

In the case first mentioned the bravery was great, but the morality of the act, i. e., the taking possession by a show of force must remain open to question and ordinarily speaking, made the Akalis a party of trespassers when the party in possession was entitled in law to use sufficient force to repel.

The Akalis are a party of purists. They are impatient to rid the Gurdwaras of abuses that have crept in. They insist upon uniformity of worship in the Gurdwaras. The movement has been going on for some years. Both co-operating and Non-co-operating Sikhs have, since the movement of Non-co-operation, been acting in concert so far as the Gurdwara movement is concerned. And even if it is discovered ultimately that the Akali party went to Nankana Sahib by show of force to dispossess a Mahant who had abused his trust, History will still call the immolation an act of martyrdom worthy of high praise. Judged by the highest standard and that of non-violent Non-co-operation, if the first supposition turns out to be true, the act of entering to take possession must bear the taint of violence and as such worthy of censure. But the original taint can never be held as in any way justifying or excusing the fiendish barbarity of the crime committed by the murderers. The law courts were open to them—no man using violence can plead Non-co-operation for not seeking the assistance of the law courts.

Time, however, for adjudging the exact value of the martyrdom is not yet. It is more to the point to consider the immediate steps that should be taken. I can only think of the tragedy in terms of Indian nationality. The merit of the brave deed must belong not merely to the Sikhs but to the whole nation. And my advice, therefore, must be to ask the Sikh friends to shape their future conduct in accordance with the needs of the nation. The purest way of seeking justice against the murderers is not to seek it. The perpetrators, whether they are Sikhs, Pathans or Hindus are our countrymen. Their punishment cannot recall the dead to life. I would ask those whose hearts are lacerated to forgive them not out of their weakness—for they are able in every way to have them punished—but out of their immeasurable strength. Only the strong can forgive. You will add to the glory of the martyrdom of the dear ones by refusing to take revenge.

Moreover those who are non-co-operationists may not have recourse to British law courts even for getting murderers punished. If we will be free within one year we must have the courage to suffer even the murderers asked them to restrain the demoniac character of their great and wonderful affection and translate it into action such as the nation required for them.

to go on free till we have established a government in accordance with our will and which can vindicate justice.

Let the Sikhs beware. The Government will no doubt try to win them over to them by showing that they alone can punish the guilty. Law court of a civil government are traps into which the unwary run unwittingly.

But if we have not yet visualised the wickedness of the system under which we are governed, and therefore at a crucial moment will not avoid the existing law courts, let us not thoughtlessly blunder into having our own Committee side by side with the Government Committee of Inquiry. Let us frankly admit our impotence or weakness and avail ourselves of the law

courage or boldly face the possibility of murderers being let loose upon us. It is dangerous to conceal our weakness, it is still more dangerous to make a pretence of courage.

It was common knowledge that the Mahant had been preparing for a long time, and, practically, openly to give battle. He had arms. He had collected ammunition, he was surrounding himself with ruffians. Government officials could not but have known of the preparations. You, therefore, naturally suspect that high officials contemplated with equanimity, if they did not encourage, the perpetration of a heinous deed. You are anxious to find out the exact truth. A moment's reflection must convince you that even if it is found that some Government officials were guilty of such complicity, the discovery takes you and India no further than where we stand today. You, and practically the whole of India, want to sweep the whole of the Government out of existence unless the system under which it is being carried on is radically altered. It would be wrong to divert the attention of any section of the nation from the main or the only issue which is before the country.

So much for the tragedy.

The whole of the Gurdwara movement requires overhauling. There is no doubt that a large party proceeding to Gurdwaras to take possession does constitute a show of force even though no violence is contemplated or intended. And in a well ordered society, no individual, except under a process of law, is permitted to dispossess by a show of force or any other undue pressure, even a wicked man who has been ostensively in possession of public property such as temples. If such individual action were permitted there would be an end to all good government and the weak would be left without the right of protection. Such attempt, therefore, on your part will be a negation of the Khalsa Dharma whose basis is protection of the weak. No one can be more eager for real reform in our temples and removal of all abuse than I. But let us not be party to measures that may be worse than the reform sought to be brought about. There are two ways open to you, either establish arbitration boards for settlement of possession of all Gurdwaras or temples claimed to be Gurdwaras, or postponement of the question till the attainment of Swaraj. If you would let the martyrdom at Nankana bear fruit, exemplary self-restraint and suspension of the movement to take possession of Gurdwaras by means of Akali parties are absolutely necessary.

March 4, 1921.

I am,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI.

MR. GANDHI AT NANKHANA SAHEB

The following is the substance of Mr. Gandhi's Hindustani speech delivered at Nankana Sahib Gurdwara when he visited it together with Maulana Shaukat Ali:—

I have come as a pilgrim to tender you my sympathy. I received a wire of the tragedy from a Sikh friend at Charkha. I showed it to Lala Lajpatrai and friends. The news was so staggering that they would not believe it without confirmation. We hastened back to Lahore to find that the news was all terribly true. I cancelled my visit to Malwa and awaited further information. The next day I proceeded to Lyallpur and thence to the Sikh Divan at Gujrat. I heard there that the cremation was taking place that day. It was too late to attend when the news was received. I could not wait this pilgrimage earlier as I was bound to keep important appointments at Amritsar and Lucknow. Meantime I have heard much about the immolation.

I need hardly give you my assurance that your grief is mine. I am so constituted that the sufferings of others

make me miserable. And were it not for the faculty of suicide to end grief, I should long ere this have ended me away with my life by suicide. And so when I heard of the tragedy of Nankana I felt like wanting to be among the victims. As it is I can but show my sympathy to those that are left behind.

I must confess that I have not yet been able to come to my final judgment as to what actually happened. It seems almost unbelievable that not a man died at the hands of the Akali party. Did not the brave men who were armed with Kirpans and battle-axes retaliate even in self-defence? If they did not, it is an event that must electrify the whole world.

I can imagine three possibilities.

One is that the Akali party came to take possession of the temple. They lost their lives in the act. The world will not blame the party for having come to take possession. You believe the Mahant to be unworthy of the trust. You are Puritans. It was natural for you to take possession. But it is impossible for me to defend the action of taking possession by a show of force. My creed forbids me to use violence or to make a show of it even against an evil-doer. I know that there exists this difference between your creed and mine. I hope that I am capable of forgiving one who may do me or mine an injury. I always pray to God that should such an occasion arise, He would give me the strength to forgive such a wrongdoer. But History will hold you free from blame even if it is found that the martyrs had come to take possession by a show of force.

The second possible position is that the party came more to worship and was assassinated without the opportunity of defending themselves.

The third possibility is that the party came to worship, although it had knowledge that the Mahant was fully armed for destroying them and that, although they were capable of defending themselves, they allowed themselves to be butchered.

In every case the event will live in History.

I hope that you will not take the credit of the bravery for the Sikhs only, but that you will regard it as an act of national bravery. The martyrs have died not to save their own faith merely but to save all religions from impurity.

You and I must live and die for Hindustan as her sons and daughters. I have dedicated my life to the cause of the Khilafat because it means the defence also of my own faith and country. I claim to be a Sanatan Hindu. And I want to live at peace with my neighbours. I can only do so by serving them. I have no desire to save my country or my religion by killing others. I know that God will do me blasphemy if He lets me escape by flying for either.

I would ask you therefore to dedicate this martyrdom to Bharat Mata and to the cause of a free India. You cannot be free and enslave India. And yet the temptation in the hour of your triumph is almost too great. This Government is going to capture all the assets of your art to keep India under bondage. I mean no reflection on the present Governor or any other officials. If I was satisfied of their complicity I would not hesitate to say so. But just now I am speaking of the genius of the Government. It has not hesitated to divide Hindus from Muslims in order to be able to retain its hold on us. And it is quite capable of dividing you from the rest of India. I ask you to resist any such temptation with all your might and to unite with the rest of India to rid the satanic system of Government.

A friend has just now said that the Sikhs have passed their examination in suffering. I join issue with him and suggest to you, that your examination has only just commenced. How are you going to use this newly acquired strength? The same friend drew my attention to the fact that your Kirpans and your battle axes were part of your dress. So let them be. But I assure you that the time has not come for their use, if it is ever to come. All the national associations have recognised the present necessity of non-violence. Your Kirpans must therefore remain scrupulously sheathed and the hatchets buried. If you and I and will prove worthy of the martyrs, we will learn the lesson of humility and suffering from them; and you will dedicate all your matchless bravery to the service of the country and her redemption.

MR. GANDHI'S AMBALA SPEECH

Mr. Gandhi finished his present Punjab tour at Ambala where, in the course of his speech he said that Ambala was the last place to be visited by him. He hoped to return and visit other places in the near future. He was sorry that Maulana Shaikat Ali was not with him during the latter part of his tour. People had been accustomed to look upon them as inseparable but, when every available worker had to give his best attention and time to the service that needed him most, it was not possible even for two to be together except when it was absolutely necessary. They wanted to gain Swara, during the year and they wanted to see the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs redressed within that period. He believed it to be possible if certain elementary conditions were fulfilled. He had dilated upon them from many a platform. They knew that it was necessary for them to observe non-violence in the strictest manner possible. They must not only control their hands but their tongues and their minds also. Thus, and thus only, would they be able to restrain themselves at critical moments. If they claimed theirs to be a religious movement, they were bound to purify themselves and therefore avoid drink and intoxicating drugs, observe chastity and cleanse their hearts by being truthful in thought word and deed. There must be a real unity of hearts between Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all others who composed the Indian nation.

But the speaker said he would not dwell further upon the essential conditions of Swaraj. He would like rather to sum up the results of his experiences. He was going to Ahmedabad and he would be asked what the Punjab was doing. And though the Punjab was the land of puritans it had not kept pace with the other parts of India in Non-co-operation. The Punjab had produced reformers like Guru Nanak and Guru Govindsingh. The Punjab was the home of Dayanand's activity. The Punjab had suffered as no other part of India in 1919. It was in the Punjab that India was made to crawl on her belly. It was in the Punjab that stalwart Punjabis were made to draw lines with their noses. It was in the Punjab that innocent men were hanged and sentenced to transportation for life. It was in the Punjab that little school children were made to walk long distances and to salute the Union Jack. He hoped that if terrorism was repeated, not a Punjabi would be found who would crawl or rub his nose on the ground, and that not a child would be found who would again salute the Union Jack. He hoped that they would

be shot rather than do under compulsion any of the things he had mentioned.

What had the Punjab done for Non-co-operation to vindicate India's honour and the honour of Islam? He would have sorrowfully to tell his inquirers that the Pleaders of the Punjab had made a poor response to the call of the nation, that not many college boys had given up colleges conducted under the Government patronage and that very few titled men had given up their titles. The speaker hoped that the Punjab would soon show better results. So far however as financial help was concerned he would be able to testify to the fact that the land of five rivers had organised the Tilak Swaraj fund in an effective and business-like manner. Everywhere the speaker noticed the readiness of the audience to pay. Their financial contribution, be it little or much, was a token of their association with the movement. Whilst the Punjab stood at the top in point of Swaraj finance, he wished to warn them against being satisfied and or being remiss in their efforts. They should relieve Lala Lajpatrai of all anxiety on that score. In the matter of Swadeshi too the Punjab was by far the most progressive. The spinning wheel was no where so popular as in the Punjab. It was to the speaker a stirring sight to find women belonging to the highest station in life spinning daily in a religious manner. He congratulated the women of the Punjab on their industry and patriotism. The devotion, the simplicity, and the faith of the Punjabi women was a sight that filled him with the highest hope. The women were not behind hand in paying their quota of money either. The speaker however added that he would not be content until the Punjab manufactured the whole of its yarn and cloth and was dressed in Khaddar. The Punjab might easily lead India.

It had the living memory of the Gurus and Swami Dayanand. The Punjab had faith and devotion. The Arya Samajists and the Sikhs had a splendid organisation. They had wealth too. They were both small and compact communities of Puritans, and if they would but dedicate their puritanic zeal to the country's cause, they would contribute not a little to the movement for gaining Swaraj during the year. They could easily nationalise all their educational institutions, their Vakils could without difficulty suspend practice. The essence of puritanism was progress. Let it not be said of these organisations that they could not march with the times. They needed the bravery of Lachmarsing and Dulpiing, but they needed still more the bravery of common place, sustained, steady sacrifice such as the programme of Non-co-operation was calculated to evoke. Whilst these two communities must be at the front the vast Hindu and Mahomedan population of the Punjab must not lag behind. They being the most numerous, the ultimate salvation of India must ultimately depend upon an awakening and response among the Hindus and Mussulmans of India. In concluding Mr. Gandhi thanked the Punjabees for the attention with which they had overwhelmed him. Their desire for processions, their demonstrative nature, the desire to touch the feet seriously embarrassed him and hampered his movement. He asked them to refrain from the demonstrative character of their great and wonderful affection and translate it into action such as the nation requires of them.

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Notes.

'For God, King, and Country'—During my peregrinations I once came across boys in uniform and asked them what their uniform meant. I observed that their uniform was made of foreign cloth or cloth woven out of foreign yarn. They said it was scouts' uniform. They were surprised by the answer. I was satisfied.

They did as scouts. The answer was that they lived for God, King, and Country. 'Who is your King?' I asked. 'King George,' was the reply. 'How about Jallianwala? Supposing you had been in that place on the 13th April 1919 and were asked by General Dyer to shoot your terrified countrymen, what would you have done?'

'Of course I would not have obeyed the command.'

'But General Dyer wore the King's uniform?'

'Yes, but he belongs to the bureaucracy and I have nothing to do with it.'

I suggested that he could not separate the bureaucracy from the King, that the King was an impersonal ideal existence which meant the British Empire and that no Indian could remain loyal, in the accepted sense, to the Empire as it was at present represented and be loyal to God at the same time. An Empire, which could be responsible for the terrorism of the Martial Law regime, that would not repent of the wrong, that could enter into secret treaties in breach of solemn obligations, could only be reckoned as a godless Empire. Loyalty to such an Empire was disloyalty to God.

The boy was puzzled.

I continued my argument. 'Supposing our country becomes godless in order to enrich itself, exploits other people, trafficks in intoxicants, goes to war for the sake of extending its trade and resorts to fraud in order to sustain its power and prestige, how can we be consistently loyal to God and country? Must we not forsake the country for the sake of God? I suggest, therefore, that you should bind yourself to be faithful and loyal only to God and none else in the same sense and in the same breath.'

There were many of his companions who were deeply interested in the conversation. Their chief too came in. I repeated my argument to him and asked him to tax himself and stimulate the inquiring spirit of the grown up young men, whom

he was guiding. Hardly was the absorbing topic exhausted, when the train steamed out of the station. I felt sorry for the splendid lads and understood better the deep meaning of the movement of Non-co-operation. There can be but one universal creed for men, that is loyalty to God. It includes, when it is not inconsistent, loyalty to King, country, and humanity. But it equally often excludes all else. I hope that the youth of the country as well as their tutors will revise their creed and set themselves right where they are convinced of their error. It is no small matter for tender minds to have formulas presented to them which cannot bear scrutiny.

Satyagrah, Civil Disobedience, Passive Resistance, Non-co-operation—It is often my lot to answer knotty questions on all sorts of topics arising out of this great movement of national purification. A company of collegiate non-co-operators asked me to define for them the terms which I have used as heading for this note. And even at this late day, I was seriously asked whether Satyagrah did not at times warrant resistance by violence, as for instance in the case of a sister whose virtue might be in danger from a desperado. I ventured to suggest that it was the completest defence without irritation, without being ruffled, to interpose oneself between the victim and the victimizer, and to face death. I added that this (for the assailant) novel method of defence would, in all probability, exhaust his passion and he will no longer want to ravish an innocent woman, but would want to flee from her presence for very shame, and that, if he did not, the act of personal bravery on the part of her brother would steel her heart for putting up an equally brave defence and resisting the lust of man turned brute for the while. And I thought I enriched my argument by saying that if, in spite of all the defence, the unexpected happened, and the physical force of the tyrant overpowered his victim, the disgrace would not be that of the woman but of her assailant and that both she and her brother, who died in the attempt to defend her virtue, would stand well before the Throne of Judgment. I do not warrant that my argument convinced my listener or that it would convince the reader. The world I know will go on as before. But it is well at this moment of self-examination to understand and appreciate the implications of the powerful movement of non-violence. All religions have emphas-

sized the highest ideal, but all have more or less permitted departures as so many concessions to human weaknesses.

I now proceed to summarise the explanations I gave of the various terms. It is beyond my capacity to give accurate and terse definitions.

Satyagrah, then, is literally holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is, therefore, known as soul-force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore, not competent to punish. The word was coined in South Africa to distinguish the non-violent resistance of the Indians of South Africa from the contemporary 'passive resistance' of the suffragettes and others. It is not conceived as a weapon of the weak.

Passive resistance is used in the orthodox English sense and covers the suffragette movement as well as the resistance of the Nonconformists. Passive resistance has been conceived and is regarded as a weapon of the weak. Whilst it avoids violence, being not open to the weak, it does not exclude its use if, in the opinion of a passive resister, the occasion demands it. However, it has always been distinguished from armed resistance and its application was at one time confined to Christian martyrs.

Civil-Disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resistance to the laws of a slave state. He has left a masterly treatise on the duty of Civil Disobedience. But Thoreau was not perhaps an out and out champion of non-violence. Probably, also, Thoreau limited his breach of statutory laws to the revenue law i.e. payment of taxes. Whereas the term Civil Disobedience as practised in 1919 covered a breach of any statutory and unmoral law. It signified the resister's outlawry in a civil i.e. non-violent manner. He invoked the sanctions of the law and cheerfully suffered imprisonment. It is a branch of Satyagrah.

Non-cooperation predominantly implies withdrawing of cooperation from the State that in the non-cooperator's view has become corrupt and excludes Civil Disobedience of the fierce type described above. By its very nature, Non-cooperation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practised by the masses. Civil Disobedience presupposes the habit of willing obedience to laws without fear of their sanctions. It can therefore be practised only as a last resort and by a select few in the first instance at any rate. Non-cooperation, too, like Civil Disobedience is a branch of Satyagrah which includes all nonviolent resistance for the vindication of Truth.

M. K. G.

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AT RANDOM

(By M. D.)

The Nadiad Municipality, which has given the lead to all Municipalities in non-cooperating with the Government, is now having a tough fight with the latter, of which, we are afraid, we are witnessing just the beginning. The local Collector, the other day, gave notice to the President to vacate within twelve hours the Departmental buildings which were transferred by the Government to the Municipality as far back as 35 years ago, under conditions which are being still fulfilled by the Municipality, and this in spite of the fact that one of these is erected out of a charitable fund, the other largely out of public funds, while in the case of the third even the ownership is disputed. The self-respecting Municipality expressed its inability to vacate these buildings in the short interval of 12 hours. The President remonstrated with the Collector, the latter gave him three days' grace during which he saw the Minister in charge of Education, but his efforts proved of no avail, and the buildings have now been broken open and taken possession of by the Government. The right of the Government to dispossess the Municipality of the buildings is doubtful, the action that followed after the assertion of the right is sanctioned by no law, and is characterised by indecent haste. These are the ways of the Government every-where in the country.

But in Bombay, fortunately, such instances of lawlessness are few and far between. Quite a drop of them is afforded by Behar. Just look at the amusing letter a Deputy Commissioner in Behar has addressed to the Secretary of the Bar Library at Purulia:

Dear Sir,
It has been brought to my notice on very reliable evidence that the discussion of political subjects in your Bar Library room is now more the rule than an exception. Will you please let me know if this is correct, and if so, what cause you have got to show on behalf of the Bar Library why the lease of the land on which the building stands should not be cancelled, and the building with the land be taken over by Government for breach of the condition in clause (2) of the lease.

Purulia.

Yours faithfully,

12th February 1921. (Sd.) S. L. GUPTA.

To this Mr. S. M. Ghosh, Vakil, sent a long reply questioning the power of the Commissioner to serve any notice like the one in question and objecting to the tone and the language of his letter. We wonder how anything short of all Vakils withdrawing from practice can result from this impudent letter.

What, again, could be more foolish than the order under section 144 Cr. P. C. issued against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He is one of the few workers in India who may be said to be incapable of violence, or of preaching it, either. We vividly remember an account of a mammoth meeting of

Kisans he held in Fyzabad sometime ago, narrated to us by his father. He addressed them a very elaborate and detailed argument for non-violence, assured them repeatedly that Mr. Gandhi detested violence, and told them that they should, therefore, refuse to commit violence, even when asked by Mr. Gandhi himself, not to speak of any one else. The Kisans listened with rapt attention and said 'Amen.' Mr. Nehru, then, began to talk to them about some other things just to divert their attention, and after a while again returned to the same theme, to see if the lesson he had taught them a few minutes ago had gone home. He stopped the argument and abruptly asked, 'Now brothers, supposing in such circumstances I advised you to take up your sticks, would you not do so?' Straight came the simple reply, "We surely would." Pandit Jawaharlal was disillusioned, but he did not give up the attempt. He repeated the whole argument and did not leave the place until he was absolutely certain that he had sent his lesson right into their hearts. We dare say the Government are in possession of a report of this meeting. And yet if they bid good-bye to their senses and deny themselves the services of one like Mr. Nehru, it is not too much to say that they are hastening the end of a regime which is rotten to the base.

And the lesson has not been lost on the workers. They are seeing every day that we should not wait to be silenced by the Government, we should adopt silence ourselves, do silent work which is more eloquent. Here are a few sentences from a letter from Prof. Kirpalani, the Vice Principal of the National College at Benares, and one of the most unassuming of workers. He also conducts an Ashram, the members of which he trains and sends out for village work. He writes in a private letter to a friend which we have been given the liberty to publish:—

"The workers in the Ashram have turned out to be pure gold. About ten of them I have just sent to the villages with a distinct warning that if they managed to go to jail we would pass a vote of censure against them. I have impressed on them the necessity of silent work. No speaking, but silent service, which in the fulness of time would give them ample opportunities to show their worth. So they are, I believe, from all accounts received, working in the spirit of my instructions."

And how has Behar taken the lesson? The splendid report of the work that is going on there, and which is published in the *Independent* of the 11th should hearten many a diffident worker. Mr. Rajagopalachariar in one of those beautiful leaflets that he is now showering on Madras says, "The Congress has created a province and Mr. Thomas has helped to organise it." Exactly the same thing may be said about Behar. And we should not wonder if with the continuing repression that is going on there, the crown of martyrdom may be first earned by Behar.

And now an instance of the way in which the frenzied acts of the Bureaucracy are estranging co-operators from Government. It appears that a planter happened to visit the Hardi Mela held during the Vasant Panchmi festival in the District of Muzaffarpur, and was greeted with the cry of Mahatma Gandhiki Jai. He was incensed and reported the matter to the Commissioner of the Division and the local Police Superintendent, though Babu Krishnaprasad (Hardi Babu) the proprietor of the Mela, had already expressed his regret and promised to do what he could in the matter. "Mr. Wilson, the Superintendent of Police," reports a gentleman on the spot, "accompanied by Mr. Muns (the planter) and the Deputy Superintendent of Police rushed up to the Hardi Mela in a temper, as if something very serious had happened, and took Hardibabu to task threatening that, if Hardibabu could not find out the culprit, he would stop the mela." And then followed more unseemly protests against imaginary insults offered by Hardibabu. It unfortunately happened that the crowd bade Mr. Wilson goodbye also with a "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai." This nettled him, he jumped out of his car, took hold of a man and handed him over to the Police; again went the cry, and again a man was caught hold of by the irate officer who next day satisfied his wrath by issuing a notice against Hardibabu under Sec. 144 Cr. P. O. directing him "to forbid persons carrying lathis within the Mela or within a radius of 5 miles and making speeches so long as the Mela continues." On the day before, an armed party of Gurkhas was marched up to the Mela, for no other purpose than striking terror into the people. The action of the crowd in teasing the planter and the officer by crying "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai" can hardly be called commendable, but neither was it culpable. However that may be, the result of all the mad display has been that Hardibabu has resigned the membership of the Provincial Council and all his honorary posts.

Thus the acts of bureaucracy are not only organising Provinces, they are converting co-operators.

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Young India.

A 1, Wednesday, 23rd, March, 1921.

SATYAGRAH WEEK

By M. K. Gandhi.)

April 6th and 13th will be soon upon us. The 6th saw India once again awakened. The 13th was a black Sunday, when a diabolical attempt was made to crush the spirit of a nation that had just become awakened. India observed the anniversary of the two days last year in a fitting manner, and the whole week commencing from the 6th was treated as a week of consecration. Would that the coming April will find us ready for greater consecration. We have every reason and every occasion for it. Last year we concentrated merely on securing subscriptions for paying the purchase price of the ground hallowed by innocent blood. It was a necessary and pious act. But greater things have happened since then. The nation has affirmed and reaffirmed its determination to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and to establish Swaraj. The December Congress went further and declared its intention to acquire Swaraj within one year.

We cannot, then, do better than consecrate ourselves for greater national effort in this direction. The school and the courts movements continue. No special endeavour is now necessary on that score except on the part of those who have left educational institutions or law courts. They must search within and see how they are utilising their time. But there are six things in which we certainly need to make a very special effort.

Firstly, we must acquire greater mastery over ourselves and secure an atmosphere of perfect calm, peace, and good will. We must ask forgiveness for every unkind word thoughtlessly uttered or unkind deed done to any one.

Secondly, we must still further cleanse our hearts, and we Hindus and Muslims, must cease to suspect one another's motives; and we should believe ourselves to be incapable of wronging one another.

Thirdly, we Hindus must call no one unclean or mean or inferior to ourselves, and must therefore cease to regard the 'Pariah' class to be untouchable. We must consider it sinful to regard a fellow-being as untouchable.

These three things are matters of inward transformation and the result will be seen in our daily dealings.

The fourth is the curse of drink. Happily, India seems to have voluntarily and spontaneously resolved to get rid of the curse. A supreme effort should be made during the week to induce, by respectful entreaty, the liquor-sellers to give up their licences and the habitual visitors to these shops to give up the habit. Every caste knows its own offenders and can handle them much more effectively than others. But I have

suggested to the women of Ahmedabad that they should organise temperance bands and approach the liquor-sellers. In a case of no physical force, I believe, success is certain. A determined peaceful campaign of persuasion must succeed.

The fifth thing is the introduction of the spinning wheel in every home, larger production and use of khadi, and complete giving up of foreign clothes.

The sixth thing is the systematic and ceaseless collection of subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. If an organised endeavour is made in this direction, we should be able to finish the collection of even one crore rupees during the Satyagrah week. My incessant touring has convinced me that India is ready to pay much more than one crore. Only there are not enough honest collectors. Every district of India should be able to organise itself for this work to be done during the Satyagrah week.

Hartals have become cheap, and are easily organised and, therefore, have lost much of their original value. But hartals for the two days have a significance all their own. And I would certainly advise hartals for both the sixth and the thirteenth April accompanied by fast. Needless to say that there should be no compulsion. The employees whether in mills, or elsewhere, should not stop work if they cannot secure leave, and no undue pressure should be brought to bear on the tram management. We must rely upon the public not using public vehicles on the two days without just and urgent cause. The two days of fast should be utilised for special prayers and worship.

I would dissuade the public from passing any resolutions as to our demands. The week of consecration must be a week of self-examination and purification. We must rely upon our work to bring about the desired result. As soon as we have rendered ourselves fit no person on earth can prevent our establishing Swaraj and securing redress of the two great wrongs.

TO THE PARSIS.

Dear Friends,

I know that you are following with considerable interest the present Non-co-operation movement. You may know, too, that all thoughtful non-co-operators are anxiously waiting to see what part you are going to play in the process of purification through which the whole country is passing. I, personally, have every reason to have full faith in your doing the right thing when the moment for making the final choice comes to you. And I address these few words to you because I feel that, probably, that moment has now arrived.

Apart from your being fellow-countrymen, I am bound to you by many sacred ties. Dadabhai was the first patriot to inspire me. He was my guide and helper when I did not know any other leader. It was to him that I bore, when yet a boy, a letter of introduction. It was the late uncrowned king of Bombay who led me in 1896 and showed

me the way to work. It was he who, when I wanted to give battle to a Political Agent as far back as 1892, restrained my youthful ardour and taught me the first practical lesson in Ahimsa in public life. He taught me not to resent personal wrongs if I would serve India. A Parsee merchant in Durban, Rustamjee Ghorkhodoo, was among my most valued clients and friends in South Africa. He gave freely to the public cause, and he and his brave son were the first among my fellow-prisoners. He gave me shelter when I was lynched, and now, too, he is following the Swaraj movement with considerable interest and has just donated Rs. 40,000 to it. In my humble opinion, probably the first woman in India to-day is a Parsi woman—gentle as a lamb, with a heart that holds the whole humanity. To have her friendship is the rarest privilege of life. I would love to multiply these sacred memories, but I have given you enough of them to enable you to understand and to appreciate the motive of this letter.

You are a very cautious community. You are compact, and you rightly insist on abundant proof of the stability and the morality of any movement before you would take to it. But there is now danger of your becoming over-cautious, and your success in trade may make you oblivious of the wants and aspirations of the multitude of your countrymen. I dread the Rockefeller spirit that seems to be overtaking the great House of the Tatas. I dread to think of the consequences of their appropriating poor people's properties for the doubtful benefit of making India industrial. But I do believe that this is a passing phase. Your shrewdness will show you the suicidal nature of such enterprises. Your quick wit will tell you that what India needs is not concentration of capital in a few hands, but its distribution so as to be within easy reach of the 7½ lakhs of villages that make this continent 1900 miles long and 1500 miles broad. I know, therefore, it is a question of time when you will throw in your lot as a community with the reformers who are hungering to free India from the curse of an Imperialism which is bleeding her to death.

But there is one thing for which it will be criminal to wait. A temperance wave is passing over India. The people want voluntarily to become teetotalers. Society is fast developing a public opinion that would consider drinking an unpardonable vice. Many Parsees make a living by running liquor shops. Your whole-hearted co-operation can sweep out of existence many of these plague-spots in the Bombay Presidency. The Local Governments almost all over India are making a discreditable attempt to thwart the movement which bids fare to succeed even to the point of destroying the whole of the Abkari revenue. Will you help the governments or the people? The Bombay Government has not yet been seized by panic. But I can hardly imagine that it will have the courage and wisdom to sacrifice the drink-revenue. You have to make your immediate choice. I do not know what

your Scriptures say about drink. I can guess what the Prophet, who separated good from evil and sang the victory of the former over the latter, is likely to have said. But apart from your own religious belief, you have to make up your mind as to whether you will forward the cause of temperance in a whole-hearted manner or whether you will supinely and philosophically watch developments. I shall hope that you as a practical community of India will actively and thoroughly associate yourselves with the great temperance movement which bids fair to outshine every such movement in the world.

I am,

Your faithful friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

THE KHILAFAT.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The proposed change in the Treaty of Sevres cannot satisfy Indian Muslims. And that is saying a great deal. It is not Turkey merely that Great Britain has to placate. It is India that has to be pacified. In my opinion, if the demands of the Muslims of India are conceded it will not much matter whether Turkey's are satisfied or not. And this for two reasons. The Khilafat is an ideal and when a man works for an ideal, he becomes irresistible. The Muslims, who represent the ideal, have behind them the opinion of the whole mass of the Indian people.

It is wrong to say that Muslims are fighting merely for Turkey. They will abandon her today, if she went wrong, if, to take a foolish illustration, she demands her restoration to the status that she occupied during the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent. Similarly, the Muslims cannot abandon a claim based on the Koranic injunctions because a weak and helpless Turkey cannot sustain it.

Whilst every good Muslim must strive to retain the temporal power of Turkey, it is obligatory on him to see that unequivocal Muslim control is retained over the 'Island of Arabia' which include Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine as well, and the spiritual sovereignty over them of the Caliph whoever he may be for the time being. No other terms, however good otherwise they may be, can possibly satisfy Muslim opinion. They will not tolerate any non-Muslim influence direct or indirect over the holy places of Islam.

The most thorny part of the question is, therefore, Palestine. Britain has made promises to the Zionists. The latter have, naturally, a sacred sentiment about the place. The Jews it is contended, must remain a homeless wandering race unless they have obtained possession of Palestine. I do not propose to examine the soundness or otherwise of the doctrine underlying the proposition. All I contend is that they cannot possess Palestine through a trick or a moral breach. Palestine was not a stake in the war. The British Government could not dare have asked a single Muslim soldier to wrest control of Palestine from fellow-Muslims and give it to the Jews. Palestine, as a place of Jewish worship,

is a sentiment to be respected and the Jews would have a just cause of complaint against Muslim idealists if they were to prevent Jews from offering worship as freely as themselves.

By no canon of ethics or war, therefore, can Palestine be given to the Jews as a result of the war. Either Zionists must revise their ideal about Palestine, or, if Judaism permits the arbitrament of war, engage in a 'holy war' with the Muslims of the world with the Christians throwing in their influence on their side. But one may hope that the trend of world opinion will make 'holy wars' impossible and religious questions or differences will tend more and more towards a peaceful adjustment based upon the strictest moral considerations. But, whether such a happy time ever comes or not, it is clear as daylight that the *khilafat* terms to be just must mean the restitution of *Jazirat-ul-Araa* to compete Muslim control under the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliph.

[As regards the Zionists' position, the following quotation from *The Nation's* review of Mr. Israel Zangwill's latest book, "The Voice of Jerusalem" will be of interest, as indicating the views of a distinguished Jew:—

His mind has the great merit of a certain amount of originality, of refusing to work merely along other people's grooves. Hence on the question of Zionism he has always taken what was, for a Jew an unconventional attitude, and he saw, earlier than most people, the central difficulty in the problem of making Palestine the national home of the Jews. The difficulty is that Palestine happens to-day to be the national home of 600,000 Arabs, and that, even if you got rid of the Arabs, it is quite unfit to accommodate even a half of the Jewish population of the world. A real Jewish State was, therefore, possible in Palestine only if you expelled the Arabs, and even then there would be a very large Jewish irredenta. Hence Mr. Zangwill was a Zionist, but his Zion was not in Palestine but in "Canada, Brazil, Asia Minor, or Siberia." When the war altered the whole situation, he gave his support, it is true, to the diplomacy of the Zionist leaders but obviously with considerable hesitation. His doubts have been amply realized. He pours out his scorn upon the mirage of the Jewish State, that shadowy Zion whose twin foundations are the chicanery of the mandate system and a strategic base for the British Empire.

Asst. Ed. Y. I.]

MORE FALLACIES.

Some of the fallacies about the spinning wheel were dispelled in a recent issue of *Young India*. The latest perpetrators are the Director of Industries in Bihar and Orissa who has gone out of his way to discredit the spinning wheel and to jeer at attempts for its revival in a statement recently issued by him, and the 'Times of India' which has endorsed the Director's comments. The director tries to do so by showing that in 1919 nearly 12 times as much twist and yarn was exported as was imported, and remarks: "These figures show how inaccurate it is to represent India as a helpless

country, a foreign dominion exploited by Great Britain in the interests of the Lancashire manufacturer. The fact is that it pays India better to manufacture coarse goods for export and to import finer goods" etc. It is all the while assumed that India's trade consists only of twist and yarn. There is no doubt that the export of twist and yarn was 10 times as much as the imports—and not twelve times—in 1919-20, but that was not because India was overflowing with yarn, but because the Indian could successfully compete with the Lancashire manufacturer in the manufacture of with coarse yarn, and India is so poor and helpless that she could not resist the temptation of making a little profit out of this competition. The revivalists not only insist that more yarn should be manufactured in India, but that no yarn should be exported from India till the whole nation is clothed in Indian spun and Indian woven yarn. Whilst the export of yarn and twist was 10 times the import, the import of piece goods in the same year was nearly six times as much, and the import of handkerchiefs etc. was twenty-three times as much as the export, and there was absolutely no export of hosiery to balance the import of hosiery worth Rs. 1,45,04,692. It is from the bondage of the sixty crore Rupees worth of these imports that the country is sought to be freed by means of a revival of the spinning wheel. India does not need to import finer goods to-day, as the problem, we repeat, is to clothe India and not to decorate her.

But not satisfied with citing misleading figures, the Director indulges in statements which betray a sad ignorance of facts. To attempt to weave handspun yarn on handlooms economically may appear to him to be ludicrous, but it was woven by hundreds of thousands of weavers before the foreign trader invaded them, and is being woven even to-day by tens of thousands, if not hundreds. And then the writer tries to evince a sort of solicitude for the young educated Indian: "To teach young men of educated classes to use the handloom as a means of livelihood in competition with hundred of thousands of handloom weavers in India, who are eagerly awaiting increased patronage, is nothing short of cruelty." Even assuming, what is not the fact, that the young man is taught to compete with the expert weaver, what is more cruel—teaching him to gain an honourable livelihood by hand-labour, or, asking him to spend the best year of his life in mastering a foreign language and consigning him to a life of eternal bondage? But the fact is the young man is not taught to compete with the Indian weaver, he is being asked to help the latter to drive out the foreign competitor. As soon as by this process the country is immune from the onrush of foreign imports, there will be employment not only for all the weavers who are either unemployed or have forsaken their calling, but for those others who may be ready to take up the honourable profession as a means of solving the problem of clothing the naked of India.

NEGLECTED FACTS

A reader of this journal has drawn my attention to an inadvertency in my article under the above heading. On page 70, I have said that 160 crores of 5 tola cones would produce 3 crore yards of pearl-white Khadi, etc.

The printer's devil has played a curious trick, misappropriating a zero and redrawing 30 crores to 3. Hence the figure of saving should be 30 crore rupees instead of 3. This is an astounding figure no doubt. But one who knows something about the weight of a yard of ordinary Khadi will see that it is accurate. Ordinary Khadi of 2½ inch width measures about 3 yards to the pound; the one I described in my article, would weigh a yard and a half to a pound on account of its greater width and thicker texture.

The correction doubly strengthens my case. The saving may or may not amount to 30 crore rupees, but it is quite clear that the 160 crores of 5 tola cones is the right amount of yarn to produce 30 crore yards of Khadi 36 ins. wide.

As to the production of a Charka per hour, I am glad to state that only the other day a student of this Ashram turned out 2 tolas of fairly even and strong yarn of about 11 counts in 35 minutes.

I do not say that this is the average output, and I do not disguise the fact that the boy in case is an expert spinner. But this figure only shows the capacity of the Charka. The production of yarn depends upon the worker. Thousands of women eking out their living by grinding corn in a stone-mill, should be able to work on the Charka for 12 hours with uniform strain, and it is no exaggeration to say that they can spin half a pound of yarn in about 8 hours and would earn about two annas per day, which I know many of them do.

Satyagrahasahram.

Maganlal K. Ganubh.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN GUJARAT.

In response to our invitation, the organising secretaries of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee have sent the following report which we gladly publish—

A meeting of the Gujarat Rajya Mandal was held on 16-1-1921, when provisional Rules were adopted for organising forthwith the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee which was to consist of 100 members, of whom 90 would be elected, on the basis of population by the members enrolled on the Taluka Committees till 28th February, as follows:—Ahmedabad 27, Kaira 22, Banaskantha 16, Panch Mahals 10, and Surat 21. The remaining 10 were to be co-opted by the elected representatives to represent minorities and Native States. The Taluka organisers, appointed under the above rules, concentrated their attention during the last 2 months on enlisting members, and toured round hundreds of villages for the purpose. Volunteers, including students of National Schools and Colleges, materially helped the organising Committees; in many cases, files of students, dressed in khadi uniforms and singing songs, were the distinguishing feature of the Congress propaganda. The total number of members enrolled till the 28th Feb was 811 in Ahmedabad District, 6208 in Kaira District, 4100 in Panch Mahal District, 1611 in Broach District (figures incomplete), and 9885 in Surat Dist-

rich, making a total of 22,985 in the whole of Gujarat. It is interesting to note that 700 leaders have joined the Congress Committees in the Surat District.

Special mention must be made of the students of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, who suspended their studies and were deputed on the Congress work in the different Talukas; altogether 20 students were sent to 11 Talukas, where they covered nearly 80 villages.

About 20 students of the Swaraj Ashram at Ahmedabad helped in enlisting members in the Ahmedabad City. Though they were sent rather late, they very soon inspired local workers with fresh enthusiasm and substantially helped in increasing Congress membership.

Meetings of all the Taluka Committees except 3 were held on the 6th inst, when a fixed number of representatives were elected on the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee and the local secretaries and Managing Committees were also elected. The first meeting of the elected representatives was held on the 13th inst, under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi, when 60 out of 80 members (the representative from Vagra Taluka being not yet elected) were present. After some preliminary objections were disposed of, the meeting co-opted 10 members comprising five Muhammadans, one lady, one member of the depressed classes and 3 subjects of Native States.

II. NATIONAL EDUCATION—

The Gujarat Vidyapith has been engaged in varied activities during the last 3 months. The Mahavidyalaya which started with 50 students has now nearly 200 students on its rolls. It has drawn students from all parts of the Presidency, and a few from the Punjab, United Provinces, and Madras. The principal event of the period under report is the new direction given to the student movement by a resolution adopted by the Senate on 14-1-21 recommending the introduction of spinning and Hindoostani to the exclusion of every other branch of study in all educational institutions. Just about that time, 20 senior students of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya decided to justify the name of the hostel, which they had christened Swaraj Ashram, by suspending their studies and taking to the spinning wheel. After living a life of strict discipline and undergoing preliminary training under the guidance of Acharya Gadwani, they are distributed in the different parts of the province to start rural centres of spinning and non-co-operation.

The normal activities of the academic side have also been progressing at the same time. The Vidyapith has issued a complete scheme of studies for schools and colleges.

In accordance with the request of the non-co-operating students from all parts of the country, the Vidyapith has commenced examinations on the courses of every Indian University. As many as 515 candidates have applied for the Vidyapith Matriculation Examination now in progress.

During the period under report the following professors and demonstrators of the Gujarat College have resigned their services.

1. Prof. J. C. Swaminarayan, M. A.
Professor of Mathematics, Prov. Service.
2. Mr. P. K. Amin, B. Sc. Asst., Professor
3. J. J. Patel, B. Sc., Demonstrator.
4. E. S. Deshpande, B. Sc., Demonstrator.

Prof. Swaminarayan was immediately after his resignation appointed Vice-Principal of the Bombay Mahavidyalaya which was just being organised. Mr. Amin is in charge of the Spinning Department at the Swaraj Ashram in Ahmedabad, and Mr. Deshpande has been attached to the Registrar's office. Mr. Patel is serving on the staff of the Bombay College.

2 Colleges, 8 High Schools, 4 Anglo-Vernacular Schools and 4 primary schools have been affiliated to the Vidya path. Moreover 27 national schools including 10 High and Middle Schools have been started in Gujarat. It should be noted that the Borsad High School and the institutions managed by the Charotar Educational Society of Anand and the Modasa Society, all of which own valuable buildings, have been nationalised during this period under report.

III. Non-Co-Operation in Gujarat—

Two Municipalities in Gujarat have hitherto followed the Congress mandate. The Municipality of Nadiad had rationalized its schools before December last. Since then the Ahmedabad Municipality has also removed Government control over its 51 schools and refused Government educational grant, amounting to about 1 lac of Rs. Elections to the Surat Municipality were also fought out on the 9th inst. on the issue of the rationalization of schools, when 37 out of 40 electorates were won by Non-co operators.

IV. Boycott of Courts.

During the period under report the following pleaders have suspended their practice.

AHMEDABAD.

1. G. V. Mavalankar B. A. L. L. B.
2. Keshavlal Ambhaskar B. A. L. L. B.

GODHRA.

3. Dhanukhbhai L. Shah B. A. L. L. B.
4. Purbhottamdas M. Shah B. A. L. L. B.

The Gujarat Lavad Mandal (Arbitration Board) was organised in December last to take all necessary steps for arranging the settlement of disputes by arbitration. The rules and the forms framed thereunder have been prepared and published. It is hoped to develop arbitration work at an early date.

V. SWARAJ ASHRAMS.—

The Swaraj Ashram at Ahmedabad as mentioned above has been started as a hostel for those College students who suspend their studies and go through a preliminary training in spinning and village work. Since then the leading Non-co-operators of the Surat Dist. have organised a Swaraj Ashram at Surat. The Ashram has been designed as a common home for whole time workers including students who pledge themselves to devote the current year to the Non-co-operation propaganda. The Ashram has secured three bighas of land on which three tents and a temporary shed have been erected. Most of the Ashram workers have now settled down in the rural areas allotted to them. It is largely due to the efforts of these workers that the Congress membership in the Surat Dist. has reached the highest figure in Gujarat. A similar Ashram has been recently organised at Anand in the Kaira Dist.

VII. SWADESHI

The resolution of the Gujarat Vidyapith recommending courses in spinning and Hindustani to the exclusion of other subjects has given a fresh impetus to the Swadeshi and spinning movement in Gujarat. A few spinning-wheels are to be seen in almost all National schools. In a few schools, where enough wheels are provided, spinning is systematically, and regularly done by students over a certain age from 2 to 4 hours. Irregular spinning classes and spinning depots for giving wheels on hire and cotton for spinning have also been opened in different towns and villages. Merchants have formed themselves into Committees at several places for employing spinners in this area by investing a certain amount of money in wheels and cotton.

TRUE AND FALSE.

TO THE EDITOR, YOUNG INDIA.

Three months since the Congress Resolution of Non-co-operation was passed but there is no adequate response from the student world. The cause of the failure is that they do not and cannot appreciate the secret of the item concerning them. They are not convinced how the boycott of colleges will paralyse the Government. And those few who have carried out that item have done so in response to the Congress call. They look upon it as a mass-movement, and if Non-cooperation is to succeed, it must be brought into practice by a majority of the people.

Till now only 200 students from the Poona colleges have responded to the long and continued exhortations of the leaders and that too in order to obey the Congress mandate, but not at all to satisfy their conscience, but their expectations have failed, as the majority of the students remain aloof from the movement, as the other items of the programme are not being carried out and as this is not going to be a mass-movement. Now the question is should a minority which has non-co-operated suffer for nothing and ruin their careers. With this idea many are going to return to their colleges and alas, they are being abused as "moral lepers" by some enthusiasts.

You will kindly throw light on all these points and dispel the clouds that are gathering round.

I remain

3th March 1931,

POONA-CITY.

Yours faithfully,

N. S. B.

[I fear I shall be unable 'to dispel the clouds that are gathering round' but I shall try to throw light on the points raised by the correspondent. Whilst this is a mass movement everyone is expected to respond irrespective of others, because it is also a purifying movement. We leave schools or courts because it is sinful to countenance them, not because individual action can paralyse the Government. Such withdrawal on the part of many, however, does result in paralysis of the Government. Students who withdraw merely in response to the Congress call, but without inner conviction, did wrong and should rejoin their respective schools and brave the derision of their fellows. Those, however, who have seceded from conviction, must stand true even though they be a handful. One true coin is worth its full face value. A million false coins are so much deadweight and perfectly valueless. When the few true non-co-operators have proved their worth the movement will automatically become a mass movement. The spirit of it pervades the masses even to-day. Mass-action is a matter of time. My belief is that India will be ripe by October. Those who have failed ought not to wait. I know that the students who have not withdrawn have refrained out of weakness, and not because they believe it to be wrong to leave the schools dominated by a Government which they would soon destroy.

M. K. G.]

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Notes.

Repression and its lesson.—I had the pleasure, whilst at Nagpur, of studying Dr. Cholkar's speech which is the subject matter of prosecution against him. Even as it stands reported by the C. I. D. reporter, it is extremely inoffensive. It is, to use Lord Chelmsford's expression, 'pruned of epithet.' It is a reasoned speech. But it discusses a republican form of government. If that is the gravamen of the offence, then almost every Congressman is an offender. For he will not hesitate to think of, and work for, a republic, if he could not gain his birth-right without complete independence. The fact is, that the temperance movement has told on the people in the Central and other Provinces, and the Government cannot tolerate it. Bhagvantdevji, whom the local men delight to call Mahatma, is the respected superintendent of the Non-co-operation Ashram—a flourishing institution in Nagpur. He is an effective speaker and worker. He must also be silenced in the cause of the Akhri revenues. That is my reading of the prosecutions in the Central Provinces and elsewhere. By all means prosecute for violence those, who incite people to do, or who themselves do, violence to liquor dealers or visitors to liquor shops, but why at this late stage prosecute people under sedition sections? The answer is simple. There is no violence used by responsible persons in connection with drink. Irresponsible violence can be checked in a moment. But that is not what the Government want. They dread the approaching disappearance of the drink and the opium revenue. And they are intent upon preventing (to them) this catastrophe by every means legitimate or otherwise.

Corner the Government.—If my reading be correct, the remedy is simple. Let us not give the Government even a colourable pretence for prosecution. If sedition means disaffection towards the present system of Government, it is a virtue and a duty. But we do not need to preach it. There is no affection for the system even on the part of men. They hold their titles, as several have admitted, because they have not the courage to risk loss of their wealth. I know more than one who were threatened with confiscation of their Jagirs if they gave up Government favours. I know many more who would not give up their titles or other honours, because they fear loss of

banking custom. So far is the influence of the Government felt! But all these would welcome the destruction of a system under which, if they gain a few lakhs, rupees, crores are drained out of the country without adequate return. I repeat, therefore, that we need not preach disaffection. We cannot paint the ~~etc~~ as blacker than it appears to the average ~~average~~ today. All we need do is to show the people the way to destroy it. That way is self-purification. We shall put the Government in an uncomfortable corner when we oblige them to treat temperance as a vice, and the possession of a spinning wheel a crime. The system can last only so far as we continue to clothe it with an air of respectability by being, or pretending to be, enamoured of it, or by giving Government even a plausible excuse for prosecution.

Who cut the thumbs?—If the Government treats the possession of the spinning wheel as a crime, it would not be for the first time in history. During the East India Company regime, spinning or weaving had become almost a crime. The labour of these artisans was so cruelly impressed that they were obliged to cut off their own thumbs in order to avoid imprisonment. Many speakers mix up facts and say that the Company's servants cut off the thumbs of artisans. In my opinion, such cutting off would be less cruel than the terrorism which resulted in self-mutilation.

White cap a crime.—To make temperance a crime would be only a step removed from making the wearing of white caps a crime. And yet I heard whilst at Jubbulpore that the servants of a railway department were prohibited from wearing white caps!

Revolutionary.—And has not the U. P. Government pronounced the movement revolutionary? Hitherto the word "revolution" has been connected with violence, and has as such been condemned by established authority. But the movement of Non-co-operation, if it may be considered a revolution, is not an armed revolt: it is an evolutionary revolution, it is a bloodless revolution. The movement is a revolution of thought, of spirit. Non-co-operation is a process of purification, and, as such, it constitutes a revolution in one's ideas. Its suppression, therefore, would amount to co-operation by coercion. Orders to kill the movement will be orders to destroy, or interfere with, the introduc-

tion of the spinning wheel, to prohibit the campaign of temperance, and an incitement, therefore, to violence. For any attempt to compel people by indirect methods to wear foreign clothes, to patronise drink-shops, would certainly exasperate them. But our success will be assured when we stand even this exasperation and incitement. We must not retort. Inaction on our part will kill Government madness. For violence flourishes on response, either by submission to the will of the violator, or by counter violence. My strong advice to every worker is to segregate this evil Government by strict Non-co-operation, not even to talk or speak about it, but having recognised the evil, to cease to pay homage to it by co-operation.

The original circular—The position taken up by the Government of India in its original circular was sound. It conceded the right of free speech and free thought. It threatened to put down by force only actual violence. But I expressed my distrust of it at the time of its publication. The framers expected to be able to kill the movement by patronising indifference or tolerance. But as soon as it began to take effect by demolishing the prestige of Government institutions and by real boycott of foreign cloth, and diminution in the drink revenue, the Government became alarmed, and began to stop free speech and propaganda. And this repression is only by way of rehearsal. The reality has yet to come. Let us be prepared for it. Our determination to continue silent self-purification must remain fixed and unalterable. We must pass through the fire of terrorism even of the O'Dwyer type, and prove our loyalty to our country, even as Sita proved hers to her lord by the fiery ordeal.

Bihar Government—If the Bihar Province promises to outdo the others in Non-co-operation, its Government bids fair to stand first in devising methods of repression. It has now brought under the ban municipal councillors and servants. They are not to take part in Non-co-operation meetings. I have not seen the circular, but I hear that that is its effect. If so, I advise the municipal councillors and servants to ignore the circular and challenge the Government to disband municipalities. The electors, if they have grit in them, will continue to elect the same councillors and force the Government either to supersede municipal government or withdraw the offending circular.

Practising Lawyers—The *Patrika* devotes a leading article to an examination of the position taken up by me regarding lawyers, and strongly dissents from it. The *Patrika* thinks that practising lawyers may continue to lead public opinion on Congress platform. I respectfully suggest that any such deviation from the Non-co-operation resolution will be a serious mistake. I am aware that the *Patrika* thinks that the Congress has not called upon all lawyers to suspend practice. I venture to differ from the interpretation. The resolution calls upon all lawyers to make greater effort

to suspend practice. And, in my opinion, those lawyers who have not yet succeeded in suspending their practice, cannot expect to hold office in any Congress organisation or lead opinion on Congress platform. Will titled men be elected as office bearers, although they may not have given up their titles? If we do not face the issues boldly, we stand in danger of corrupting the movement. We must exact correspondence between precept and practice. I hold that a lawyer president of a Provincial Committee cannot lead his province to victory, if he does not suspend his practice. He simply will not carry weight. I have noticed this again and again during my tours. Lawyers, who have hitherto led public opinion, have either renounced practice or public life.

The *Patrika* errs in comparing practising lawyers to merchants. Not many merchants have yet led public opinion, but where they have come forward, they have certainly renounced dealing in foreign cloth. The public will not, I am glad to be able to say, tolerate divorce between profession and practice. But not to seek, or give up, public position is one thing, and to help the movement as a weak but humble follower is another. Thousands are unable to carry out the full advice of the Congress and are yet eagerly helping as silent camp-followers. That is the position that practising lawyers should take up. It will be honourable, dignified, and consistent. We may not, in our progress towards Swaraj, consider the lead of any class or individual as essential to success.

The *Patrika* goes beyond the scope of the paragraph of *Young India* when it presents as an alternative to suspension, derision and insult. He would be an unworthy non-co-operator who would deride or insult a lawyer, or any one else who is too weak or otherwise unable to respond to the Congress call. Because we may not elect such persons as office-bearers, we may not be intolerant and insulting to them. On the contrary, those who are honestly unable to follow the Congress resolution, are in every way worthy of sympathy.

Nor is the *Patrika* right in thinking that, before practising lawyers cease to be leaders, there should be a complete boycott of law courts; and as that is impossible without a rebel government, and as we do not contemplate rebellion, practising lawyers may safely lead opinion as hitherto. There is an obvious fallacy underlying this suggestion. Carried to its logical extent, it would mean that no leader need practise what he preaches. The fact is that, although law courts may not be completely boycotted by the sacrifice of Messrs. Nehru and Das, and by our refusal to give any public status to practising lawyers and others who have not carried out the Congress resolution, we have successfully demolished the prestige of these institutions, and, therefore, to that extent, of the Government. If we restore titled men, lawyers, and others, to their status even though they have not responded, we commit national suicide. Lastly, the *Patrika* is wrong in

arguing that the Congress has called for suspension in order to secure the lawyers' services. The motive, as the preamble of the original resolution clearly states, is to undermine the Government's prestige by the Non-co-operation of parties to the institutions on which the prestige is built. M. K. G.

AT RANDOM.

(By M. D.)

The other day, I was going in company with a Punjab friend across the dry sands of the Sabar-mati, when the sun was right overhead. "We are sadly in need of an umbrella," I said, "but you may not need one, as you are accustomed to walking 10 miles a day in the scorching sun of Lahore." "Well," he replied, "I escaped that privilege?" "Because you belonged to a loyal institution, I suppose?" "Not exactly. But our institution just manufactured a sufficient quantity of loyalty in time." I was reflecting upon this newly inspired industrial activity of some of our educational institutions when I happened to read a report about Bernard Shaw as having said at Trinity College that, "what was wrong with education was that it was a fraud. The school was a fraud, the teachers were a fraud, and the teaching was a fraud. It was a masquerade, an imposture." I was told by a friend the other day that, in some schools, photos of the late Lokamanya and Mr. Gandhi were being put up just to delude the students into believing that the schools are no worse than the national schools, and the portraits of King George and Queen Mary are kept in a safe corner to delude, I suppose, the inspecting officer into believing that the institution was a loyal institution. Some schools have also introduced national songs, just to show the boys, I fancy, that the school can draw the Government grant, remain affiliated to the University, and yet have national songs sung with impunity.

Mr. Bernard Houghton in an article in *New Burma* says just the same thing:

"Even the Government controlled colleges they (the non-co-operators) reject. 'You need not complain,' said an Indian editor, 'if we drag boys out of such colleges which turn out only cowards.' There is much truth in these words. Every Government perverts the education of the young to suit its own ends. In Japan, where they wish to maintain the cult of the Mikado, they teach the children to bend in awe before the Emperor. In Germany, under the Kaiser, they taught in like manner to reverence him and the army—especially the officers of the army. In various European countries, the churches, when they had political power, did not hesitate to implant their particular dogmas in the minds of the children at the Government Schools. Since, in India and Burma, the Government is the only power, it is blind to the all-

effects of such teaching on the character of the boys."

Whatever may be said of the Behar Government, there can be no doubt about its frankness. Questions are asked about each and every one of the doings of the folly-smitten officials in that province, and the Government, without mincing matters, upholds them or deprecates them. Thus the Government have disapproved of the Purnia Dy. Commissioner's notice to the Bar Library, and have made a halting defence of the Commissioner's conduct in the Hardi Mala affair. The officers go on doing things in their own way, and the Government goes on expressing its opinion on them. We do not now beg this unending

Sub-Inspector Ramananda Singh's case, in regard to which there were interpellations in the Council, has not been touched in these columns. The facts are very interesting. It appears that Babu Ramananda Singh was called as a prosecution witness in Babu Jamundar Jha's case. It was on his report that the case was instituted and he made some startling statements in the course of his examination. He said that not only had he made the report because he was asked to do so by the Divisional Inspector, the Deputy Superintendent and another Sub Inspector of Police, but that he had found on inquiry after the report that the accused had made no speech at all, and that, even in the report that he was asked to submit under his signature, interpolations were made later on by his superior officers. He was of course ordered to be treated as a hostile witness. In his examination by the defence counsel, he said that "crime had subsided very much within my time after this movement had been started," that "there has been greater temperance, so far as drink is concerned, since this movement has been started," "in this town spinning and weaving by hand are more prevalent since this movement has been started."

The Prosecution could not have been prepared for all this. It was almost sensational. Babu Ramananda Singh was immediately transferred to the Reserve at Muzaffarpur, had strict orders not to leave the Reserve, and was declared suspended with effect from the 6th of February though he was on duty till the 26th of February. The Chief Secretary for Government in reply to an interpellation said that "the charge on which the Sub-Inspector had been suspended was that of perjury." If he was charged with perjury, why has he not yet been hauled up on that charge? And why was he suspended with retrospective effect? Even the Chief Secretary does not know. "The reasons for giving retrospective effect to the order of suspension are not clear, and if, on further enquiry, they appear insufficient the order will be modified."

Is this what is called taking reprisals on frankness or truth-telling?

Many of the orders passed by the officers in Behar and Orissa afford, like the notice of the Purulia Dy. Commissioner, pure fun and amusement. I have an instance before me. Pandit Hari-shanker Vyasi, like all good people in Behar, gave an advance copy of the speech he was going to deliver at Chakradharpur, to the Deputy Commissioner. The speech contained nothing but a "glance at the life of Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak." He also frankly explained to that officer his views on Non-co-operation. This is the letter that he received from the Deputy Commissioner :

Sir,

I have, as promised yesterday, perused the pamphlet given by you—a glance at the life of Lokamanya Balgangadhar Tilak—which you propose to deliver as lecture in Chakradharpur.

In my opinion the whole tone and trend of the pamphlet is intended to inculcate contempt and hatred against the Government and Courts of Law established in this land, and to incite unthinking people to excitement and disloyalty. It is eminently undesirable as matter for a public address.

You have also stated frankly that your object is to preach Non-co-operation, and I hold that the explanation given by you yesterday of reports of previous speeches confirms my apprehensions that your further speaking raises grave risk of annoyance to parents, to peaceful traders, and to all loyal subjects, and is likely to cause breach of the public tranquility and peace.

The order under section 144 Cr. P. O. is, therefore, being served upon you with this letter, restraining you from further public speaking within this district.

I have, etc

(Sd.) J. E. Scott,

Dy. Commissioner of Singbhum.

This officer has at least the gift of originality. Mark the words "annoyance to parents, to peaceful traders, and to all loyal subjects" That is some thing novel, and breaks the dull monotony of orders under section 144, which in this case, contains words elucidating the words just quoted: "Whereas your speeches...are calculated to cause annoyance to loyal subjects, parents of students, and Government servants awfully employed."

Evidently, Mr. Vyasi has been saved the trouble of making further speeches, for the mischief he was threatening to do has already been done.

A CORRECTION—In our issue of the 23rd instant, in the article "Neglected Facts" in line 26, read "6 counts" instead of "11 counts."

TO INTENDING SUBSCRIBERS

We have abolished the V. P. P. system and, therefore, request intending subscribers to remit their subscriptions, in advance, by money-order on receipt of which, copies will be regularly dispatched. No orders for V. P. P. will be attended to in future.

Sample copies will be sent on receipt of 2 aa stamps

Manager,

Young India

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 30th, March, 1921.

THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The last Congress has given a constitution whose working is in itself calculated to lead to Swaraj. It is intended to secure in every part of India representative committees working in conjunction with, and under willing and voluntary submission to, a central organisation—The All India Congress Committee. It establishes an adult suffrage open to men and women, subject only to two qualifications: signing of the creed and a nominal payment of four annas. It is intended to secure due representation of all parties and communities. If, then, it is honestly worked, and commands confidence and respect, it can oust the present Government without the slightest difficulty. For, the latter has no power except through the co-operation, willing or forced, of the people. The force it exercises is almost through our own people. One lac of Europeans, without our help, can only hold less than one-seventh of our villages each, and it would be difficult, for one man, even when physically present, to impose his will on, say, four hundred men and women—the average population of an Indian village.

The problem before us, therefore, is one of opposing our will to that of the will of the Government, in other words to withdraw our co-operation from it. If we are united in purpose, the Government must obey our will or retire. It is the disturbing factors of which the Government avails itself for the consolidation of its power. When we are violent, it resorts to terrorism; when we are disunited, it resorts to bribery; when we are united, it resorts to cajolery and conciliation; when we are clamant, it puts temptations in the way of those who cry out most. All, therefore, we need do is to remain non-violent, united, and unresponsive to bribery and cajolery.

Surely, there is not much education required to accomplish this much among a people who are cultured and intelligent. It is not difficult to present to them a common purpose and a common platform which they can appreciate and understand. But this means not talking, but acting and organising. I suggest that we concentrate on registering before the 30th June, in an accurate manner, at least one crore of members in the Congress organisation. No registration is to be deemed complete without the payment of four annas and the acceptance of the creed. We must aim at enlisting every adult member of every family. It should be our boast to have as many women as men on our registers. We should have all the Muslims, all the castes, all the artisans, and all the pariahs, whom we can induce to come to our register. It will then become a most democratic register of voters that the world can show. If the suggestions made by

me are acceptable, we have to concentrate our attention upto the 30th June on getting—

- (1) One crore rupees for the Trust Swaraj fund,
- (2) One crore members on the Congress register,
- (3) The spinning wheel introduced in twenty laes of homes.

In order to register one crore members, I estimate that we shall have canvassed at least twenty laes of homes, counting five member to a family. Workers can certainly persuade Congress families to take up one wheel per family. Twenty-lae laes of spinning wheels in twenty-one provinces, is not an ambitious scheme.

Let us not waste our resources in thinking of too many national problems and their solutions. A patient, who tries many nostrums at a time, dies. A physician, who experiments on his patient with a combination of remedies, loses his reputation and passes for a quack. Chastity in work is as essential as chastity in life. All dissipation is bad. We have hitherto all pulled our own way, and thus wasted away national strength in a most extravagant manner. To boycott foreign cloth within the year is a practical feasibility. To bring in to being a working organisation for the Congress is an easy thing for honest workers. The collection of one crore of rupees in a methodical manner will at once create confidence and will be a tangible token of our earnestness and determination.

This programme does not mean cessation of the other activities of Non-co-operation. They go on. Drink and untouchability must vanish. The education movement is steadily going forward. The national institutions that have sprung up will, if they are efficiently managed, make headway and attract students who are still hesitating. The pleaders, always a cautious and calculating class by training, will, as they see the movement progressing more and more, fall in line with the rest of the country. Boycott of law courts by the public is making fair progress. These things do not now require concentration of universal effort. They apply to special classes, but the three things mentioned by me are the most essential; they must be done now, and without them the movement, as a mass movement must be pronounced a failure.

THE TEMPERANCE CAMPAIGN.

The steady rise in the consumption of country-liquor alarms the political and social reformer, not only to-day, it has continued to do so for over fifteen years. Since then, deputations have waited on Secretaries of State and Viceroy, without achieving any result. The Government have all along maintained that they have been actuated in their excise policy by the motive of checking the growing consumption of liquor, and the reformer's charge has been that they have always fixed their attention on the growth of revenue. The late Mr. Gokhale, who was a member of Sir Herbert Roberts' deputation that waited on the Secretary of State in 1912, then pointed out that, "The Government do not want to spread drinking but they are interested in the revenue that arises from it, and that constitutes a serious difficulty in the question." Ever

since, every Excise officer has sedulously endeavoured to enlarge the charge (on paper at least), but the figures of steady increase in revenue with a similar increase in consumption have exploded his endeavour. The temperance campaign that has now been set up in every province has, however, revealed the Government's motives more clearly than anything else. Lord Sinha's words in his opening speech, and the wording of the notice against Dr. Paranjpe, which charged the non-co-operators with the motive of embarrassing Government by causing loss of revenue, are an index of the Government's mentality. Frankly, the non-co-operator is out to destroy permanently the revenue that accrues out of this nefarious traffic. And a Government that has no longer been able to disguise its motive which is not only that of increasing the revenue, but also that of "increasing drinking," naturally resents a movement which must immediately affect the revenue. That explains the frantic efforts that are somewhere made to stop the activity of the temperance preacher.

But the assurance of Sir William Vincent in his latest exposition of Government policy, that Government will not interfere with temperance preaching, so long as it is not attended with violence, must be accepted as very encouraging, however unreliable his assurance may be. And the temperance preacher should now redouble his efforts every where, always steering clear of intemperance of speech and action. He must realise that though the immediate effect of what he preaches will be on the revenue, he is ultimately making for the great wave of self-purification that is passing over the country. Whilst, therefore, he may press the argument that a Government that fears the collapse of its educational system, and even a total collapse, as a result of the stopping of revenue from this nefarious traffic, has no claim to being called civilised, he must take care to lay greater emphasis on the purifying aspect of the movement. He must study the growth of the movement in various countries. He must explain to the people that when a nation all over the world are adopting a policy of prohibition, the people of a country where, to use the language of the late Mr. Gokhale, "the consumption of liquor, moderate or immoderate, is contrary to the sentiment of the great majority of the population, and in many classes of Indian society it has never been practised" cannot afford to lag behind. Says Mr. Philip Snowden, "Nearly two thirds of the English-speaking peoples in the world are now living under nation-wide prohibition. From Montreal to Vancouver, from New York to San Francisco, the breweries, distilleries, and the saloons, have been closed. In the socialist Republic of Russia there is no trade in liquor, and one of the first acts of Bela Kun's communist Government was to establish prohibition." Let temperance preachers show that the liquor traffic in no country pays its way, that the abstainer "is assessed, to help to pay the expenses of the product of the liquor shops" viz. the jails, prisons, criminal courts, police establishments, which however, auto-

materially decrease, on the adoption of prohibition. Let him be prepared for a stubborn, persistent campaign not for months but for years, before the drink habit is rooted out of the land. But the immediate necessity of the moment is for him to concentrate on the non-violence part of the movement.

In this connection, the methods employed by the temperance workers in Ahmedabad may well serve as an example. Here are some of the instructions for volunteers, which everyone accepted as articles of a creed before entering on his work—

- (1) A volunteer shall never approach within 10 feet of the liquor shop.
- (2) He shall never approach a man going out of a liquorshop.
- (3) He shall strictly avoid the use of intemperate or discourteous language and always take care that he never touches the person of anyone.
- (4) He shall offer himself up for arrest immediately he is caught to be arrested.
- (5) He shall, under no provocation, yield himself to an angry word or deed.

These may at first sight appear to be counsels of perfection, but they are being followed to the letter. Dr. Balwantrao Kanuga, who was one of the pickets, was the other day seriously injured on the left eye by some one from a liquorshop, who successfully aimed a stone at him. He, however, stood on his post of duty for over a quarter of an hour, whilst his eye was bleeding, and left the spot only when he was relieved and felt that he could stand the pain no longer. This is almost temperance history repeating itself. Only a year ago Mr. "Pussyfoot" Johnson, the great temperance reformer, had one of his eyes put out by rowdy students in London. Dr. Kanuga has set a brave example. His wife, nothing daunted by the injury received by her husband, is herself thinking of going out "on duty" in response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the Gujarati women. May her example inspire many another sister in the country. This is but the beginning of the struggle. Various other provocations will follow. The subordinate officials will not scruple to employ pernicious means to maintain a pernicious traffic, and to defeat the ends of Non-cooperation. They will go the length of distributing free liquor, and trade on the cupidity of slaves of habit, they will even permit selling of liquor at unauthorised places and unauthorised hours, and devise means that we may not be able to imagine. But the reformer has to pursue the straight course, with a doggedness that no difficulties or provocations may break.

A word now to the public. The movement bids fair to gather strength every day, but it will be seriously retarded by the slightest act of unwisdom. It is likely that as the movement progresses, many a youthful enthusiast will be tempted to show a sort of active sympathy towards it. Let that sympathy not take the form of things that only the Government can give. Let them offer help, if they want, by money from their pockets, but let them not, from however generous impulses, offer help that is not wanted. It behoves the public to understand that any such help, proffered unasked, is not help but hindrance.

FOR READERS NOT KNOWING GUJARATI.

Much of the best writing from the pen of Mr. Gandhi is given to the readers of the *Navajivan* and is summarised here for readers of *Young India* not knowing Gujarati.

SPINNING IN THE PUNJAB.

In his impressions of the Punjab tour, Mr. Gandhi places foremost the great impression that the women there have made on him by their enthusiasm for the spinning wheel, and expresses the opinion that they will yield the palm to women in no other part of India in the art of spinning. There were spinning wheels working in almost every home in the Punjab, in town and village, in a peasant's home as well as a Barrister's, and Mr. Gandhi gives an amusing account of a spinning race he had with a Barrister's two daughters. There are Districts where not a home is without its spinning wheel. Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, and Ferozepur are centres of spinning wheel manufacture. The spinning wheel in the Punjab is a pretty piece of art, its handle and other parts are made on the turning lathe and coated with lac of various colours, consummate workmanship being at times bestowed on it. In six months, Mr. Gandhi was told, the manufacture in Hoshiarpur had doubled, while the demand had outstripped the supply. Every day Mr. Gandhi is being more and more convinced of the importance of the spinning wheel as a factor in the attainment of Swaraj, and suggests for the acceptance of the managing body of the Reception Committee of the next Congress a very fine proposal made by a friend, that the Swaraj Flag should bear a device of the spinning wheel.

A REMARKABLE ADDRESS.

Mr. Gandhi devotes a paragraph to a remarkable address given him by the Jalandhar Municipality. This is the third address that he received from a Municipality, the other two being from Gorakhpur and Bareilly. The address was not in English, it was in beautiful Urdu; it was printed not on paper, or astin, or calico, but on sacred *Khaddar*. It was a piece cut out of the *Khaddar* soaked in the waters of the well at Hely Meera and carefully preserved by Mr. Nasrullah Khan's mother for her shroud. Mr. Gandhi was told that many Muhammadans have now begun to use *Khaddar* for purposes of a religious and ceremonial character. And in this connection, Mr. Gandhi pines for the day when the Hindus will follow suit, and religiously avoid the use of any other cloth but *Khaddar* for images in temples and other sacred purposes. He speaks of the horror with which he viewed an image of Ramchandra clothed in a costly foreign stuff, and betakes himself of Bhakta Tulsiadas of old, who, in the temple of Krishna, vowed that he would not bow down to the image until it appeared before him as Rama, with his bow and arrow, and turned the image to appear as was wise by virtue solely of his devotion. 'How I wish I had the devotion of Tulsiadas,' says Mr. Gandhi, 'so that I also could have vowed not to bow down to an image until it was clad in spotless *khaddar*!'

A MODEL MUNDUP.

Mr. Gandhi then describes the mundup of a conference he attended at Ferozepur. It was a miniature of the Congress mundup, as he conceives it ought to be next time the Congress meets. It was out and out *khaddar*-made. On a raised platform in the centre, were sitting some of the honoured guests and hundreds of women just behind, on the right was a *Khaddar* exhibition in which exquisitely beautiful *Khaddar* work was exhibited. All the volunteers and boys of the national school were dressed from top to toe in *Khaddar*. There was

nothing foreign about the whole munday. The mottoes within were in Urdu. Even the flags were of Khaddar. The pandal could not have cost the organisers more than the hire of the timber used. The Khaddar of course remained intact.

A "GOOD SAMARITAN."

Speaking about Multan, Mr. Gandhi dwells with some detail on the philanthropic work of Mr. Mulchand to whose efforts is due the Plague Hospital in Multan. Mr. Mulchand was in easy circumstances, but he has given his all to the Hospital, has persuaded two doctors to give voluntary work to it, and along with his brother, he himself is nursing the plague patients. His free association with, and careful nursing of, these patients has served to disabuse people of the fear of the plague, and due to his efforts hundreds have recovered, and those who died, died in peace. Mr. Gandhi visited the hospital where there were about forty patients, those grateful patients could not but deeply touch Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Mulchand also introduced the hospital-sweeper, an untouchable, to Mr. Gandhi, as one who had been a friend in need. Mr. Gandhi proceeded to meet him, but he moved back. Mr. Gandhi asked him not to do so, went up to him and patted him on the back. Mr. Gandhi was delighted to see that his behaviour did not startle the orthodox Hindus, who were with him. In this connection, Mr. Gandhi does not forget to add that Mr. Mulchand decided that very day to return the Gold Medal that he had received for his philanthropic work.

Two leading Vakils, Lala Kevala Krishna and Lala Bodhraj publicly declared that they had decided to suspend practice for a year.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN U.P.

In another issue, Mr. Gandhi speaks of the progress of Non-cooperation in the Hindi speaking part of the Central Provinces. In Jabulpore District alone, 50,000 men have enrolled themselves as members of the Congress Committee. In some of the villages, about 90 percent of the adult male and female population have registered themselves. And the gentlemen who have organised this work are not Vakils; they are two young zemindars who have also taken very keenly to Swadeshi propaganda. They purchase cotton, get it carded, and give it to the village folk. As a result of their activity there are hundreds of wheels working, where six months ago there was not one. They have also arranged to get the yarn woven and a large amount of khadi is being made. Both have renounced wearing foreign cloth and both spin regularly everyday.

APPEAL TO WOMEN

In connection with the temperance movement, Mr. Gandhi appeals to the women of Gujarat to help in the campaign. They should visit the liquorshop localities and plead with the liquor-sellers. If they do not succeed with them they should approach the drinkers. They should scrupulously avoid harsh language. "You are our brothers and our brothers will not drink in the name of God, give up drinking." This, and this much only, would suffice for their lecture. "I am sure", adds Mr. Gandhi, "they will succeed in shaming them into leaving the shops. And even if they do not, and behave improperly towards them, even if they abuse them, I would ask them to put up with the abuse for the sake of the country."

SOME FALLACIES

But our critics say, we would ruin our education by stopping 17 crores of revenue. They are told by Government, and they blindly believe, that our whole education is financed out of the excise revenue. If this were true, there is all the more reason why we should renounce

Government, another is that education is given out of money earned from a sinful trade.

And, why should Government reserve the excise revenue for the maintenance of education? Why should our land revenue be used instead, and our wine revenue go to defray the army expenditure?—So that the stopping of the excise revenue may spell disarmament. Under Swaraj, surely, we are not going to spend crores on the army, and as we can easily save 17 crores from our expenditure on the army, we need not be alarmed at the loss of the excise revenue.

SPINNING WHEEL—THE PROP.

But the fact is, our education should not be financed out of the excise revenue, neither out of land revenue. Under Swaraj its main prop should be the spinning wheel. If the spinning wheel and the loom are introduced in every school and college, our education would easily pay its way. Today, I would like our boys to give all their time to spinning. After Swaraj is attained, at least one hour will have to be given. Swaraj must react in each and every department of our life. Our schools today are so many factories to turn out slaves from. Education under Swaraj will aim at making boys self-supporting from their youth. Any other profession may be taught them, but spinning will be compulsory. The spinning wheel ought to be the solace of the miserable. Nothing else has its virtues, for it alone can supplement agriculture. All cannot be carpenters, nor smiths, but all must be spinners, and must spin either for their country or to supplement their own earnings. Because the need of clothing is universal, the spinning wheel must needs be universal.

Let us have spinning introduced from now as a necessary adjunct to literary education, so that under Swaraj we may not have to fight over this question anew.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

Reports from different parts continue to come. An account of work in the Mozaffarpur District (Behar), is given below. It has had to be considerably condensed for exigencies of space.

The workers' labours may be said to have begun to show tangible results since Mr. Gandhi's and Maulana Shaukati's visit last December.

SCHOOLS—

The Gandhi Vidyalaya at Hajipur, of which the foundation was laid by Mr. Gandhi, is now a growing institution, under Mr. Jaganmohan Jha. The number of students is over three hundred. Handspinning and handweaving are compulsory. The growth of the school has considerably affected the local Government School, of which some of the teachers resigned and joined the National School, and the attendance in the Government school is fast dwindling. Another school was declared open by Mr. Gandhi at Mozaffarpur, in a garden house lent by Moulvi Mohammad Akhtar's mother. It attracted a large number of boys on account of the devotedness and organising spirit of Babu Shyam Charan assisted by Babu Amir Prasad and Moulvi Amirul Hussain. The old Bhuvanwar Brahman Collegiate School which was affiliated to the Patna University was nationalised on the 31st January 1921, and both the schools were combined on the 10th February 1921. The average daily attendance of the school is over 200. The Bhauria M. E. School in the town has also been nationalised.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager,
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All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

opened. A Kshatriya Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya and a national Madrasah for Muslim boys have also been established. New National Schools have been opened at the following places in the District:

1. S. —, 2. Bhandari, 3. Shroter, 4. Katta, 5. Dihaili, 6. Lalgaon, 7. Jandaha, 8. Mahnar. Besides a large number of primary schools on national lines have been opened at various places.

Many students left the local G. B. B. College, and about 40 of them took up propaganda work. Several students, who were reading in the law Colleges and post-graduate classes, have given up their studies. One of them Babu Lakshmi Narayan, B. Sc., a Rane of this town who was studying for M. Sc., Calcutta, has joined the staff of the Congress Committee as one of its Assistant Secretaries. Another of these Babu Sudhakar Prasad Singh B. A. Zaminwar, is engaged in village organisation.

SUSPENSION OF PRACTICE.—

1. Babu Sujama Chandra L. L. B., working as superintendent of National Bhumihar Brahman School.

2. Moulvi Mahommed Shafiq, B. L., Vakil, working as Secretary to District Congress Committee, Muzaffarpur.

3. Babu Lakshmi Narayan Singh, M. A., B. L., working as Secretary, National B. H. School.

4. Babu Janakubhai Prasad, B. L., working as Asst. Secy, Congress Committee.

5. Babu Vinodchhari Prasad Varma, B. L., Vakil, working as Secy, Sadar sub-divisional Congress Committee.

6. Babu Ramnaram Prasad, B. L., on deputation to Muzaffarpur.

7. Moulvi Mahommed Ishaq, Mokhtear, Secy. Sitamarhi sub-divisional Congress Committee.

8. Moulvi Wadudul Haque, Mokhtear, of Sitamarhi.

9. Moulvi Abdul Wadud, Mokhtear of Hajipur.

We are thankful that many of the pleaders who have not yet given up their practice are, nevertheless, devoting themselves to Congress work.

CONGRESS COMMITTEES.—

Besides the District Congress Committee of Muzaffarpur, there are Congress sub-committees in Sadar, Hajipur, and Sitamarhi sub-divisions.

(a) Hajipur—Dr. Singhwar Prasad Pandit Jainandan Jha organised this sub-division. Since Pandit Jainandan Jha, who was required to furnish security under sec. 107 Cr. P. O. was put in hazard for refusal to give it, Babu Jainandan Singh and Moulvi Mohammad Zahoor are in charge of the sub-division.

(b) Sitamarhi—Lashur Ramandan Singh was the chief worker and M. Md. Ishaq has taken up the work.

POLITICAL TRAINING CLASS.

M. M. Shutee opened a political training class in his house in December last for imparting instruction to those who volunteered their services for carrying out the Congress programme. There is a library attached to it, where political books, and important papers, and periodicals are to be had. The effect of the political training class can be estimated by the fact that even Hindu and Muslim Pardaashin ladies have begun to attend them.

VILLAGE ORGANISATION.

There are 23 *thanas* in this district comprising 4539 villages, out of which, nearly half the number have been organised. We have issued 14 bulletins on different

subjects, most of which were distributed broad-cast over the whole district.

1. LITIGATION.

Panchayat Boards have been established in nearly half the villages in the district. Litigation has decreased appreciably. (Nearly 40 cases have been compromised in Sadar alone.) Exact figures for all the subdivisions are not yet available, but Uthman Singh has greatly contributed towards the settlement of cases pending in the courts.

Charakas and adhocules are working in a large number of villages.

2. DONATIONS.

The *Mutua* system has been introduced in the villages, and funds collected under this head as a contribution in cash, are known as the *Tilak Swamishya Fund*. So far, the funds collected are about Rs. 100. The financial condition is at a low ebb.

3. LITIGATION.

The panic of *hool* looting spread over several villages, in the whole district simultaneously, in about the second week of January last, and non-co-operator volunteers were immediately sent to all affected places to explain the necessity of preserving absolute non-violence, and ten thousand leaflets were distributed for the same purpose. Their efforts happily calmed the situation, and since then things have been going on in a normal way. On subsequent enquiry, it transpired that the looting was done at the instance of those who are against the N. C. O. movement, in order to discredit it by connecting it with violence. This was quickly followed by the new famous Rany circular issued by the Bihar Government on the 31st January 1921. Repression has since then been in full swing although there has been no instance of violence or breach of peace. But for the admirable self-restraint shown by the masses, and the spirit of non-violent non-co-operation imbued by them, breaches of peace would have occurred as provocation was never wanting. To take only one instance, Sanyasi Narsing Das was stopped in a big meeting, a Gurkha Force marched to the big Hardi Mela, because some of the spectators happened to cry "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" in the presence of a European painter. It is gratifying to note that Babu Krishna Prasad Narayan Sinha, the proprietor of the Hardi Mela and a very big land-holder, as a result of the insult given to him in the mela, has resigned his membership of the local Legislative Council, District and Local Boards, and his honorary Magistracy. Besides this, we may only mention the unnecessary marching of Gurkha troops in the streets of Muzaffarpur with a view to terrorisation.

Up to now 80 persons of this district have been prosecuted under the various sections of I. P. O. and Cr. P. O. AN ARRESTING CASE.

One remarkable case may here be noted. A Sub-Inspector who was called as a prosecution witness in Pandit Jainandan Jha's case at Hajipur, refused, in spite of considerable official pressure, to tell anything but the truth, was allowed to be treated as hostile witness, and was immediately after transferred to the Muzaffarpur Reserve Lines, suspended the next morning with retrospective effect from 1st February, and ordered not to leave the Reserve Lines, or associate with any Police officer.

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Notes.

Indians in South Africa—Despite the mission of Sir Benjamin Robertson, the South African Commission has delivered an adverse finding. Commissions, Lord Morley has often said, serve no useful purpose. They raise false hopes, and, for the time being, divert public attention from matters they are appointed to deal with. They give time for passions to cool down. But they rarely do justice. Indeed, it is notorious that Commissions avoid abstract justice. They offer, or effect, compromises. But the South African Commission has offered, or effected, no compromise. It has delivered the Indian in the hands of his white rival in trade. It has reaffirmed the principle of white supremacy, as Mr. Andrews so often puts it. The principle has almost become a passion and a religion. In 1901, the late Sir Pherozeshaw rated me for 'wasting my time,' as he put it, on South Africa. During the Satyagrah campaign, he was the last, as he said himself, to be enthused. And when he was enthused, it was not the justice of the cause (which he never doubted) but it was the incarceration of Mrs. Gandhi which roused his chivalrous spirit, and threw him into the struggle. He used to say that I should return to India and work for the freedom of the whole of India, rather than for a handful of Indians in South Africa.

I thought then, as I think even now, that whilst the uncrowned king of the Presidency of Bombay was right about concentrating on India's freedom, he was wrong in thinking that I should have withdrawn from South Africa. We dare not neglect our countrymen abroad. The battle of India's freedom involves the protection of the rights of the least of our countrymen, no matter where they might be situated. But at the present moment, I must invite our countrymen in South Africa to carry on their battle bravely and single-handed, and help us here in the best way they can. India's fate must be decided one way or the other (and so far as I know only one way) during this year. We shall be better able to protect them then, than now.

The South African problem bears the same character as the problem at home. We too are fighting the religion of white supremacy. The refusal to recognise the Muslim claim, the encircling of the Arabs, the negotiations with the Ameer, the refusal to stop the pensions of Sir Michael

O'Dwyer and General Dyer, and frankly to dismiss men who maltreated the Panjabees in 1919, are symptoms of the same disease. Either that supremacy must go in its entirety, or those of us, who recognise the tubercular nature of the disease must perish in the attempt to combat it. The Government of India, can, if they wish, put up an energetic and open fight against the proposed breach of faith which the Commission implies. The spirit of the settlement of 1918 was that the position of the Indian all over South Africa must be levelled up; not a single right then existing should be in any way endangered. The Commission has not only put its imprimatur on the encroachments already made on existing rights, but it has itself suggested further and egregious curtailment thereof. Between free nations such an authoritative pronouncement would lead to open rupture. The Report of the Commission can only spur my Non-co-operation spirit to further effort.

The meaning of Swaraj—A friend from South Africa writes to say that several Europeans there are prepared to help the struggle for Swaraj, but they want to be assured on certain points. As the points raised are of general importance, I gladly deal with them here.

(1) Does Mr. Gandhi's Swaraj mean sovereign independence, or full responsible Government within the Empire on the Dominion lines?

I should certainly be satisfied with full responsible Government on Dominion lines, if the Khilafat and the Panjab wrongs are redressed. India cannot remain within the Empire, if the latter cannot redress the two wrongs; for full responsible Government will have no meaning for India, if she cannot refuse to give pensions to officers who have wronged her, or if she cannot secure a settlement of the Khilafat terms. England then becomes an 'enemy country' for India.

(2) Do the Muslims claim Palestine, or will they restore it to the Jews who are the original owners?

The Muslims claim Palestine as an integral part of Jazirat-ul-Arab. They are bound to retain its custody, as an injunction of the Prophet. But that does not mean that the Jews and the Christians cannot freely go to Palestine, or even reside there and own property. What non-Muslims cannot do is to acquire sovereign jurisdiction. The Jews cannot receive sovereign rights in a place which has

been held for centuries by Muslim powers by right of religious conquest. The Muslim soldiers did not shed their blood in the late war for the purpose of surrendering Palestine out of Muslim control. I would like my Jewish friends to impartially consider the position of the seventy million Muslims of India. As a free nation, can they tolerate what they must regard as a treacherous betrayal of their sacred possession?

The New Viceroy I think the duty of non-cooperators is clear regarding Lord Reading. Whilst we may not take part in any demonstrations of welcome, we may not also undertake, or encourage, any counter-demonstration. We have no quarrel with Englishmen, or even with officials as such. We seek to, and we must, destroy the system they are called upon to administer, because we regard it as wholly evil in its totality. We must dissociate ourselves from individual officials, who, like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, have wronged India, and have been untrue to her salt. Lord Reading has a golden opportunity. He belongs to a race which has a fine imagination. He knows what a 'pariah' means and how he feels. If he examines the non-cooperators' case with impartiality, and if he fails in his advocacy of her claims, he must himself become a non-cooperator. He may not ask them to forgive, where there is no frank and full repentance. Nor must he ask the Muslims to give up their just claims or the Hindus to sell their fellow-countrymen. Lastly, His Excellency may not ask India to postpone the attainment of her birth-right, whether for the sake of Lancashire or any other consideration. His Lordship therefore will have to have an exceptionally strong will to resist an environment which is almost wholly antagonistic to the Indian case. Non-cooperators must do nothing to add to his difficulties. We must give His Excellency the fullest credit for meaning to do well. But I would also warn them against building hopes on Lord Reading doing anything. This is a battle of self-help and self-reliance. We must create the environment we need for our free nourishment. And, among the things we must do, one is to secure the good will of true men and women by our exemplary behaviour.

Some Tests—Mr. T. B. Parohit asks several pertinent questions about Non-co-operation. Before answering, it will be, perhaps, better to lay down some general tests. The primary motive of Non-co-operation is self-purification by withdrawing co-operation from an unrighteous and unrepentant Government. The secondary object is to rid ourselves of the feeling of helplessness by being independent of all Government control or supervision, i.e. to govern ourselves in all possible affairs; and, in fulfilling both the objects, to refrain from doing or promoting injury, or violence, to any individual or property.

Let us apply the tests to Mr. Parohit's questions

which are as follows:

(1) Whether a non-co-operator can remain a member of a registered library or reading room?

If I were a member, I would first move my fellow members to disregister the library, and if I cannot, I would resign my membership and agitate for its disregistration, so as to make the people feel self-reliant and independent.

(2) Whether a non-co-operator can remain a member of existing registered co-operative credit societies or banks which are solely managed by the public for the general public interest?

I have some experience of these societies. And I have no hesitation in saying that registration interferes with their free growth and increases people's dependence upon the Government. The idea of such societies is excellent and should be nursed, but we need not think that we cannot promote such societies without Government aid or inspection. I know the usual arguments in favour of registration. But on an analysis, they will all be found to betray want of faith in ourselves. I would, therefore, in this instance, too, first try to convince my fellow-members of the inutilty of registration, and, on failure, secede from the society or bank, and educate the public to boycott such societies or banks. I know that, at least in one instance, registration has been removed, and everyone knows that India has thousands of unregistered flourishing banks whose honesty and business-like methods are still among the wonders of the world.

M. K. G.

AT RANDOM

(By M. L.)

It was, I think, Burns who said:

What's done we partly may compute,
But oft not what's resisted.

Some papers are trying to judge the Chelmsford regime by that standard. The *Eastern Mail* thinks that Lord Chelmsford should not be judged by his commissions but by his omissions, that he could have been much worse, but resisted the temptation of being much worse, and there lay his merit. The *Times of India*, on the other hand, in a lengthy article summarises the "outstanding episodes" of Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty, and passes a judgement not very favourable, which, however, the paper says must be tempered by the fact that behind the administration "there was gradually emerging the man." "In the room of Viceroy", it adds, "there stands the name of no greater gentleman than that of Lord Chelmsford. Upright in word and deed, he has had only one thought, the good of India. Caring only for his own rectitude, he has neither sought praise nor avoided blame" etc. In an ill-balanced panegyric upon Lord Chelmsford, Sardar Jogendra Singh says that he must be judged, more by what he has done, and goes into raptures over his self-effacement and other great qualities.

Unfortunately, these things remind me of famous passage in Lord Macaulay's writings where in he speaks thus of Charles I:

The advocates of Charles, like the advocates of a reformer against whom overwhelming evidence is needed, generally feel a nervousness about the facts, and convey themselves in testimony to character. And had James the second no private virtues, his character as a ruler is not his interest or that of ourselves being so large of private virtue. And what after all are the virtues ascribed to Charles?.....A good father! A good husband! Ample apologies indeed for fifteen years of persecution, of blood, and of rebellion.

"To charge him with having broken his coronation oath, and we are told that he kept his marriage vow! We excuse him of having given up his people to the merciless inductions of the most hot-headed and hard-hearted of priests; and the defence is that he took his little son in his knee and kissed him! We censure him for violating the articles of the Petition of Right, after having, for good and valuable considerations, promised to observe them; and we are informed that he was accustomed to hear prayers at six o'clock in the morning."

Some of the latest doings of Sir Harcourt Butler and Lord Sinha have failed to satisfy even the *Leader*, which now has got a grievance against the British Government also. Regarding the shameless bungling of the Turkish question, the paper remarks:

"We thought that a serious effort was going to be made to settle the Turkish question, but the whole thing seems to have fizzled out. What was the use of sending out a deputation of Indian Mussalmans from this place, and wasting the time of its members! There is a recklessness about the proceedings of the present British Government which does no good to any body. Its foreign policy has bred anarchy almost everywhere. It does not want to disgorge any thing which it has swallowed, and this probably explains the whole of its policy in Mesopotamia, and in the Near East. It will have to continue to pay heavily the price of its greed, but we doubt very much if it will be able to digest all its gains."

In another note in the same issue, the paper has a gibe at the *Servant*, saying, that if according to the *Servant*, action is frequently the progeny of our cerebration, then "the best way to make satania even an angelic government is to make people think that it is satania." And may I ask, not so

Not a day passes but gives further evidence of the change that is slowly but surely coming over the non-co-operators' camp. Babu Dwarkanath, in a speech charged with admirable candour, of the undignified conduct of some of the non-co-operators and the breakdown of the movement in cases after cases, and gave the non-co-operators warning, to the Beber Council.

It (Babu Rajendraprasad's letter) shows the grim determination of Rajendraprasad and his associates to fight for the cause and suffer, if need be, even unto death.

It is not an easy task to fight such propagandists. They are animated with a religious fervour. They have introduced asceticism in the public life of the country. You cannot fight a band of political ascetics inspired with a religious fervour and a grim determination, by repression. For every man you send to prison are preparing at least a dozen to follow him. The hold which Mahatma Gandhi has got over the country due to his exalted asceticism, his lofty personality, and his holy fervour, with which he is inspired, in carrying out his propaganda. You require a sharper and cleaner weapon than repression to fight him and his followers, and the number is ever increasing. I have discovered no

The "cleaner and sharper" weapon is, of course, immediate concession of the Non-co-operators' demands. But in the course of the same speech further on, Babu Dwarkanath himself suggests part of the remedy.

The constructive part of the Non-co-operation movement has the wholehearted sympathy of every patriotic Indian. To elevate our motherland, to educate our children on national lines, to revive her industries, and to put a stop to the evil of drink and idleness is the duty of every one of us. We do not like, that our patriotism should be penalised. And such efforts will be in vain.

If, as Babu Dwarkanath suggests every patriotic Indian were to think it his duty to work for the constructive programme of Non-co-operators, he would make, not only work for non-co-operators, but even work for Government, easier. That is a sure way of bringing a demented Government to its senses, and not the way of supporting Government "in any measure" suggested by Mahatma Pradyot Kumar in his preposterous speech at the British Indian Association. I have no doubt Government will in course of time have to pray to be saved from such friends.

The world and the New Dispensation publishes an interesting correspondence. It appears that Babu Dwarkanath, a Brahmo, rated his friend Prof Prem Sunder Bose of Bagalpur for having resigned his post and joined Non-co-operation, and stigmatised his conduct as disloyal to the Brahmo creed. The Professor's reply to Babu Hazarilal should be an awakener to other Brahmos also:

"If I did not sincerely believe that, were Keshub living now, he would rather have himself initiate the Non-co-operation movement, or become the first and the staunchest ally of Mahatma Gandhi, I would not have joined the movement. As we sometimes cure a disease that has attacked its body by temporary fasting, so we seek to kill the evil that has entered into the body of the Nation by a temporary Non-co-operation. The notion of 'loyalty' does not at all attract me. Nay, I am more loyal. May God give you light and strength to be a true Brahmo preacher, for then you will be a true soldier under the banner of Non-co-operation which aims at the political regeneration of India and humanity. Amen."

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 6th, April, 1921.

A TAXING EXAMINER.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I would love to feel that I was an M. A. of the University of Non-co-operation. But my examiners show me that, whilst I have matriculated in that University, I have yet to fill many a term in the college course. Of all my many correspondents, the Sindhi friends are the most searching and, even, provoking. What I present to the readers of *Young India* is but a sample of examination papers set to me. Here is one such from Sindhi.

(1) Do you expect that violence will ensue from your movement of Non-co-operation?

If I did, I would not have advised it.

(2) Explain fully the doctrine of non-violence.

Non-violence is not doing, voluntarily, any injury to person or property. Thus, I would not punish or procure punishment even of General Dyer for his massacre, but I would not call it voluntarily doing injury to him to refuse to give him pension, or to condemn his action in fitting language. It is no part of my duty to protect a murderer even though he may be my son or father, I hold it to be my duty to withdraw my support from him. I will not kill a snake, neither may I harbour it.

(3) If violence ensues from your movement, will you retire to the mountains?

If violence results from Non-co-operation, or if non-co-operators resort to violence, i. e. if India makes violence her creed, and I have survived, I would not care to live in India. She will cease to evoke any pride in me. My patriotism is subservient to my religion. I cling to India like a child to its mother's breast, because I feel that she gives me the spiritual nourishment I need, she has the environment that responds to my highest aspirations. When that faith is gone, I shall feel like an orphan without hope of ever finding a guardian. Then the snowy solitude of the Himalayas must give what rest it can to my bleeding soul. Needless to say, the violence that would drive me to the Himalayas is not the violence of language or rowdiness which my critics often fling in my face whilst reminding me of the Himalayas. It is violence not due to Non-co-operation, nor is it violence of the real non-co-operators. These outbursts are a legacy of our undisciplined past. It is being brought under check day by day. It is so insignificant as to be itself a mighty demonstration of the peace that reigns supreme in India today. This peace, in the face of provocation, tempted by officials, knowingly or unknowingly, in the shape of their vexatious and often illegal notices must, if continued, in itself ensure Swaraj within the year. For it shows unity of purpose and determination among the people.

(4) What should other non-co-operators do, if such violence breaks out? Should they stop the preaching of Non-co-operation?

When (if ever) that tempestuous violence breaks out, true non-co-operators would have died in the attempt to prevent violence. Question 3 presupposes my sole survivorship. But assume, that I have scuttled to the Himalayas, (as it would then be to escape death), the remaining non-co-operators would certainly be expected to remain true to their faith in spite of my cowardly retreat and be living witnesses to their faith till the flames overwhelm them. The voice of the preacher will then be drowned in the onrushing torrent of blood.

(5) If you retire to the mountains, what will be the fate of the poor students who have boycotted aided or Government institutions?

The questioner forgets that when violence reigns supreme in India there will be no schools, aided or unaided, for students to attend. Only those students are called upon to leave Government schools who consider it to be sinful to remain in them. The question of returning to such schools does not arise in their case. And what has my retirement to the mountains to do with the students' withdrawal? Every student is expected to judge for himself what is best for him and his country. The movement of self-government cannot—must not—be made to depend upon one man. I have but presented India with a new and matchless weapon, or rather an extended application of an ancient and tried weapon. She must reject or accept it for her own use. I cannot use it for her. I can use, have used it, for myself and feel free. Others have done, and feel, likewise. If the nation uses the weapon she becomes free.

(6) How far has your movement of Non-co-operation progressed?

So far that I feel Swaraj running to us. If we keep up the same velocity, we shall be a free nation within this year.

(7) Are you aware that most of the non-co-operating workers are irresponsible? Have you ever condemned them?

I am not. On the contrary, I am aware that most of them are responsible, sober, honest, and brave workers. I hope I have condemned irresponsibility wherever I have found it.

(8) Under what circumstances do you expect to get Swaraj in October?

I have often mentioned the conditions in these columns. The correspondent must look up the back numbers.

(9) Will the spinning wheel solve the problem of India's poverty? If it will, how?

I am more than ever convinced that without the spinning wheel the problem of India's poverty cannot be solved. Millions of India's peasants starve for want of supplementary occupation. If they have spinning to add to their slender resources, they can fight successfully against pauperism and famine. Mills cannot solve the problem. Only hand-spinning—and nothing else—can. When India was forced to

give up hand-spinning, she had no other occupation in return. Imagine what would happen to a man who found himself suddenly deprived of a quarter of his bare livelihood. Over eighty-five percent of her population have more than a quarter of their time lying idle. And, therefore, even apart from the terrible drain rightly pointed out by the G. O. M. of India, she has steadily grown poorer because of this enforced idleness. The problem is, how to utilise these billions of hours of the nation without disturbing the rest. Restoration of the spinning wheel is the only possible answer. This has nothing to do with my special views on machinery or with the boycott of foreign goods in general. India is likely to accept the answer in full during this year. It is madness to tinker with the problem. I am writing this in Puri in front of the murmuring waves. The picture of the crowd of men, women, and children, with their fleshless ribs under the very shadow of Jagannath, haunts me. If I had the power, I would suspend every other activity in schools, and colleges, and every where else, and popularise spinning; prepare out of these lads and lasses spinning teachers; inspire every carpenter to prepare spinning wheels; and ask the teachers to take these life-giving machines to every home, and teach them spinning. If I had the power, I would stop an ounce of cotton from being exported and would have it turned into yarn in these homes. I would dot India with depot or receiving this yarn and distributing it among weavers. Given sufficient steady and trained workers, I would undertake to drive pauperism out of India during this year. This undoubtedly requires a change in the angle of vision and in the national taste. I regard the Reforms and everything else in the nature of opiates to deaden our conscience. We must refuse to wait for generations to furnish us with a patient solution of a problem which is ever-growing in seriousness. Nature knows no mercy in dealing stern justice. If we do not wake up before long, we shall be wiped out of existence. I invite the sceptics to visit Orissa, penetrate its villages, and find out for themselves where India stands. They will then believe with me that to possess, or to wear, an ounce of foreign cloth is a crime against India and humanity. I am able to restrain myself from committing suicide by starvation, only because I have faith in India's awakening, and her ability to put herself on the way to freedom from this desolating pauperism. Without faith in such a possibility, I should cease to take interest in living. I invite the quester, and every other intelligent lover of his country, to take part in this privileged national service in making spinning universal by introducing it in every home, and make it profitable for the nation by helping to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth during this year. I have finished the questions and endeavoured to answer them. The most important from the practical stand-point

was the one regarding spinning. I hope, I have demonstrated the necessity of home-spinning as the only means of dealing with India's poverty. I know, however, that innumerable difficulties face a worker in putting the doctrine into execution. The most difficult, perhaps, is that of getting a proper wheel. Save in the Punjab where the art is still alive the difficulty is very real. The carpenters have forgotten the construction and the innocent workers are at their wit's end. The chief thing undoubtedly, therefore, is for the worker to make himself acquainted with the art and the handling of spinning wheel. I lay down some simple tests for testing them. No machine that fails to satisfy the tests should be accepted or distributed.

- (1) The wheel must turn easily, freely, and noiselessly.
- (2) The turning handle must be rigidly fixed to the axle.
- (3) The posts must be properly driven home and joints well fixed.
- (4) The spindle must turn noiselessly and without a throb in its holders. Jarring sound cannot be avoided unless the holders are made of knit straw as in the Punjab, or of tough leather.
- (5) No machine is properly made unless it manufactures in the hands of a practised spinner at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas of even and properly twisted yarn of six counts in an hour. I know a youngster, who has not had more than perhaps three months' practice, having been able to spin $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas of the above quantity of yarn in 35 minutes. No machine should be given out until it has been worked for at least full one hour in the manner suggested and found satisfactory.

"A VERITABLE DOG'S LIFE."

'Nothing is more easy or common,' it is said, 'than to find men, who have been educated in all the habits and comforts of improved society, willing to exchange them for the wild labours of the hunter and the fisher.' Dr. Gour of Nagpur at least is not one such educated man, and he has laboured through fifteen pages of the *Hindustan Review* to prove that he is not. But nobody ever suggested that he was so willing. The fact is that Dr. Gour has been under a terrible nightmare. He has somehow conjured up a "veritable dog's life," as he calls it, as the only possible result of the success of the Non-cooperation movement, and he solemnly declares that he shall have none of it, he is even anxious that none of his countrymen should be cursed with it.

The effect of this mental attitude is clearly revealed in his article which is a marvel of ignorance, irrelevance, and misrepresentation. Imagine at this time of the day Dr. Gour seriously quoting passages on passages from "Hind Swaraj," and asserting that Home Rule, as depicted therein, is the cherished goal that Mr. Gandhi desires to achieve as the result of Non-cooperation. Dr. Gour is so far carried away by his naughty ignorance, that he scarcely suspects that the jester that he

fling at non-co-operators would rebound on himself. He asks: "How many of those who throw their caps into the air and shout 'Gandhiji-ki-Jai' have read his Thesis, and how many even of those who acclaimed his scheme in the last two sessions of the Congress connected his resolution with his social doctrine?" We can best reply the question with a few questions. Does Dr. Gour know that the words "attainment of Swaraj" did not at all occur in the draft Resolution submitted by Mr. Gandhi to the Subjects Committee of the Calcutta Congress? Does he know that it was entirely at the request of Pandit Motilal Nehru that he added this as the third object of the Non-co-operation movement suggested to be launched? Moreover, does Dr. Gour know that since then Mr. Gandhi has been proclaiming from the house-tops that the Swaraj of the Congress Resolutions is Parliamentary Swaraj—Swaraj according to the wishes of the people of India—and not Swaraj, the dear dream of his life?

We reproduce his statements in chronological sequence:

"Swaraj means a state, such that we can maintain our separate existence without the presence of the English. If it is to be a partnership, it must be a partnership at will. There can be no Swaraj without our feeling and being the equals of Englishmen."—(*Young India*, Sep. 22)

"Though I do not want to withdraw a single word of it (Indian Home Rule), I would say to you that I do not ask India to follow out today the methods prescribed in the booklet. If they could do that, they would have Home Rule not in a year, but in a day; and India realising that ideal wants to acquire an ascendancy over the rest of the world. But it must remain a day-dream, more or less, for the time being. What I am doing today is that I am giving the country a practicable programme, not of the abolition of law-courts, posts, telegraphs and of railways, but for the attainment of Parliamentary Swaraj." (*Calcutta speech—18th Dec.*)

Replying to a speech of Lord Ronaldsday's in which, in pardonable ignorance, he suggested the very same thing that Dr. Gour suggests to-day, Mr. Gandhi wrote:

"I am sorry that Swaraj of the Congress Resolution does not mean the Swaraj depicted in the booklet. So far as I can see, Swaraj will be a Parliament chosen by the people with the fullest power over the finance, police, the military, the navy, the courts and the educational institutions."—(*Young India*, Dec. 22.)

To a representative of the *Madras Mail* who asked, 'What is your Swaraj, and where does the Government come in there?' he replied:

"My Swaraj is the Parliamentary Government of India, in the modern sense of the term, for the time being, and that Government would be secured to us either through the friendly offices of the British people or without them."

[This interview which took place about the 25th December was published as an A. P. I. telegram in the papers.]

"I would warn the reader against thinking that I am to-day not aiming at the Swaraj described therein. I know that India is not ripe for it. * * I, individually,

am working for the self-rule pictured therein. But to-day my corporate activity is undoubtedly devoted to the attainment of Parliamentary Swaraj in accordance with the wishes of the people of India. I am not aiming at destroying railways or hospitals, though I would certainly welcome their natural destruction. Neither railways nor hospitals are a test of a high and pure civilization. At best they are a necessary evil. Neither adds one inch to the moral stature of a nation. Nor am I aiming at a permanent destruction of lawcourts, much as I regard it as a consummation devoutly to be wished. Still less am I trying to destroy all machinery and mills. It requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are to-day prepared for. * * * I have seen writings suggesting that I am playing a deep game, that I am using the present turmoil to foist my fads on India, and am making religious experiments at India's expense. I can only answer that Satyagraha is made of sterner stuff."

—(*Young India* 26th January.)

We have given all these quotations, more for those who may still be likely to be scared away by the irrelevant issues raised by Dr. Gour, than for Dr. Gour himself. They may not convince him. For, whilst he, at one place, credits Mr. Gandhi with plain-spokenness, he does not, at another, hesitate to charge him with assuming "a pose", when he "presses for the return of the ancient civilisation."

But the height of impudence is reached in his assertion that Mr. Gandhi is "leading the nation"—Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, to name only these three, of course included—"blindfolded to an appointed goal" viz. his dream of Swaraj. We can only hope he 'knows not what he says.'

We have assumed thus far that his analysis and interpretation of the Indian Home Rule is correct. But even there if he has not been deliberately unfair to Mr. Gandhi and let us assume he has not—he has betrayed a lack of understanding of the basic idea of the book, which is only equalled by his gross misunderstanding of Tolstoy and Nihilism. But this is not relevant to the issue, and the digression might occupy an article by itself.

Dr. Gour besides being unfair to Mr. Gandhi insults the nation and his own intelligence when he says: "He (Mr. Gandhi) has therefore given this occidental creed an oriental garb and when he pleads for the simplicity of life he preaches it as an economic problem, and when he denounces the "satanic Government" he forgets to connect it with what he conceives to be its satanic misdeeds viz. all the modern conveniences of civilization." Such obtuseness as this none can hope to correct.

There is only one relevant point in all this plethora of irrelevant verbiage, and that is this: "With the withdrawal of the British without preparing the people to preserve peace and defend themselves against internal strife and foreign aggression, the country will once more be the hearth-garden of interracial feuds and foreign aggressions, wiping

out, in less time than it takes to think, the splendid machinery, which, with all its faults, holds India immune from external aggression." Dr. Gour thus raises the bogey of anarchy, a not uncommon device of the opponents of Non-cooperation. To one who does not accept even the *bonafides* of the movement, it were idle to say that this movement of self-purification has potency enough to stop all internecine feuds, and to stand against any foreign aggression, or to say as Mr. Rajagopalachariar has recently put it, that "the faith of the Mussalman is better than the seal of the European diplomat and plenipotentiaries." Assuming for the moment, then, that Dr. Gour's prophecy will come true, does Dr. Gour know that there is a worse anarchy than the one that he conjures up? "The Government of men by force and without their free consent", says Mr. Gilbert Cannan in his fine monograph on "Freedom", "is anarchic and must breed anarchy and destruction." Which anarchy is greater—the anarchy of the Government that condones crimes, but does not repent for them, that flouts the sentiments of 16 millions of its subjects, that goes on raising piles on piles of military expenditure against the express wish of the nation, that looks at every man with the eyes of fear and suspicion, that keeps even its virtues under leading strings and drives them to a life of hypocrisy and ignominy—which is greater and worse, the anarchy that is going on under our very nose and in broad daylight, or the anarchy that may possibly arise as a result of a nation's want of preparation? As to "immunity from aggression", the less said the better. Look at India of 1919, and at Ireland to-day. It is a mockery to say that a Government that dares to pursue a policy of relentless savagery as she did in India in 1919 and is doing to-day in Ireland, can keep a subject nation immune from aggression. Such a role of a Nation by a Nation "is, indeed," says Mrs. Anne Green, "the most tyrannous and the most intolerable, leaving the people under it more helpless for resistance and more emptied of life than any other system."

It is from the "dog's life" under such a Government that the Indian nation is trying to be free. Dr. Gour, privileged as he is to make some ineffectual speeches or to raise more ineffectual protests, and to withdraw resolutions in the Reformed councils, is quite welcome to regard that life as a paradise. It is after all a mere question of what mental attitude one takes.

MAHADEV DESAI.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager,
Young India,

Elephant Road, Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be acknowledged as soon as possible.

NON CO-OPERATION IN BELGAUM.

Mr. V. D. Belvi, Hon. Secy., District Congress Committee, Belgaum, has sent us the following report of the progress of work in the District:—

ORGANISATION.

On the 20th February 1931, the old District Congress Committee was reorganised in the terms of the New Constitution of the Congress. There are eight Talukas in this District. Mr. G. B. Deshpande toured through the major part of these Talukas, some of the pleaders, who have suspended practice, and N. C. O. students moving through the rest. As a result of their activity, Congress Committees have been formed for all the Talukas as well as for some of the important villages. The exact number of members enrolled is not yet available, but already more than 1000 members have been enrolled, and it is expected that by the end of this month the number will exceed 2000. There is a remarkable enthusiasm and earnestness on the part of the N. C. O. students who have joined our District, and it must be said to their credit that their entry into the ranks of national workers has been a valuable asset to the nation. The message of the Congress has reached more than 100 villages.

The local Khilafat Committee has organised the Muslim community in a remarkable way, and it is a matter of pleasure to record that the Congress Committee is working in close cooperation and perfect harmony with the Khilafat Committee. The relations of Hindus and Muslims were never more admirable.

SWARAJ ASHRAM.

A Swaraj Ashram is opened at Belgaum to serve as a home for national workers, especially, the students withdrawing from Colleges and wishing to enroll themselves as candidates for the Indian National Service. About 35 students have taken advantage of it, and many of these, after undergoing a short training, have gone out to villages. Spinning and Hindustani are compulsorily taught to the inmates of the Ashram.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

A national school under the name of "Tilak Vidyalaya" has been opened in Taulakwadi, 2½ miles away from the din and dust of the town of Belgaum. About 100 students are on its rolls. Most of these have come out from the local Mission and Government High Schools. Arrangements have been made to teach weaving, spinning, carpentry, and Hindustani. It is intended to open a hostel as soon as funds permit. In the meanwhile, arrangements have been made in the Ashram for those desirous of being resident students.

RENOUCLATION OF HONORARY OFFICES.

The under-mentioned gentlemen have renounced their respective offices.

CRS.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Bench Magistrate'ship. | 2. Nominated membership of the Municipality. |
| 2. Mr. Bheknar of " " Bench Magistrate'ship. | |
| 3. " Gidadaabhi of " " Nominated membership of the Municipality. | |
| 4. " Bahurao Nargundkar... Bench Magistrate'ship. | |
- Some more are expected to follow soon.

SUSPENSION OF PRACTICE BY LAWYERS.

The following lawyers in this District have suspended their practice in pursuance of the Congress

Resolutions.

BELGAUM.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Mr. G. B. Deshpande, | 7. Mr. G. N. Thanedar, |
| 2. " D. R. Majli, | 8. " V. R. Savnoor, |
| 3. " K. N. Karguppikar, | 9. " B. B. Potdar, |
| 4. " G. V. Masur, | 10. " N. T. Datar, |
| 5. " S. L. Noman, | 11. " G. P. Sukthankar, |
| 6. " V. T. Datar, | |

CHIKODI.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 12. Mr. S. V. Kulkarni, | 16. Mr. N. N. Joshi, |
| 13. " Shahade, | 17. " Gokhale, |
| 14. " V. R. Majli, | 18. " Yadurkar, |
| 15. " Sane, | |

GOKAK.

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 19. Mr. Phatak, | 21. Mr. Maharaj, |
| 20. " Karguppikar, | 22. " Ankalgikar, |

HUKERI.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| 23. Mr. Shrinikarao | 24. Mr. Dixit, |
|---------------------|----------------|

Deshpande,

BAIL-HONGAL.

ARANI.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 25. Mr. Jayade. | 26. S. T. Datar. |
|-----------------|------------------|

Some more are expected to follow by the end of April.

SWADESHI.

There is a large class of weavers in this District. Fortunately cotton also is extensively grown and the art of spinning is not yet wholly extinct. As a result of the propaganda during the last 4 months, spinning has rapidly spread. Charkas, which were thrown as useless in the lumber rooms, are being taken out and set to work.

Khadi, made of yarn produced by these Charkas, is slowly but in increasing quantity coming to the market. The wearing of Khadi is becoming a fashion and signs are not wanting to show that Swadeshi is making remarkable progress in the District.

CALL TO SACRIFICE.

The citizens of Belgam are contributing monthly Rs. 500 in aid of the Non-cooperation movement, out of which the local National School and Swaraj Ashram are being maintained. Now that a large number of pleaders have suspended practice and taken to national work, it is hoped that a large amount will soon be collected for the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund.

THE WICKED ROMANS.

Sir,

I am afraid we are not likely to agree, but I must protest against your use of the words 'The Wicked Romans' as if they were a quotation from my letter. I never said (or implied) that the Romans were "wicked" to leave Britain. Indeed, their compulsory retirement was only less unfortunate for them than for the British.

The only part of your reply on p. 10 of your issue dated 12th January, with which I cordially agree is where you say that you would not "mind a partnership based on perfect equality both in theory and practice." That is exactly what I have always proposed.

23 Victoria Road,

I am etc.

Worthing, Sussex.

J. E. Pennington.

15th February 1921.

BOOK NOTICE

Messrs Ganesh and Co. have sent us the literature of freedom that has just appeared from their ever-wakeful publishing house. The books are all reprints. Two are collections of the recent speeches and writings of Mr. Gandhi and Lala Lajpatrai in a handy form; a speech by Mr. Andrews, and an article by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu entitled the 'Soul of India', and another by Mrs. Sarladevi Chaudhri, "At the Point of the Spindle", are presented to the public in dainty booklets.

The notable feature of "Freedom's Battle", a collection of Mr. Gandhi's recent speeches and articles in Young India, is the fascinating introduction by Mr. G. Rajagopalachariar. It is an admirably brief exposition of the Non-co-operation question, and Mr. Rajgopalachariar's crushing replies to some of the stock objections against Non-co-operation are characterised by his felicity of phrase and incisive logic. We make no apology for reproducing here some of the phrases that will live.

"It is only a people whose mentality has been perverted that can soothe itself with the domination by one race from a distant country, as a preventive against aggression of another, a permanent and natural neighbour."

"The faith of a Mussalman is a better sanction than the seal of the European diplomats and plenipotentiaries."

"The Indian support of the Khilafat has, as if by a magic wand, converted what was once the Pan-Islamic terror for Europe into a solid wall of friendship and defence for India."

"No nation can really be free which is at the mercy of its army and its military heroes."

"There is no anarchy greater than the moral anarchy of surrender to unrepentant wrong."

"Even if we had no grievance against this Government, Non-co-operation with it, for a time, would be desirable so far as it would perforce lead us to trusting and working with one another, and thereby strengthen the bonds of national unity."

"An Act of Parliament can never create citizens in Hindustan. Liberty unacquired, merely found, will on the test fail like the Dead-Sea-apple or the magician's plenty."

"Actual service on the part of one generation, and educational preparation for future service on the part of the next generation, are the two main branches of this cooperation of slaves in the perpetuation of slavery."

Though brief, the introduction is thus a permanent contribution to the Non-co-operation literature. The book could have been better edited, there is no reason why 'Swaraj in one year' should not have been part of "Battle of Freedom" and why Mr. Gandhi's speech at the Tilly college should have been included in "Swaraj in one year." Lalaji's speeches, too, could have been better strangled. But these are minor shortcomings, due more or less to the anxiety of the publishers to put the public in prompt possession of the things one cannot be without in these days.

YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

Edited by M. K. Gandhi.

NEW SERIES
VOL III, No. 1

AHMEDABAD, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13th, 1921

PRICE TWO ANNAS
PER COPY.

Notes.

Suspend Non-co-operation—Mr. Syed Riza Ali has addressed a public letter advising me to suspend Non-co-operation, so as to give Lord Reading a chance of studying the situation in a calm atmosphere. In the first place, I see there is nothing in the atmosphere to prevent a study of the situation. In the second place, what disturbance there is, is either fomented by the authorities, or the situation is so mishandled as to give rise to bloodshed. In the Central Provinces the Government are foisting the drink traffic on a public that is enraged against it. Of Bas Bareilly, not having read newspapers, I have not sufficient data to be able to say anything. In any case, Mr. Riza Ali should address his appeal to the permanent officials who are provoking the people and creating alarm in the country. Thirdly, it is not within the power of any one man, even if he wished it, to suspend a movement adopted by the nation through its representative assemblies. Fourthly, what does Mr. Riza Ali mean by suspension of Non-co-operation? Should the title-holders temporarily recall their titles, the lawyers resume practice, the school boys return to Government schools, the spinners put away their spinning wheels, carpenters cease making new wheels, and tailors renew their acquaintance with the publicans? Does Mr. Riza Ali desire that national schools should for the time being close their doors? Unthinkable as it may seem, it is evident that Mr. Riza Ali does not understand the scope of Non-co-operation, he does not realise that it is like a virtue whose practice cannot be suspended at will. If Englishmen mean well by India, if Englishmen, who are dependent upon India for their maintenance, will be true to their salt, they must be reconciled to the abolition of the drink traffic and the total destruction of the traffic in foreign cloth and, therefore, also Lancashire cloth. Even when the Khilafat is fully protected, and the Punjab wound healed, the drink revenue cannot be revived for the use of foreign cloth resumed. What surprises one is that there are intelligent and educated public workers in the country who do not see that this Government must proceed from wrong to wrong, so long as it does not cleanse itself of the original sins. No doubt it can, if it will, even without redressing the two wrongs, cooperate with the people in the

two great dynamic movements—the battle against the drink evil and reinstatement of the spinning wheel in all its ancient dignity and purity. It will then break the edge of the two wrongs. Such a co-operation by the Government with the people will, however, increase the capacity of the people to ensure rectification of the two wrongs, and for that very reason the Government will not allow the peaceful progress of the drink campaign and boycott of foreign cloth by increased home-manufacture through the spinning wheel.

Men, money, and munitions—These were the words in which Mr. Das summed up the All-India Congress Committee's resolution about one crore members, one crore rupees, and twenty lacs of spinning wheels. This programme is neither elaborate nor intricate. It requires practically no sacrifice. It does require organisation, will, and industry. We have twenty-one Congress provinces, and, happily, each province has workers capable of organising their respective provinces for the Congress programme. I would strongly advise them to devote themselves to the working of registering members, collecting subscriptions, and introducing spinning wheels. Let the workers remember that there is no time to lose. We must be able to reach every adult male and female in our respective provinces and give them a chance of coming to the Congress register. We must give a chance even to boys and girls of understanding to subscribe to the Tilk Memorial Swaraj Fund, and take to every family the life giving message of the spinning wheel. The poorest province need not feel any doubt about its ability to cope with its share of the programme. Orissa is, I believe, the poorest province. I asked the workers there whether they would shoulder their share of the burden. They agreed, nor was there any need for them to hesitate with the Lord of the Universe having his seat in Orissa. They could collect their quota, if it came to the worst, from the pilgrims who visit Puri as also from the rich Mahants and pandas, who I feel sure will gladly pay if properly approached. But our hope must centre in the pies of the poor rather than upon windfalls from single places. Nothing gave me greater confidence and greater hope than the sight of thousands of the very poor men at Sakhi Gopal emptying their pockets of their pies and pansas. The Biharis are even collecting musins. With a proper depot for

receiving and using such gifts, the crore rupees should be collected without any difficulty whatsoever.

I suggest workers meeting the heads of all the artisan classes. We want carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, masons, scavengers, shoemakers, tanners, etc., to understand and take part in this movement. They do not need any previous training in schools to appreciate the necessity of Swaraj. They easily understand the intimate connection between Swaraj and the spinning wheel. With our existing caste organisations, which are really trade guilds, we should have no difficulty in reaching the majority of the men and women who are members of these important organisations.

It should further be remembered that both men and money are wanted for one purpose, to manufacture and distribute munitions i. e., spinning wheels. We must bring about complete boycott of foreign cloth during this year, and if possible before the end of July next. One crore of rupees and twenty lacs of spinning wheels is the minimum aimed at by the Congress. It does not include the spinning wheels that were already working before the 31st December last. Of coarse counts we require 6 lbs of cloth per head per year. We, therefore, need 1800 million pounds per head for the nation. In order to manufacture this quantity of cloth in a year, at say three hundred working days, and if a spindle gives $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per day i. e., 150 lbs. per year, we require 12 million spindles. What the Congress expects by the end of June is 2 million or a sixth of the total requirement. It is not an extravagant presumption to make that if we succeed in introducing two million spinning wheels during three months, the momentum received by the movement will double the number of wheels during the next three months without much effort. We have probably fifty million families in India counting six members for a family. The problem, therefore, is one of only reaching two million out of this large number of families.

If the existing workers have the faith that I have in the spinning wheel, they will do well to learn spinning and understand the structure of a spinning wheel so as to be able to distinguish a good wheel from a bad one. They must not on any account introduce a wheel that does not satisfy the test already suggested by me in the issue of the 6th instant. I need hardly point out that the workers will produce less impression, if any at all, if they do not religiously eliminate foreign cloth from their wardrobe. We are not going to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth this year, if we do not ourselves make the beginning at once and set an example. One big thing well and truly done must result in giving us confidence, hope, and courage.

The use of the crore rupees—A newspaper, I am told, has put the question as to what the Congress will do with its crore. The natural answer is 'for the use stated in the Congress resolution' i. e.,

for the attainment of Swaraj through non-violent Non-co-operation. The only activity involving financial obligations is that of spinning, organising national service, in some cases supporting lawyers, who might have suspended practice and cannot be included in the national service and for supporting national educational institutions. The latter three, however, really bear again on spinning. For all the workers and all the schools and colleges must be mainly occupied in promoting hand-spinning and hand weaving if we are to achieve a complete boycott of foreign goods before the end of the year. These are the only uses that I can conceive in connection with the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. Seventy-five per cent of the funds are to be controlled by the provinces collecting them. And subject to the instructions framed by the All-India Congress Committee, the provinces have unfettered discretion as to their use for the attainment of Swaraj.

Amazing misconceptions—There is a homely proverb in Gujarati which means, a noted banker continually adds to his wealth, as a notorious criminal continually comes in for undeserved blame. Whether I am to be regarded as a reformer or a criminal, the situations I find myself in are most curious and often embarrassing. The people credit me with supernatural powers when the only powers I have are derived from my scrupulous regard for truth, an unquenchable industry, fair play to opponents, readiness always to admit mistakes, and an incessant appeal to reason. But the simple minded masses will not believe me when I tell them I possess no extraordinary powers. Similarly those who are not accustomed to absolutely honest dealings in politics persist in crediting me with all kinds of wickednesses. The *Morning Post* believes that the strike in Fiji was due to the efforts of a Sadhu sent there by me. Now I do not know who the alleged Sadhu is, I have certainly sent no one to Fiji to advise a strike. At the same time the strike having been declared in Fiji, the strikers have my sympathy. All the evidence in my possession shows that Fiji is a huge exploitation camp in which the poor Indian labourers are used by the sugar-planters for their fabulous profits.

The *Times of India*—Somewhat similar to the misconceptions I have alluded to is that of the *Times of India*, to whose two recent articles a friend has drawn my attention. Not being able to read newspapers regularly, I do not know how much more I must be misrepresented by other journals, when the *Times of India*, which is supposed to know one better, I hope, innocently misunderstands me. One article credits me with having suspended Non-co-operation in that I advised the All-India Congress Committee to concentrate on men, money, and the spinning wheel. I fear I cannot take the credit, for I have not advised suspension; and I have already shown in answer to Mr. Riza Ali how it cannot be suspended. In the other article brought to my notice, I am not now

'the Mr. Gandhi of old' and, therefore, the reader is told, I will not admit defeat which non-co-operators are said to have suffered in the first stage.

I see not only no defeat so far but I am amazed at the awakening among the people. I hold that it is a great thing to have created a strong public opinion against the institutions on which a Government builds its credit. The *Times of India* considers Non-co-operation 'to be an easy descent to hell.' I respectfully urge that it is a difficult ascent to heaven. If it was a movement to produce anarchy, surely it could be precipitated any moment. The *Times of India* and other critics, who, I believe, are anxious to understand the lawfulness of the struggle, will do well to appreciate the fact that not only I but all the leaders are doing their utmost to prevent anarchy. It is no use isolating me from the rest. The critics, who continue to suspect the Ali Brothers, do themselves and the cause a great injustice. The Brothers' position is perfectly clear and intelligible. To them violence is lawful under given circumstances. As Maulana Mahomed Ali often puts it, war is bad but there are worse things than war. The British Government has no two opponents more honourable than the Brothers. They mean no ill in a spirit of wantonness. They are honestly and industriously endeavouring to secure a peaceful settlement. But should their effort prove vain, either for want of response from the Government or the people, as lovers of their faith, they will not hesitate to precipitate war if they could. I refuse to be considered so simple as to be readily taken in by my companions. I believe my companions to be incapable of deceiving me. I believe them to be God-fearing, brave, and honourable men, whose association I prize as a privilege. As for my own attitude, whilst my faith would not permit me to invite or encourage a war of violence, I do contemplate with equanimity a state of war in preference to the present state of effeminate peace imposed by force of arms. And it is for that reason that I am taking part in this movement of non-violent Non-co-operation even at the risk of anarchy being the ultimate result. The critics of Non-co-operation, maybe, if they will, see in every one an intense desire to prevent anarchy and bloodshed. In any case, whether non-co-operators are understood or not, they cannot afford to lose patience. They must continue to walk along the chosen and narrow path.

One man one vote—A question has cropped up whether the Congress constitution allows of plural voting. In my opinion the new constitution is based on the principle of 'one man one vote.' We have avoided property qualification. And it seems to me that one person cannot have his name registered on more than one register.

Repression in C. P.—Late Bhagwandinji has been tried and, having declined to defend himself, has been sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour. I have not seen the charge sheet against him, but thus I know that he was superintendent of the Swaraj Ashram at Nagpur

and was doing excellent work. Now the Government has directed its attention to Mr. Wamanrao Joshi of Amravati. Mr. Joshi is a selfless and enthusiastic worker possessing considerable influence in his district. It seems to be the intention of the C. P. Government to cut off 'tall poppies.' But I hope they will find that there are more tall poppies than they can conveniently cut off.

M. K. (1)

THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMRITSAR.

A MESSAGE.

To The Editor, Young India.

Sir,

It is with a full and sad heart that I hallow in memory the tragic events of April two years ago. If I send this little word to India to bear witness that one Englishwoman is not unmindful, my chief hope is that it may be taken as representing (with no presumptuous intention, believe me) just what the ordinary, plain folk of England would desire to be expressed about Jallianwala Bagh—their sorrow, their shame, their sympathy for and repudiation of all that was done there in their name, but without their authority or knowledge.

For me at least the horror of that day—the "shadow of Amritsar"—has scored deep and ineffaceable marks on my heart and mind. I do not think I ever forget the tragedy for a single day. I love and adore the honour of my country and do not know how to forgive those who trampled that honour into the dust. Perhaps even India will have forgiven the fell criminals of Jallianwala Bagh long ere their ashamed fellow countrymen will ever do so. It is easier for Indians, for they do not have to feel that it was their kinsmen by blood and race who shamed and outraged humanity on that sad thirteenth day of April.

The only purification that we English can attain is by an expiation of love and service towards India. To multitudes of English people, Amritsar was a search-light and an awakener—as for me it augmented ten-thousandfold my affection for India, nor shall I ever cease to proffer at her shrine my heart-ful repentance for what people of my race have done. I can only express my feeling in the words of the Hebrew Psalmist of yore—

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,

May my right hand forget its cunning!"

—prior, martyred, humiliated India being my Jerusalem, my Lady of Seven sorrows

I write this from among the beauties of mid-spring in exquisite Kent, the garden of England. The trees and flowers spring forth in virginal beauty heedless of the ravages of northern Autumn and winter, unharmed by the snows and tempests of the past. So may it be with India! May the spring of her hopes soon merge into the dignified and long overdue achievement of her full stature amongst the Nations. I salute thee India which is soon to be—compassionate, forgiving, wise, just, noble, comradely, and above all—FREE!

23 Markensburgh Sq. Yours in the service of India
London, W. C. HELENA NORMANTON.
March 23.

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THE MANAGER,
YOUNG INDIA, AHMEDABAD

Young India.

Almora Road, Wednesday, 13th, April, 1931.

THE NATIONAL FLAG.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A flag is a necessity for all nations. Millions have died for it. It is no doubt a kind of idolatry which it would be a sin to destroy. For a flag represents an ideal. The unfurling of the Union Jack evokes in the English breast, sentiments whose strength it is difficult to measure. The Stars and Stripes mean a world to the Americans. The Star and the Crescent will call forth the best bravery in Islam.

It will be necessary for us Indians—Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Jews, Parsis and all others to whom India is their home—to recognise a common flag to live and to die for.

Mr. P. Venkayya of the National College Manipalpatam has for some years placed before the public a suggestive booklet describing the flags of the other nations and offering designs for an Indian National Flag. But, whilst I have always admired the persistent zeal with which Mr. Venkayya has prosecuted the cause of a national flag at every session of the Congress for the past four years, he was never able to enthuse me; and in his designs I saw nothing to stir the nation to its depths. It was reserved for a Punjabee to make a suggestion that at once arrested attention. It was Lala Hansraj of Jullunder who, in discussing the possibilities of the spinning wheel, suggested that it should find a place on our Swaraj Flag. I could not help admiring the originality of the suggestion. At Bezwada I asked Mr. Venkayya to give me a design containing a spinning wheel on a red (Hindu colour) and green (Muslim colour) background. His enthusiastic spirit enabled me to possess a flag in three hours. It was just a little late for presentation to the All-India Congress Committee. I am glad it was so. On maturer consideration, I saw that the background should represent the other religions also. Hindu-Muslim unity is not an exclusive term; it is an inclusive term, symbolic of the unity of all faiths domiciled in India. If Hindus and Muslims can tolerate each other they are together bound to tolerate all other faiths. The unity is not a menace to the other faiths represented in India or to the world. So I suggest that the background should be white and green and red. The white portion is intended to represent all other faiths. The weakest numerically occupy the first place, the Islamic colour comes next, the Hindu colour red comes last, the idea being that the strongest should act as a shield to the weakest. The white colour moreover represents purity and peace. Our national flag must mean that or nothing. And to represent the equality of the least of us with the best, an equal part is assigned to all the three colours in the design.

But India as a nation can live and die only

for the spinning wheel. Every woman will tell the curious that with the disappearance of the spinning wheel, vanished India's happiness and prosperity. The womanhood and the masses of India have been awakened as never before at the call of the spinning wheel. The masses recognise in it the giver of life. The women regard it as the protector of their chastity. Every widow I have met has recognised in the wheel a dear forgotten friend. Its restoration alone can fill the millions of hungry mouths. No industrial development schemes can solve the problem of the growing poverty of the peasantry of India covering a vast surface 1800 miles long and 3500 broad. India is not a small island, it is a big continent which cannot be converted like England into an industrial country. And we must resolutely set our face against any scheme of exploitation of the world. Our only hope must centre upon utilising the wasted hours of the nation for adding to the wealth of the country, by converting cotton into cloth in our cottages. The spinning wheel is, therefore, as much a necessity of Indian life as air and water.

Moreover, the Muslims swear by it just as much as the Hindus. As a matter of fact, the former are taking to it more readily than the Hindus. For the Muslim woman is *purdanashin* and she can now add a few paise to the poor resources that her husband brings to the family. The spinning wheel, therefore, is the most natural, as it is the most important, common factor of national life. Through it we inform the whole world that we are determined, so far as our food and clothing are concerned, to be totally independent of the rest of it. Those who believe with me will make haste to introduce the spinning wheel in their home and possess a national flag of the design suggested by me.

It follows that the flag must be made of *khaddar*, for it is through coarse cloth alone that we can make India independent of foreign markets for her cloth. I would advise all religious organisations, if they agree with my argument, to weave into their religious flags, as for instance the *Khilafat*, a miniature National Flag in the upper left hand corner. The regulation size of the Flag should contain the drawing of a full-sized spinning wheel.

ORISSA AND ANDHRA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It was my very first visit to Orissa and, save for Bezwada and Nellore in 1916, to Andhra also. I would like to put on record some of the ineffaceable scenes and memories of these provinces. It was a crowded programme and I can only rapidly go through the most important stations.

I was prepared to see skeletons in Orissa but not to the extent I did. I had seen terrible pictures but the reality was too terrible. What can be the meaning of Swaraj to these men, women, and children, who were merely skin and bone and who lined a road in holy Puri on that memorable

24th day of March? They were not one or two, but many, and yet they were not all. They were the abject of the starving—those who were able to walk fairly long distances. They had come to see one who had sent them rice and from whom they expected more. They cried, and they said in pathetic tones, 'we want food'. Some said 'when will the prices be reduced?' I understood that the meaning of Swaraj to many was cheap food and clothing,—the latter not so much. A rag sufficed to cover their lower limbs. But food they must have.

I went to this scene from a big bungalow where I was accommodated in the midst of plenty. I passed and repassed the huge temple that houses the Lord of the Universe. I met on the way well-fed Mahants and Pandas and hundreds of pilgrims who could afford to spend a few hundred rupees.

The incongruity was great, and my grief all the greater and more poignant.

They took me to an Anathalaya—a home for orphans. It was established by a humane superintendent of police. I saw there well-looking boys and girls—some spinning and some mat-making. Why could not all the fleshless ones do likewise? They need not then live on hogging, the house-leavings, or a handful of rice. They could earn their own living if only they could spin. But who would give them the wheams? Straight came the answer, 'The Congress of course.' The Congress could teach them to gain Swaraj through spinning. There is no other occupation that millions can take up, not even mat-making. For millions of mats will not sell. Yarn is the only commodity next to eatables that would have a ready market. I met the Congress leaders. I recited the story to them. Some of them were witnesses with me of the scenes I have described. They agreed that the Congress funds must be utilised chiefly for the spread of the spinning wheel. And the money, they could easily get from the Mahants and the pilgrims. The Congress Committee even in poor Orissa could thus be self-supporting and could bring Swaraj nearer by filling the hungry mouths.

They have workers too. Pundit Gopabandhu, an ex-M. L. C., an ex-pleader, and many other things besides, is a co-ordinator. He and his band, they tell me, live on rice and dhall. They rarely get ghee nowadays. After Non-co-operation, the workers have reduced themselves to the lowest honorarium, even as little as ten rupees per month.

No wonder if I believe that with such earnest men Swaraj is possible of attainment during the year.

Pundit Gopabandhu has an open-air school at Sakshigopal twelve miles this side of Puri. It is a grave-school. It is worthy of visit. I passed a most delightful day in the midst of the boys and their teachers. It is a serious experiment in open-air teaching. Some of the boys are powerful athletes.

Orissa has a good grievance. As the able author of the book called the Oriya movement says, Orissa has been vivisected for political purposes. Part belongs to Bengal, part to Bihar, part to the

Central Provinces, and part to Andhra. Nothing belongs to Orissa itself. The Congress has recognised the Oriya speaking people as one province. Bihar, Bengal, Central Provinces have no quarrel. But the Andhras dispute the Oriyan claim to Behrampur. I have ventured to suggest some simple rules for their guidance. One golden rule of universal application that we must learn from our present struggle is that the stronger must yield to the weaker. In case of doubt the weaker must have the verdict.

I must close the Orissa impressions with the vivid memory of the thousands of poor people who came to a public meeting at Sakshigopal and emptied their knots of pice and paise. They were like the widow's mite, charged with the most fruitful blessings. My faith grew stronger to see those thousands urging one another to pay.

Andhradesha is unlike Utkal. It is full of vigour. I could see no fleshless bones there. The people are strong, powerful, insistent, generous, and loving. They have faith in the future of their own province and India. Men as well as women have plenty of gold ornaments. It is fatal to show those ornaments to me. I made no secret of the fact that I wanted them for the memory of Tilak Maheraj and for Swaraj. They gave gladly, both men and women. They gave in six days nearly Rs. 50,000 rupees with promises of much more. If they wished, the Andhra people could find perhaps the crore from their ornaments.

I told the Andhra people that in frankness, nobility of bearing, and freedom of movement, combined with modesty, their women reminded me of the women of Maharashtra. That is a great compliment. I abide by the opinion. Annapurna Devi, a girl of Ellore recently married and educated in Calcutta gave practically the whole of her ornaments save those which were the sign of her wedded life. She was dressed from top to toe in khadder. The generosity of the men and women of Andhra was astonishing.

The Punjabi sisters must give the place to the Andhra sisters in fine spinning. I thought there were no more lovable spinners than the Punjabi women. But the Andhra women spin 100 counts. They clean and card their own cotton. I have brought with me some specimens of fine woven yarn which would beat any from Japan, France, or Lancashire. The art was about to die when the Swadeshi movement came to the rescue. Some of these ladies were good enough at Masulipatam to give me a demonstration of their powers. It was a soul-stirring sight in that leaf-cottage. They cleaned and carded and spun. For me the wheel gave the music of the spheres.

I must however descend from the soul-stirring to the soul-killng discoveries. At Cocanada, just after the great public meeting, on my return to the bungalow at about 9 P. M. I had a visit from some women and girls. The light was very dim as I entered. There was something uncanny about

their movements and their looks. Somehow or other the usual greeting, "Do you spin? what will you give me for the Tilak Swaraj Fund?" would not come to my lips. On the contrary, I asked my host who the ladies were. He did not know. He inquired, and after some hesitation the answer came, "We are dancing girls." I felt like sinking into the bowels of the earth. My host soothed me by saying that there was a ceremony attached to the commencement of life. It made matters worse for me. It gave the damnable thing an air of respectability. I cross-examined. They said in the politest tones they had come to have *darshan*. "Will they take up some other occupation?" "Yes, if it gives us our livelihood." I had not the heart to close with them there and then. I felt ashamed of my sex. I spoke straight the next morning at Rajmundry, the next halting place. It was the one most painful experience in Andhra. I suppose the sin is common enough in one shape or another in the rest of India. All I can say is that, if we will have Swaraj through self-purification, we may not make women a prey to our lust. The law of the protection of the weak applies here with peculiar force. To me the meaning of cow-protection includes the protection of the chastity of our women. We will not have a regenerate India, unless we learn to respect our women as we respect our mothers, sisters, and daughters. Let us cleanse ourselves of the sins that kill the man in us and make us brute.

To turn to pleasanter things again. My visit to Masulipatam brought tears of joy to my eyes. It was my day of silence. I had asked Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya to procure freedom from all noise and demonstration when I entered Masulipatam. The people had, therefore, been warned beforehand. It was early morning when we motored in. People lined the decorated streets, but not a sound was heard. All were noiselessly standing in their places. And as I entered the portals of the national college, no sound, save that of a beautiful hymn struck upon a violin accompanied by a flute, greeted me. I appreciated the gentle love, and I realised the capacity of the people for discipline, and their quick response to varying demands on their patriotic spirit. I praised God for his abundant mercy with tears of joy.

I was taken to a real *parnakuti*, a leaf-cottage. And whilst I was congratulating the teachers and managers on the method, art, and industry, they showed in their appointments, I could not help remarking that their activity was not completely national until every one of the students and the teachers devoted practically the whole of their time and attention to spinning and weaving, and making of their institution a spinning and weaving institute *par excellence*. Whilst I was developing my theme, Mr. Krishnarao, who was listening to me all the time and rarely partaking in the discussion, with a spiritual sparkle in his eyes said: "Then you consider spinning to be a sacramental rite." "I do," said I. "Thank you

for the expression. I shall henceforth make use of it." Spinning is a visible, sacred symbol of national purity, strength, and prosperity. It is a duty enjoined upon all, whether Hindu or Moslem, Christian, Jew, or Parsi. The Andhra National College is an old institution of which the Andhras have every reason to be proud. It is an institution which is a product of the Bengal awakening of 1907 and has weathered many a storm. I hope that it will emerge from the present awakening a purer and stronger body. It certainly possesses all the material for becoming a centre, radiating the purest activity in keeping with the present spirit.

Andhradesha contains a fiery reformer and a warm champion of the suppressed classes. Mr. Ramchandrarao is a Brahmin whose pure soul will not tolerate the curse of untouchability. He has been slaving on behalf of his clients. He is rightly impatient to remove the seclusion of his *pariah* brother and would gladly advise him to non-co-operate with the other Hindus. Equally ardent as I claim to be on behalf of our suppressed brothers, I warned him against launching out on Non-co-operation until a pure and selfless soul rose in their midst; for Non-co-operation was a movement of self-purification, self-help, self-reliance, it compelled co-operation of the right type.

The Andhras have captivated me. Bihar has long been my favourite. I came to have faith in Bihar long before Non-co-operation was born. Andhradesha may come a good second, if it does not beat Bihar. Andhradesha has a self-effacing leader. It has hardy staunch workers. It has resources, it has poetry, it has faith, it has the spirit of sacrifice. It has many national schools, it has given many lawyers to the cause, it has the greatest possibilities in handspinning and hand-weaving, and grows fine cotton. It has two mighty rivers watering the hinterland. It has parts which were at one time famous. It easily takes the lead, or at least disputes it with Bihar. My conviction remains that even if the so-called major provinces fall, in the event of terrorism (as distinguished from repression) commencing, Bihar and Andhra will save the situation by outdoing the Sikhs in the bravery of the soul in a suffering. I may be wrong in my estimate. Let us all strive to outdo the rest. It is a race in which competition is not only a virtue, it is a duty.

Of an experiment in Civil Disobedience forced on two beautiful villages and their leader, I must write on another occasion. I must also deal another time with the Hindu-Muslim problem of Nellore. I must close these impressions by noting with gratefulness the fact that in a neighbouring village near a spinning and weaving Ashram conducted by Mr. Hanumantrao and his associates, the Brahmin villagers invited me to walk through their village although I was accompanied by Panchama associates. It was a village whose Brahmin street had never before had Panchamas walking through it.

EXCISE—AND ALL IT MEANS.

I.
INTRODUCTORY.

Excise is an harmless word, but, in India, it has acquired an unpleasant odour, having become synonymous with intoxicating drugs and liquors. From this baleful source, and at the expense of all that is best in men, the Government draws a revenue so considerable that it is second only to the revenue from land, for the State takes an active interest in the manufacture, distillation, and production, of liquor, and, consequently, a keen and active interest in its sale. The position of the Government may be likened to that of a great manufacturer and wholesale dealer, who has no active interest in the retail sale of his goods, but whose prosperity, nevertheless, depends solely on this very retail sale. In no other country, we believe, is the Government interested in the manufacture of liquor for the sake of revenue. It is certainly interested in its sale, but not in its production. The Government of India, however, performs this dual function, with the result that it has sent up, as we shall see, the liquor revenue by leaps and bounds—but was it right or proper in the light of its declared policy of combating the drunk evil?

The main interest of Government in the manufacture of country spirits, from which nearly half of the total excise revenue is derived, is this: Government imposes a, what is technically known as, "still-head" duty on every gallon produced. This is known as the distillery system that is gradually supplanting the other systems called the outstill systems. The development of the distillery system from the outstill system proceeded, roughly, along the following lines: Large tracts were 'farmed' out to individual people for excise purposes. These were next restricted to smaller areas. This was, in turn, displaced by sale of the right to distil and sell at particular places, no exclusive privilege over a large area being conferred. Lastly, the sale of a similar right subject to control of means and times for distillery gave place to the distillery system. In some places, the manufacture and storage are under Government supervision and the liquor pays a still-head duty before issue; this is known as the Central Distillery system. Then, there is the Control Distillery system of Madras, where the monopoly of supply of a selected area, preferably a district, is given to a contractor. To further enumerate the different systems would not serve a very useful purpose, but it must be pointed out, that under all systems there is a close interest between the manufacture and sale of liquor, and every innovation or departure serves but to strengthen this interest. That such close interest can hardly prove a deterrent to the increase of the drunk evil, is borne out by Major Bradford's investigation in the early part of this century. This report lamented that the injury to health in India arising "from alcoholic indulgence was due purely to excessive consumption." This was twenty years ago; the tale would be much the same to-day, if not worse.

Nor can the system of retail sale be said to discourage the use of intoxicants. The general method is that of sale by auction—in the case of country spirits at intervals of not more than three years. This method is, no doubt, more profitable to the Government. It enhances the revenue considerably as the result of bidding at auctions by anxious and keen rivals. But it is equally well-known that retail dealers seldom, if at all, suffer any loss. The increased price of the bid, as well as the retail vendor's profit, come from the consumers' pocket. It follows, therefore, that the process of auction sale indirectly serves as an incentive to consumption; the retail vendor gets back his enhanced cost price by enhanced sales.

II

MANUFACTURE AND SALE.

Excise revenue is collected from two main articles: liquor and opium. The revenue from intoxicating liquors is derived from two chief sources, (1) duties on the issue of liquor, and (2) sums paid in respect of the right of sale. Under pre-British rule excise revenue was derived from the second source only. The first is an innovation of British administrators, who are gradually, but persistently, introducing it into new and wider areas.

The principal sources of excise revenue are taxation upon

- (1) the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, e. g. country spirits, *pachwai*, etc., and "foreign" liquors manufactured in the country, e. g. rum, beer, brandy, etc.;
- (2) the sale of foreign liquors imported from abroad;
- (3) the tapping of tree and sale of toddy or tiri from the palm, coconut, date, etc.;
- (4) the manufacture and sale of opium and its preparations for local consumption,
- (5) the manufacture and sale of hemp drugs, e. g. *Ganja*, *Bhang*, and *Charas*, etc.,
- (6) the manufacture or sale, or both, of other narcotics or intoxicating drugs, e. g. cocaine, morphia, etc.

The above list is far from being exhaustive. It would be arduous, if not impossible, to enumerate all the sources of excise revenue. Suffice it, then, to say that all liquids that have been brewed, distilled, or intentionally fermented, for the purpose of vending—all liquids, possessing either alcoholic or spirituous properties, are rigorously taxed, and a, too, are drugs, narcotics, and intoxicants. The excise department is very careful not to allow any passing on its preserves.

It may be pointed out at this stage, that the excise revenue is exclusive of the revenue from opium that is exported abroad and *not consumed* in the country. We must understand, once for all, that we are instrumental—to no small extent—in keeping some peoples of the world subject to the awful vice of drug-taking. True, this is a big sum in the Government coffers. Before the Chinese made that colossal

solve to leave off opium, the Government's revenue averaged as much as 6 crore rupees annually from opium, but even in 1918-19 the revenue was nearly 3 crores!

Excise, like salt, is a government monopoly. The records of the Congress will show that the Government uses its monopoly of salt, not with any regard for the people, nor with discretion, but with a desire of sending up the salt revenue with an almost callous disregard of the sufferings of the people. Is its excise policy different? Is it conducted with any thought for the people's welfare and betterment? "The declared policy of Government," innumerable blue-books inform us, "with regard to alcohol is to minimise temptation among those who do not drink, and to discourage excess among those who do." These are pious words and breathe high resolve, but words are words, and, as the poet laments,

"I know not what they mean."

We shall examine in the course of the following articles whether the Government made any attempt, and if so, how far it succeeded, or failed, in translating its words into deeds.

B.

(To be continued.)

'AN UNMITIGATED EVIL'

In reply to a question put to him in a public meeting at Orissa, whether English education was not a mixed evil, in as much as Lok. Tilak, Balu Rammohan Rai, and Mr. Gandhi were products of English education, Mr. Gandhi replied as follows:—

This is a representative view being expressed by several people. We must conquer the battle of Swaraj by conquering this sort of wilful ignorance and prejudice of our countrymen and of Englishmen. The system of education is an unmitigated evil. I put my best energy to destroy that system. I don't say that we have got as yet any advantage from the system. The advantages we have so far got, are in spite of the system, not because of the system. Supposing the English were not here, India would have marched with other parts of the world, and even if it continued to be under Moghul rule, many people would learn English as a language and a literature. The present system enslaves us, without allowing a discriminating use of English literature. My friend had cited the case of Tilak, Ram Mohan, and myself. Leave aside my case, I am a miserable pigmy.

Tilak and Ram Mohan would have been far greater men if they had not had the contagion of English learning (clapping). I don't want your verbal approval by clapping but I want the approval of your intellect and reasoning. I am opposed to make a fetish of English education, I don't hate English education. When I want to destroy the Government, I don't want to destroy the English language but read English as an Indian nationalist would do. Ram Mohan and Tilak (leave aside my case) were so many pigmies who had no hold upon

the people compared with Chaitanya, Sankar, Kabir, and Nanak. Ram Mohan, Tilak, were pigmies before these giants. What Sankar alone was able to do, the whole army of English-knowing men can't do. I can multiply instances. Was Guru Govind a product of English education?

Is there a single English-knowing Indian who is a match for Namk, the founder of a sect second to none in point of valour and sacrifice? Has Rammohan produced a single martyr of the type of Durg Singh. I highly revere Tilak and Ram Mohan. It is my conviction that if Ram Mohan and Tilak had not received this education but had their natural training they would have done greater things like Chaitanya. If that race has even to be revived it is to be revived not by English education. I know what treasures I have lost not knowing Hindustani and Sanskrit. I ask you to consider and value the glamour of education at its true worth. English education has emasculated us, constrained our intellect, and the manner of imparting this education has rendered us effeminate. We want to bask in the sunshine of freedom, but the enslaving system emasculates our nation. Pre-British period was not a period of slavery. We had some sort of Swaraj under Moghul rule. In Akbar's time the birth of a Pratap was possible, and in Aurangzeb's time a Sivaji could flourish. Has 150 years of British rule produced any Pratap and Sivaji?

You have got several Feudatory Native Chiefs every one of whom bends the knee before the Political Agent and admits his slavery. When I find young men complaining against Native Chiefs my sympathy goes to them. They are doubly oppressed. When the Native Chiefs do so, I ascribe it to the British conqueror not to the Chiefs. They are victims to the slave-owing system. So my appeal to you all is "Fly from this monster." Never mind if you beg from door to door. Rather die begging than live in bondage. We must be able to hold the country. Who holds the country now? It is not the English, it is we the Indian people who have accepted bondage. I refuse to shed a single tear if the English retire at this moment. I ask them to help us as our servants, equals, and friends. I shall not allow them to lord it over us with our consent. They may use aeroplanes, army, navy but not our consent. Reclaim your own dignity even though India was infested with robbers. You must do your duty. What can be nobler than to die as free men of India? It is a satanic system, I have dedicated my life to destroy the system.

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Notes.

Figures and their meaning—For the guidance of the workers I give below a table showing the population in millions of each Congress Province and the proportion in hundreds of thousands to be collected by it for the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund.

No.	Provinces	Population in millions	Proportion of subscription in thousands
1	Madras.	20	650
2	Andhra	21	682
3	Karnatak	13	390
4	Kerala	7	227
5	Bombay	1	32.5
6	Maharashtra	12	390
7	Gujarat	11	357
8	Sindh	4	130
9	U. P.	49	1,592
10	Punjab	27	677
11	N. W. F.	3	97.5
12	Delhi	1	32.5
13	Ajmer Merwara	19	617
14	C. P. (Hindi)	9	292
15	C. P. (Marathi)	3	97.5
16	Berar	3	97.5
17	Behar	29	942
18	Utkal	25	487
19	Bengal	47	1,527
20	Assam	4	130
21	Burma	12	390

Though the sum for the whole of India, for the memory which it is intended to perpetuate and for the purpose which it is to fulfil, is small enough, it will not be collected without persistent and widespread effort. The surest way of not collecting the sum will be for each province merely to think of its own quota and be satisfied with it. The surest and the quickest way of collecting the sum is for everyone and for every province to collect the whole or the most it can. Thus a few millionaires of Bombay could, if they chose, subscribe the crore required in a day. It would be ridiculous for Bombay to fling its quota at India and rest content. Bombay alone can well shoulder the whole burden. Bombay has allowed India to think always that it can finance public movements. Bombay paid the lion's share to the Jallianwala Bag Fund, Bombay paid the fattest contribution to the Congress Punjab Sub-Committee. Bombay has always out-distanced every other province in financial assistance. It will

be equally ridiculous for Gujarat to be satisfied with its own quota of a little over 3½ lacs. It can easily collect much more, whereas the United Provinces would appear to be hopeless if the past is any guide to the future. It has no rich public workers. Panditji Nehru who always gave liberally has ceased to earn his lacs per year. India's biggest beggar Pandit Malaviyaji is not as yet available to the movement. It would be idle for us to expect the United Provinces to contribute their quota of nearly 16 lacs. And yet if the forty-nine millions of the population of these provinces can be touched, if the big Zamindars can be interested, what is sixteen lacs? The savings of the drink bill can pay the whole quota. And it has Hardwar and Benares to fall back upon. The workers can easily get the rich pilgrims who visit these famous shrines to contribute to the Tilak Swaraj fund. They must have faith, and courage that faith brings. Similarly Bengal. Bengal has many rich men but it has not as yet shown for its patriotic finance. Mr. Das has to beat new ground. With the assistance of the Marwadis and the Gujaratis domiciled in Calcutta, Bengal should have no difficulty. Ajmer Merwara will be hard put to it, to find its quota of over six lacs. It has to work among the different States. Its is perhaps the most difficult plight. For the Mussalmans, Ajmer is a name to conjure with. The thousands of Mussalmans who visit Ajmer Sheriff can make a handsome contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Every worker must realise that there is not a moment to lose. I invite the heads of each province to send weekly notes of sums collected by them, for publication. There must be systematic house-to-house collection. Gujarat has copied the Punjab. It has receipts on coloured art paper, containing a fine portrait of the deceased patriot in a corner. The map of India ornaments the rest of the receipt. At the back are pointed the ten conditions of Swaraj. The receipt is acknowledged in Gujarati, Devnagri and Urdu scripts. They have one rupee, five rupees and ten rupee receipts. The Punjab had already collected Rs. 1,85,000 up to the 12th instant. The programme put before the country by the All-India-Congress Committee is an easy programme for business people. It is an impossible task for idle dreamers or platform orators. India cannot establish Swaraj without the Swaraj workers developing fine business habit.

An injured eye—Attention has been drawn in these columns to the temperance activity in Ahmedabad and its great self-restraint. Dr. Kanuga was so seriously hurt in the eye by an unknown stone thrown that he might have lost it. As it was, he had to be laid up for a few days. He stood his ground in spite of the injury till he was relieved. The other pickets continued at their post. There was no panic. Naturally there was no complaint. The result was electrical. The drinking party was nonplussed. The stone-throwing lost its force for want of reaction. And I understand that after the incident there has been no stone-throwing at all. The effect on the visitors to the drink shops has also been equally great. I regard this as one of the best examples of non-violence and its immediate results. Had Dr. Kanuga complained to the police, or his companions retaliated, there would have been a confusion of issues. All kinds of side issues would have been raised, and as usual feeling would have run high among parties, and what is worse the cause of temperance would have suffered a set-back. Dr. Kanuga's bravery, sacrifice and self-restraint have advanced the cause for which he has bled, it has checked any further exhibition of temper on the part of the publicans and their friends and raised the temperance crusade to a very high level.

A Magistrate's vagaries—That ODwyerism is not dead in India has been demonstrated by the Cantonment Magistrate of Dehradun ordering on the Satyagrah day, that shops in his Cantonment must be opened, on pain of the shopkeepers' being banished from it, in the event of disobedience of his orders. Little do people know that in Cantonments Magistrates enjoy powers which are elsewhere exercised under Martial law only. The residents within Cantonment limits are at the mercy of Magistrates. The wonder is that people have so long and so patiently put up with a system of government, conceived with a view to check their liberty to the point of enslaving them.

Editorial change—I regret to inform the reader that Mr. Lalchand Adwani, who was Assistant Editor, has been relieved of his charge and has now no connection at all with "Young India" in any capacity. Communications for "Young India" should therefore be addressed simply, Editor, "Young India."

M. K. G.

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Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 20th April, 1921.

THE MISTS.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Whenever I find my friends misunderstanding the movement, I mutter to myself the words of a celebrated hymn: "We shall know each other better when the mists have rolled away." A friend has just sent me the paragraphs on Non-co-operation in the 'Servant of India' of the 14th inst. It is such a fruitless task explaining resolutions and motives. The year will soon pass away, and our actions, more than words, will demonstrate the meaning of Non-co-operation.

For me Non-co-operation is not suspended, and never will be, so long as the Government has not purged itself of the crimes against India—the Mussulmans and the Punjabees, and so long as the system is not changed to respond to the will of the nation. Surely it was necessary to remove the hallucination about titles, law-courts, schools and councils. I venture to think that on the whole the nationalists have responded nobly in regard to these items. There are no titled men among them, no nationalist lawyer who has not suspended practice has any public status among Non-co-operators, schools and colleges have furnished boys and girls who are now giving a good account of themselves and who, I make bold to say, will stagger humanity by their sacrifice when the time of their trial has arrived. Those who have refrained from entering the Councils, are rendering, as all who care may see, a service which they could not have rendered in the Council halls. The few who have given up their titles have shown the way to the others. All these are acting as leaven in the community. Now, there is little need for verbal propaganda among these special classes. The action and character of those who have renounced titles, schools, courts or councils, constitute a propaganda more telling and effective than speeches. National schools are multiplying themselves, boys are still leaving schools and colleges. The Government statistics are hopelessly wrong. I remember having seen a councillor quoting that less than 3000 students had left educational institutions. This takes no count of thousands who are studying in nationalised schools. The number of suspensions of practice is steadily growing—see the list of suspensions in Dharwar and Cantur given in another column. Even titles are still being surrendered. And as the timid or the cautious realize that the movement is a serious and a religious effort, that it has taken permanent hold of the people, they too will renounce.

I should not be surprised if the history of the South African movement repeats itself in India. I should be surprised if it proves otherwise. The movement in South Africa started with a unanimous resolution. When the first part began, the majority weakened. Only 150 were found willing

to court imprisonment. Then there was a settlement and a breach and a revival. Nobody even believed, save a few of us, that the response would come in time. Well, the last stage commenced with sixteen men and women who sought imprisonment. This was followed by a perfect storm. The whole community rose like a surging wave. Without organisation, without propaganda, all—nearly 40,000—courted imprisonment. Nearly ten thousand were actually imprisoned. The sequel is known. The community gained all it had fought for at the time. A bloodless revolution was effected after strenuous discipline in self-suffering.

I refuse to believe that India will do less. To recall Lord Canning's words, under the blue and serene Indian sky a cloud no bigger than a man's thumb may appear on the horizon, but it may any moment assume dimensions unexpected by any, and no man can tell when it may burst. When India as a whole will respond by action, I cannot say. But this I do say that the educated classes to whom the Congress has appealed will one day—and probably during this year,—respond in a manner worthy of the nation.

But whether they do or not, the progress of the nation cannot be arrested by any person or class. The uneducated artisans, the women, the men in the street, are taking their share in the movement. The appeal to the educated classes paved the way for them. The goats had to be sifted from the sheep. The educated classes had to be put upon their trial. The beginning had to be made by and through them. Non-co-operation has hitherto, thank God, followed its natural course.

Swadeshi propaganda in its intensive and exclusive form had to come and it has come in its order. It was, and is part of the Non-co-operation programme. It is, I claim, the biggest, the safest, and the surest part. It could not be taken up earlier in its present form. The country had to see its way clear to the spinning wheel. It had to be purged of the old superstitions and prejudices. The country had to appreciate the futility of the boycott of British goods merely, and equally of all foreign goods. It had to see that it lost its liberty by giving up Swadeshi in cloth and that it could regain it by reverting to hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. It had to see that it lost its artistic taste and talent, when it innocently ceased to spin and weave by the hand. It had to see that it was not even so much the military drain, as the loss of this supplementary industry that sapped India's vitality and made famines an ever-recurring event in Indian life. Men with faith in the spinning wheel had to rise in every province, and people had to appreciate the beauty and the use of *khaddar*.

All these things have now happened. The crore men and women and the crore rupees are required to resuscitate this National *dharma*. The problem is not that of a few *charkhas* but of putting

charkhas in every one of the six crore homes. The problem is that of manufacturing and distributing the whole of the cloth required by India. It cannot be done by one crore rupees. But if India gives one crore rupees, one crore men and women, and introduces two million *charkhas* in working order in as many homes before the 30th June, she is nearly ready for Swaraj. Because the effort will have created, in the nation as a whole, all the qualities that make a nation good, great, self-reliant and self-contained. When the nation has, by a voluntary effort, completed its boycott of foreign cloth, it will be ready for Swaraj. Then I promise that the various forts in the Indian cities will, instead of being an insolent menace to the freedom of India, become play-grounds for her children. Then the relations between Englishmen and ourselves will have been purified. Then the Lancashire vote will have been sterilised. And Englishmen will, if they choose, remain in India as friends and equals, with one sole aim—truly of benefitting and helping India. Non-co-operation is a movement intended to invite Englishmen to cooperate with us on honorable terms or retire from our land. It is a movement to place our relations on a pure basis, to define them in a manner consistent with our self-respect and dignity.

But call the movement by any other name. Call it 'Swadeshi and temperance.' Assume that all these previous months have been a waste of effort. I invite the Government and the moderate friends to cooperate with the nation in making hand-spinning universal and in making drinking a crime. Neither party need speculate as to the result of these two movements. The tree will be judged by its fruit.

DIVIDE AND RULE.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sir William Vincent's speech before the Legislative Assembly makes painful reading. I shall hope that he has been kept in utter darkness by his informants and that the speech is ignorant, not unscrupulous.

It is a plausible defence of the Government's policy of repression. It is a distortion or concoction of facts. It is an appeal to our cupidity and a misinterpretation of the motives of non-co-operationists.

He says that the declared object of non-co-operationists is paralysis of the Government and that "in their effort to achieve the object there is no source of discontent which they have not used." Now both these statements are false-truths. The primary object of Non-co-operation is nowhere stated to be paralysis of the Government. The primary object is self-purification. Its direct result must be paralysis of a Government which lives on our vices and weaknesses. Similarly it is a dangerous half-truth to say that we have left no source of discontent unused. We could not help using sources of legitimate discon-

tent. But Non-co-operationists have rigidly refrained from using any and every discontent, if only because we would weaken our cause if we did. The illustration of what I mean will be best seen from the refutation of the very next sentence which Sir William has spoken in support of his contention: "Wherever they find discord between employer and employee, there some agent or emissary of Non-co-operation party proceeds at once to foster discontent and promote ill-feeling." This is not only untrue, but it is an incitement to the two to oppose Non-co-operation. The avowed policy of Non-co-operation has been not to make political use of disputes between labour and capital. They have endeavoured to hold the balance evenly between the two—we would be fools if we wantonly set labour against capital. It would be just the way to play into the hands of a Government which would greatly strengthen its hold on the country by setting capitalists against labourers and vice versa. In Jharia, for instance, it was a non-co-operator who prevented an extending strike. The moderating influence in Calcutta was that of Non-co-operators. The latter will not hesitate to advance the cause of strikers where they have a just grievance. They have ever refused to lend their assistance to unjust strikes. "Where there is a racial ill-feeling", declares Sir William Vincent, "these emissaries hurry on their evil errand." He must know that this is a false statement. There is a racial feeling between Englishmen and Indians. There is the memory of Jallianwala—an ever-green. But "these emissaries" have been veritable messengers of peace. They have everywhere restrained the fury of the unthinking. And I make bold to say that but for the existence of the spirit of non-violence, there would have been more innocent blood spilt in spite of the threat of Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. Our fault has lain in refusing to lick the boot that has kicked, in withdrawing co-operation until there was frank repentance. Non-co-operators are to be blessed for turning the fury of an outraged people from Englishmen to the system they are called upon to administer.

But Sir William is nothing if he is not thorough in his attempt to divide and rule. He declaims: "Where there are quarrels between landlord and tenant—have we not seen this in the United Provinces—there again proceed these emissaries of evil to propagate unrest, and stir up disorder." Sir William should know that the tenant movement is under the control of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru whose one purpose regarding the tenants has been to educate them to be patient and calm. Sir William has simply attempted to set the landlords against the Non-co-operation movement. Fortunately the landlords know as well as the tenants that, so long as they are just, they have nothing to fear from Non-co-operators.

The movement, says Sir William, 'is purely destructive, and so far as I have been able to ascertain contains no element of constructive abi-

lity.' It is undoubtedly destructive in the sense that a surgeon who applies the knife to a diseased part may be said to make a destructive movement. This destructive movement bears in it the surest seed of construction as the surgeon's knife contains the seed of health. Is temperance destructive? Are national schools springing up everywhere destructive? Are the thousands of spinning wheels destructive of a nation's prosperity? They will destroy foreign domination whether it hails from Lancashire or is threatened from Japan.

Having attempted to set classes against masses, Sir William proceeds to paralyze both, with the feeling of helplessness and the fear of internal strife and aggression from without. Is Hindu-Muslim Unity such flimsy stuff that we shall begin to quarrel as soon as the British guns are withdrawn from our shores? Were we sixty years ago less able to protect ourselves than we are now? Or is it not a fact that judged by the western standard we were never so helpless as we now are? Self-government as I have said before, connotes the power of self-protection, and a country which cannot protect itself is not prepared for immediate and complete self-government. In this one sentence Sir William has unwittingly condemned British rule and proved the necessity of immediate mending or ending of that rule. According to my method—the method of suffering or soulforce—the country is today prepared for self-protection. According to Sir William's standard, the reforms have nothing in them to enable India even in a hundred years to arm herself for defence against a combination of world powers. Judged by that standard, the reforms do forge stronger, the chains that bind India and make her feel helpless. The speaker talks glibly of impending destruction of every vested interest. He needs to be reminded that the greatest vested interest of India—her self-sufficiency—was destroyed by this foreign domination and the speaker's plan will still further deepen India's poverty.

Even as Sir William has misrepresented non-co-operators' motives, so has he misconstrued their methods. We have not failed in our effort regarding the educated classes. I admit that the response in practice might have been greater from them. But I make bold to say that the vast majority of them are with us in spirit, though the flesh being weak, they are not able to make what from their point of view is a sacrifice. We have been trying to act on the masses from the commencement. We regard them as our main-stay, for it is they who have to attain Swaraj. It is neither the sole concern of the moneyed men nor that of the educated class. Both must subserve their interest in any scheme of Swaraj, and as soon as the masses have attained sufficient self-control and learnt mass discipline we shall not hesitate if necessary to advise them to suspend payment of taxes to a Government that has never truly looked after their welfare and that

has exploited and terrorised them every time they have shown the least symptom of rising against their exploitation.

Sir William has been extremely disingenuous in describing the Government's methods of dealing with Non-co-operation. Defence of India Act, he will not use against men who have hurt nobody and who are restraining people from committing violence. But he is using ordinary statutes against them in an extraordinary manner under a licence given to him by non-co-operators who will not challenge orders in a court of law. He will not conciliate the malcontents by granting Swaraj, for that would lead to anarchy. He does not bother his head about the two things which have caused all the unrest and which have acted like two active and corroding poisons in the Indian body—the Khilaphat and the Punjab wrongs. He does not tell us what catastrophe is likely to befall India if the Khilaphat promises were redeemed and the Punjab wound healed.

He has ornamented his extraordinary speech with an ungentlemanly and insinuating attack upon the All Brothers who are putting up a noble fight for Islam and India, and a still more ungentlemanly attack on a 'gentleman of the name of Yakub Hasan', and an ungracious reference to his Turkish wife.

As I have said it was painful for me to read the speech, still more painful to have to criticise it. I assure the reader that self-restrained as I am in language, the speech has been a severe strain upon my capacity for restraint. I have scored out many an adjective which I believe would accurately describe Sir William's performance. I am sorry.

THEIR RIGHTFUL INHERITANCE

The problem of untouchability is as delicate as it is important. Selfishness, or ignorance, or arrogance, can be fought with more or less success, so long as they are recognised as such. But when any of these assumes the form of right or duty or religion, they receive an added strength which it is hard to overcome. In fact, the very philosophy of life and conduct has to be questioned and discussed before usages of long standing, and customs that have been dignified into religion can be proved and rooted out as evil.

The origin of untouchability is shrouded in mystery. We would fain believe it to be a benevolent, if shortsighted, shortcut to the solution of some mighty social problem. We fear, it might have been a form of social punishment, a mild punishment of a barbarous age, perhaps it was resorted to by our forefathers as the only safeguard for ethnic purity. But we are not to-day concerned with the genesis of this evil, since we are in no mood to pass any judgment upon our forefathers who started or countenanced untouchability. Let us judge it from our enlightened views about social duty and purity, and from the highest principles of Hinduism as we understand them to-day.

Those who speak of caste as an abomination or as a relic of barbarity, put untouchability on a par

with the restrictions regarding intermarriage and interdining. The Orthodox view supports untouchability by the same method of comparing it with the healthy laws of hygiene and sanitation. We, who stand for caste and who regard the restrictions about interdining as a discipline in self-control, have thus to give a double fight in trying to remove the curse of untouchability from Hindu society. The reformers attack our conception of social well-being, and the orthodox fling our doctrines in our own faces, and both believe that they have given a crushing reply to our plea for the removal of untouchability.

We maintain that touchability does not stand on the same level as interdining or intermarriage. Touchability is the birth-right of every social creature. To deny permanently any person the right of free intercourse with his fellow beings, is to deny him his most elementary human rights. There are certain elements of culture which are preserved by castes or classes. These can be exchanged between members of those castes or classes only. But there is a vast body of cultural elements, which are the product of total social endeavour, and as such, is the rightful inheritance of every class in society. Untouchability denies a large class of human beings—and that an important and honest class—its social inheritance and thus strikes at the very foundations of society. We talk of division of labour in justifying the work, and therefore the position, assigned to the untouchables. But we cannot forget that justice demands that with the division of labour must go the division of the fruit of labour. The scanty pittance we allow to the untouchables is no reward for the important social service they perform. It is merely an apology of a maintenance allowance. There can be no bartering or equivalence of the fruits of civilisation. These must be paid in kind. The first fruit of our social existence and division of labour is an equal protection of life and property of even the meanest of us. By relegating the untouchables to pariah quarters outside the town or village, we deny them this first and most primary fruit and this alone is sufficient to condemn the institution as a social and moral sin.

I have seen good many Brahmins from the South getting jealous of a poor pariah if he dressed himself well or handled a silver coin. They had no hesitation in citing it as a sure sign of the advent of *Kaliyuga*. I regard this as a most irreligious and unbecoming attitude in Brahmins, in spite of their learned quotations from the *Manusmriti*. I hope Hindus will not contradict the assertion that religion is another important fruit of civilised life. Untouchability debar its poor victims from all chance of receiving religious instruction or training in its purity and simplicity. I am not ignorant of the fact that saints with hearts as wide as humanity have reached the masses and worked amongst them, and the noble saints amongst the *pariahs* themselves have proved that their work has told, and that the poor, despised pariah's is no God-forsaken

community. But surely hidebound orthodoxy cannot claim any share in the good work, having itself persecuted the saints for their irreligiousness in stooping to raise the *pariah*.

Only a base, commercial age can feel that a money equivalent can be paid in lieu of artistic or moral development. Our noble Hindu religion invented the temple as the best agency for a free dissemination of instruction in music, painting, sculpture, architecture, town-planning, social-organisation and morals, to every one in the community. The village Goddess or the *panchayatnam* established on the top of a hill or the centre of a town is, at once the solace of an individual soul yearning for freedom, and the embodiment of the collective soul of the community. By denying the class that cleanses your towns and rites, the privilege of receiving these fruits of Hindu culture, you have aimed a deathblow at social justice and the very heart of Hinduism. By trying to monopolise the God of Hinduism, you have driven him alike from your temples and your hearts and made them the dwelling place of the spirit of narrowness and pride. The other day, as I was climbing the steps of the romantic temple of Malikarjuna at Bezwada my heart welled up with devotion at every step, but it sank within itself, when I read an inscription in English on a stone, half the way up, to the effect that the *pariahs* could not, so much as use the steps any further. To me the temple, instead of being the abode of purity, devotion and other-worldliness, became a standing monument of the shame of Hinduism and of the godlessness in orthodox breasts. Hard language indeed! But truth could hardly be couched in milder terms.

Not for the attainment of Swaraj do I plead the removal of untouchability. The conversion of the *pariahs* by the Christians does not alarm me although it makes my heart sad. I plead for the removal of the curse, to save our sons and re-establish the pristine purity of the Aryan religion.

D. B. KALELKAR

THE SERVANT OF INDIA AGAIN.

The *Bengali* seems to be satisfied with the spinning wheel as an important factor in the economic regeneration of India, commends it for use in all educational institutions, and thinks that it has come to stay. Not so the *Servant of India*, which still continues to be sceptical about what a writer in it jeeringly calls its "wonderful virtues." The writer admits that "one can have no quarrel with those who recommend it as a supplementary occupation to those who are in need of one and who cannot think of a better one, and implies that such conditions do not exist. To show him that they do, may we ask the writer to leave his official desk and venture out to join a like chronically starved and naked Orissa, and famine-stricken Panchmahals? He would see that a minimum remuneration of two annas a day is not only considerable there, it is a real boon. In many parts of India, for instance, in parts of Kathiawar the daily wage does not exceed two annas.

But we are asked, is the spinning wheel profitable? Well we are now in a position to give more facts than have been already given in these columns. The results of the Satyagraha Week spinning competition in the Satyagraha-National school are now out, and at least half the boys have shown surprising results. Working regularly from 8 to 10 hours a day, the first prizewinner turned out an average of 7 tolas of 6 counts yarn per hour, the second one, 6 tolas an hour, and many of the boys 4 tolas an hour. Now taking even 4 tolas an hour as the rate of an average spinner, a full time spinner would, if he were to work ten hours a day i. e. as long as the mill-labourer or a labourer on Famine Relief works, earn not two annas but not less than four annas a day. But four annas a day would be the wage of one who is a mere wage-earner and not an agriculturist. To an agriculturist, who has his own cotton, the spinning wheel is much more profitable, for the price of yarn in the market is much more than the price of cotton plus the wages of a spinner. If in addition to a spinning wheel, he has a loom also on his homestead, he would have cloth more than half as cheap as he would get it in the market.

The contention that "in later years, it is the comparative cheapness of machine-made articles that has killed the cottage industry," is hardly correct. After the effective extinction of handspinning in the early days of the British rule, there was hardly any handspun stuff to be compared with the machine-made articles. Where in rare cases it has outlived all ravages, it is because the wear and tear is very much less in the case of *Kharidar* than in that of machine-made stuff and therefore in the long run the former is cheaper than the latter.

We dare say the writer's reference to the cost of labour in the case of the spinning wheel and the mechanical spindle is apt to make one laugh. We have seen already that the out-turn of an average spinning wheel is not half as much as that of the mechanical spindle but exactly equal to, if not more than, that of the mechanical spindle, and at that rate the spindle is not ten times but twenty times as much costly as the wheel. But the writer says, whereas one man can work only one wheel, he can mind more than scores of spindles at a time. And what does he gain, pray, for being able to work scores of spindles at a time? If there is any gain at all, it belongs to the master, and the price that he has to pay is incalculable. He runs from mill to mill, right every day taking the shape of the machine that he is working, till in a few years he is entirely dehumanised. An agriculturist, on the other hand, working, say, five hours at the spinning wheel, can produce his own cloth, and mind his agriculture and his home, and remain a valuable member of society. But these facts may not appeal to one who has divorced his economics from morals.

But the fact is, even at this enormous cost the mechanical spindle cannot carry us far. If you want very fine yarn the present machinery

will not help you. You must get more efficient machinery from abroad and lighten more and more the foreigner's grip on the country's neck. The spinning wheel saves you from this helpless dependence on foreign countries. Even to-day in the Andhra Districts yarn of 100 counts is being spun and woven into fine fabrics. If the Swadeshi movement goes on at its present rate—and we have no doubt it will—all the import of foreign yarn and of foreign cloth of fine texture must automatically cease.

But what is there, asks the writer, to ensure cooperation between the consumer and the producer? Is not the present enthusiasm for *Khadgar* a temporary effervescence? Will it not subside, as quickly as the "Swadeshi agitation" of the Partition days? Now as to cooperation between the consumer and the producer, no assurance is needed, for in a great many cases the producer will be himself the consumer. As for the other question, we think that an argument like that always ignores the difference in the volume and intensity of the two movements. We venture to say that it is a misnomer to call the earlier one a "Swadeshi agitation." It aimed—and that too imperfectly—at the boycott of British goods, and it had no organisation or constructive programme at its back.

The last argument employed is that of the favourable balance of trade. Well, without presuming to dogmatise on a question where no two economists are found to agree, we may safely say that the ideal economic condition of a country is not to remain merely an exporter of raw products for foreign countries, but to be self-contained. Even England is coming back to this position. Mr. Arthur Kitson says in the course of an article in 'The Times' Trade Supplement: "The ideal economic condition of any industrial nation is to be self-contained i. e. to be able to produce every necessity, and as many luxuries of life as possible, sufficient for supporting the population." We will not be surprised if, with the spectre of unemployment staring them in the face and the incessant class war raging every where and threatening to dissolve the social fabric, the western world one day suggests the destruction of the eternal sources of strife, and the adoption of simpler and the natural processes, as the spinning wheel and the handloom.

Indeed that levelheaded weekly, the *Catholic Herald of India* suggests as much. Referring to the present industrial miracle, it says: "Some thing must be sacrificed, the work of the Protestant Reformation must be undone. England must return to the stable equilibrium of a semi-agricultural, semi industrial country, if she wants to save her predominance. She must go back to the land to produce her own food, re-establish land proprietorship, reinstate a healthy and vigorous peasantry, though it must ruin a few of her Jews and capitalists."

Will India profit by England's experience, or must it pass through it? M. L.

A PROTEST.

The Editor,

"Young India,"

Ahmedabad.

Sir

The other day when you left Jubbulpore for Cuttack you had an interview with Gunada Babu at Calcutta. I have seen that interview in the "Independent" of the 2nd instant, which appears to have borrowed it from the "Servant." I refer you to a statement in that article attributed to you.

It runs thus:—

"At Jubbulpore, from where he (Mahatma Gandhi) was coming, two young men (sons of rich merchants) were leading the movement very successfully against a whole host of lawyers. Being businessmen, they were carrying on the work of organisation most effectively."

This statement is incorrect.

The facts are:—

These young men are not merchants. They are foundation stones of the British Government in India. They are *Malguzars*. Their trade is to realize Rs. 100 from the poor tenants, give the Government Rs. 55 and keep Rs. 45 with themselves as commission, and guarantee to recover the money even in the worst times. What a Non-co-operation with the Government! If these *Malguzars* are not co-operators, no one else is a co-operator. The *Malguzari* system was an invention of Todarmal by which means people could be systematically dominated by the rulers through their mercenaries. These mercenaries are the *Malguzars*, who you have said, are leading the movement.

If a lawyer who has not suspended his practice is not a proper person to be an officebearer, certainly a *Malguzar* too should not be an officebearer. A *Malguzar* is more attached to the Government than a lawyer.

In Jubbulpore these youngmen, *Malguzars*, are not leading the movement.

The movement in Jubbulpore is being led by the lawyers and the whole host of them are supporting it.

You did not give sufficient time to Jubbulpore, else the members of the Bar would have gladly seen you and discussed the matter with you. I fully believe that it will never be wealth which will lead the movement. It will always be the intellect and I hope you will correct the wrong impression created by the interview.

I suspended my practice in November last,

I am etc.

Jubbulpore,
10-4-21

G. C. VARMA,
Barrister-at-law.

[I am glad of Mr. Varma's energetic protest. And I hope that the lawyers of Jubbulpore are leading the N. C. C. Movement. I must however adhere to my statement that the lawyers were conspicuous by their absence on the day I visited Jubbulpore, and that the two young men referred to by me, were in

charge of the whole management. That they are sons of land-holders is true enough. Theirs to-day is co-operation of necessity. The Congress has not yet called upon land-holders to surrender their lands to the Government nor is it ever likely to. These youngmen, like some land-holders' sons elsewhere, are taking an honorable part in the national uplift and they deserve every encouragement from lawyers. There are no two opinions about the fact that intellect rather than riches will lead. It might equally be admitted by the correspondent that the heart rather than the intellect will eventually lead. Character, not brains, will count at the crucial moment. And I fancied that these young men showed character. I should be sorry to find otherwise.—M. K. G.]

PROGRESS OF N.-C.-O GUNTUR DISTRICT

The following is the list of lawyers who have suspended their practice on account of Non-co-operation, in the Guntur District (Andhra Province):—

Messrs

1 G. Ramaneadhayya, 2 N. V. L. Narasimha Rao, M. A., LL. B. (Edin) Barrister at Law. 3 P. Hanamayya Gupta, Barrister at Law. 4 G. Sitarameswari, B. A., B. L. 5 M. Vedanta Narasimhaachari, B. A. 6 S. Parvtesam B. A., LL. B. 7 V. Lakshminarayana, Barrister at Law 8 A. L. Narasimharao, B. A., B. L. 9 A. Dandabh. 10 K. Hanumantha Rao. 11 Suryanarayana Rao. 12 N. Sitaramayya. 13 Ch. Dakshinamurthy M. A (Hons), B. L. 14 K. Ramakrishna Rao B. A., B. L. 15 N. Venkateswarlu 16 Ch. Venkatadri, B. A. 17 I. Suryanarayana. 18 B. B. Narayan Rao 19 O. M. Subramanyam, B. A. 20 N. Chalapathi Rao, B. A. 21 M. Subba Rao, B. A. 22 S. Raghakrishna, B. A., B. L. 23 V. Narayana Rao, B. A. 24 P. Lakshman Rao B. A. 25 K. Ramakrishna Rao B. A. 26 N. Narasimha Rao Nayudu B. A., B. L. 27 S. Koteswar Gupta B. A., B. L. 28 N. Sesachari, B. A.

The first six suspended their practice soon after the Calcutta Congress, the rest after the Nagpur Congress. The first 13 are from Guntur Town, 18 to 27 from Ongoli, 14th from Narasaraopet, 15, 16, 28, from Beptta.

—M. V. Narasimhaachari

[The report is silent about details of work, but the long list of non-cooperating Vakils is eloquent enough.]

DHARWAR DISTRICT.

Mr. B. G. Kukarni, Hon. Secretary, Dist. Congress Committee Dharwar, sends us the following report:—

(1) Renouncing of titles.

1. Shriji Vinayakrao Joshi, Rao Bahadur, Retired Educational Inspector.
2. " Viswanathrao Joglekar, Rastahab.

(2) Suspension of Legal Practice:

1. Shriji Venkatrao Alur.
2. " Krishnarao Ankalgi.
3. " Raghavendrarao Kadapa.
4. " Balkrishnarao Kulkarni.
5. " Kishnarao Dixit.
6. " Vishwanathrao Joshi.
7. " Narayanasrao Damhal.
8. " Vithalrao Joshi.
9. " Parushottamasaharya.
10. " Gopalrao Belgamkar.

(3) *National Education:* The Karnatak Education Society has converted its aided Secondary School here into a national one. The school owns property worth about one lac and a half, and has more than 600 students on its rolls. There is one more National School at Dharwar with a first year College class attached to it. Besides these, there is one school in each of the following places in the mofussil: Hubli, Gadag, Mulgund, Haveri, Hongal, Mishrikot; and four schools at Raichennur. The total strength of all the schools put together is 1261. About 50 students are working as volunteers under propagandists, and also as teachers in schools.

(4) *Congress Committees* have been established in all the Talukas and Mahals of this District and the rolls show a strength of 3400 members.

(5) An appeal for funds is being made and promises up to Rs. 8000 have been secured, partly for education and partly for propaganda. More funds are needed.

(6) Spinning and weaving are compulsory in the national school and the public too are welcoming the revival of the spinning wheel.

(7) A few Arbitration courts have been started.

BEGAR.

The following observations of Mr. Garde, Judge, Small Causes Court at Kalapur C. P., in a case where a peasant who was forced to do *begar* for an Asst. Executive Engineer, sued the latter to recover compensation for illegal seizure in *begar*, will be of interest:

The Chief Commissioner's Circular Book Vol. 1 Part. 2, Para. 3 recites as below:— "*Begar* is exaction of forced labour from the people. It is entirely illegal and the practice is prohibited. No animals or carriage must be impressed without the owner's consent and no person compelled to labour against his will." This was enacted as early as 1883. This circular is conclusive on the point. *Begar* is forced labour on payment. The circular lays emphasis on the word "forced" while the advocate of *begar* in the recent session of the Legislative Council, in his speech on behalf of Government, on 20th August 1920, (reported in the C. P. Gazette of 18-9-20) wrongly laid stress on the word "payment." As deft. 3 has relied on the defence of the practice of *begar* it is necessary to examine that speech at some further length. The whole fallacy lies in the misplaced emphasis, as was ably pointed out by the Hon'ble Member of the Resolution "for taking immediate steps to put a stop to the practice of *razad* and *begar*". In my opinion the position taken up on behalf of Government in this discussion was untenable as it went directly against the spirit and letter of the standing circular which condemns in unequivocal terms the legality of *begar* which is an ancient relic of slavery, and is opposed to the elementary rights of property and person which the law gives to every citizen. It is glaring to the self-respect of the poorest of the poor subjects of the realm and it can have no place in the 20th century. Payment or no payment, law gives no right to any officer however high he may be, to practice coercion in respect of person or property, except in very rare cases of overwhelming public necessity which must be expressly pleaded and strictly proved (which Defts have not done in this case).

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Notes.

Satyagrah in Mulshi—My heart goes out to these poor people. I wish the great house of Tatas, instead of standing on their 'right' will reason with the people themselves, and do whatever they wish in consultation with the people. I have some experience of Land Acquisition Acts. I had nearly eighty cases to deal with. Here the reason for the acquisition was not industrial development but insanitation. I know that the people displaced never got the exact equivalent. What is the value of a boon that the Tata scheme claims to confer upon India if it is to be at the unwilling expense of even one poor man? I dare say the problem of disease and poverty can be easily solved, and the survivors will live in luxury if the three crore Lal 'starved' men and women, and lakhs of the decrepit humanity were shot and their bodies utilized for manure, or their bones utilized for making knife handles. And yet no one but a lunatic will put up such a suggestion. Is the case any weaker when men and women are not to be shot, but compulsorily dispossessed of their virgin lands about which sentiment, romance, and all that makes life worth living, have grown up? I suggest to the custodians of the great name that they would more truly advance India's interest if they will defer to the wishes of their weak and helpless countrymen. The duty of the *Satyagrahi* is written in letters of gold. There can be no *Satyagrah* in an unjust cause. *Satyagrah* in a just cause is vain if the men espousing it are not determined and capable of fighting and suffering to the end, and the slightest use of violence often defeats a just cause. *Satyagrah* excludes the use of violence in any shape or form, whether in thought, speech, or deed. Given a just cause, capacity for endless suffering and avoidance of violence, victory is a certainty.

Disappearing untouchability—Of all the sweet experiences during my Gujarat tour, none was sweeter than the sympathetic manner in which the 'Sophtes' were received by the other Hindus. Everywhere the authorities have received my remarks on the matter without resentment. At Kaira there was to be a meeting of 'untouchables' to be addressed by me. I pleaded with the Mahajans that they should permit me to address them

in the pandal erected for the general meeting. After some hesitation they agreed. I was to have gone to fetch these 'outcastes' from their quarters. Their abode was too far from the pandal to enable them to come. I, therefore, addressed them near the hospital. But I was glad to note that many orthodox Hindus, who accompanied me, freely mixed with the men and women who had flocked round me from the pariah quarters. But the height of satisfaction was reached when 10 Shisodra, a big village near Navsari, there were knowingly admitted to the place reserved for the elite of the village, all the many Dheds who were standing at a distance from the great meeting which I was addressing. As they were admitted, not a man or woman moved or protested. Almost every one in the village was present at the meeting. People from surrounding villages too had attended. This deliberate and solemn admission of several hundred men and women of the untouchable class to the centre of a great gathering like the above is to me a sure sign of the pure religious character of the movement. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in order to make assurance doubly sure asked those who approved of the step to raise their hands, and quite a forest of hands went up. The experiment was repeated in Bardoli before an equally large audience and with equally satisfactory results. Untouchability is surely disappearing, and with its disappearance the way to Swara is becoming safe and easy.

A mountain of yarn-balls—Suseodra, which but a year ago had no hand-spinning, showed fifty maunds of lamp-spun yarn beautifully piled up in a house. Hundreds of spinning wheels are now working in this and surrounding villages. The sight of women and children bringing to me presents of yarn is as usual now in Gujarat as in the Punjab. Indeed, the students of Gujarat can certainly give points to the Punjab in spinning. These students have learnt spinning in an incredibly short time and are now organising villages for spinning work. Let the Punjabees beware. I should be sorry to find the Punjab beaten in the race. It has stubborn rivals in Andhra, Karnata, and Gujarat. The sceptics should visit the centres where spinning is going on in an organised fashion, and they will discover economic laws which will falsify the teachings of the economics of the text-books.

A Widows gift—Men and women have given freely of money and ornaments. But a widow of Anand surprised us all by giving away a nugget of gold valued at Rs. 700. I asked her to give me her name. She refused saying the gold was given for God's service.

English Education—A friend asks me to give my considered view on the value of English education and explain my talk on the sands at Outback. I have not read the report of the talk. But I gladly respond to the friend's wish. It is my considered opinion that English education in the manner it has been given has emasculated the English-educated Indian, it has put a severe strain upon the Indian students' nervous energy, and has made of us imitators. The process of displacing the vernacular has been one of the saddest chapters in the British connection. Rammohan Rai would have been a greater reformer, and Lokmanya Tilak would have been a greater scholar, if they had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English. Their effect on their own people, marvelous as it was, would have been greater if they had been brought up under a less unnatural system. No doubt they both gained from their knowledge of the rich treasures of English literature. But these should have been accessible to them through their own vernaculars. No country can become a nation by producing a race of translators. Think of what would have happened to the English if they had not an authorized version of the Bible. I do believe that Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Guru Govind-sing, Sivaji, and Pratap were greater men than Rammohan Rai and Tilak. I know that comparisons are odious. All are equally great in their own way, but judged by the results, the effect of Ram Mohan and Tilak on the masses is not so permanent or far-reaching as that of the others more fortunately born. Judged by the obstacles they had to surmount, they were giants, and both would have been greater in achieving results, if they had not been handicapped by the system under which they received their training. I refuse to believe that the Raja and the Lokmanya could not have thought the thoughts they did without a knowledge of the English language. Of all the superstitions that afflict India, none is so great as that a knowledge of the English language is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty, and developing accuracy of thought. It should be remembered that there has been only one system of education before the country for the past fifty years, and only one medium of expression forced on the country. We have, therefore, no data before us as to what we would have been but for the education in the existing schools and colleges. This, however, we do know that India today is poorer than fifty years ago, less able to defend herself, and her children have less stamina. I need not be told that that is due to the defect in the system of Government. The system of education is its most defective part.

It was conceived and born in error, for the English rulers honestly believed the indigenous system to be worse than useless. It has been nurtured in sin, for the tendency has been to dwarf the Indian body, mind, and soul.

Another Secret Treaty—"Murder will out". One wonders whether those who negotiated Secret Treaties during the late unholy war, ever realized that they would all eventually see the light of day. It is highly probable that they knew that they would be out, and that they, the authors, would have to bear the brunt of criticism. It is highly probable that they derived Jesuitical satisfaction from the fact that, at the time these treaties were negotiated, they could be kept secret and that they served the purpose for which they were intended. Such seems to be the treaty unearthed by the "Bombay Chronicle", and said to have been entered into between the British Government and the Sheriff of Mecca. If it is true, it shows the depth to which the British ministers descended for the purpose of gaining their end. And now that the end is reached, they treat their own written word as so much waste paper. Is it any wonder that millions of Indians have lost faith in Great Britain and refuse to co-operate with her so long as she will not retrace her steps and purify herself of the corruption that is eating into her moral being?

Too Late!—A Parsi friend, who sends Rs. 10 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, writing from Bombay says, "Your appeal to the Parsis comes too late. The Government of Bombay has already pocketed this time in advance nearly 23 lacs of rupees, fearing a movement from you. If the Parsis can be assured that no other community would get into their place and that you can eradicate the evil for all times then I assure hearty support from the enlightened Parsi community." If the Government has taken the full annual charge in advance, those who close their shops for the purpose of advancing the cause of temperance must get a refund when better times come. The liquor dealers are obviously not non-co-operators. There is no reason why they should not apply to the Government for a refund. As for the assurance required by the friend, I can only say that no reform has yet been brought about on his conditions. His argument means that no one need be good unless all become good, whereas reformers set the example by standing alone. My appeal to the Parsis is to join this temperance movement whether the others do or not. As a matter of fact several among the non-Parsis have given up drink traffic.

A wail from Mesopotamia—I often received complaints of ill-treatment from Mesopotamia and from those who have returned from Mesopotamia. Every one of the correspondents has written about the inhuman treatment received by them. The latest letter was not received by me. Maulana Shaukat Ali, one of the recipients, has forwarded his copy to me. I can no longer withhold publica-

tion of such letters. The complainants are at least entitled to the relief that publicity of their grievance may bring them. A helpless India can not do more for her exiles. The letter is signed by three persons. I purposely refrain from publishing their names in order to protect them against harm being done to them by their officers. It will be noticed that the writers have written to those whose names they have read in papers. The writers complain of ill-treatment by the Arabs. I do not wonder. Helpless themselves, the Arabs vent their wrath against the Indian soldiers and clerks in the hope, I suppose, that they will not dare to offer for service in Mesopotamia. Let me hope that the publicity I am giving the letter will deter others from being lulled there-to by tempting offers. In no case should a self-respecting Indian make of the misfortune of the brave Arabs a means of livelihood. I give the letter word for word as received, omitting references to the corps after the names of victims.

M. K. G.

Dear Sir,

We have written you several letters, but it seems none has reached you. Indian, of all ranks and grades serving in Mesopotamia are in a more pitiable condition than our brethren in Africa and Guiana for whom you have done so much. We are nearer home, but there is none to help us, our treatment by the British and Arabs are worse than that of dogs, being in Military service we have no chance of appeal or complaint.

If you can start No-co-operation here, Government may be coerced in a day what they would not have given in India in a decade. Without us work cannot be carried out here, by constant and systematic ill-treatment, we are afraid, we are losing even the capacity of resenting. We are worse than slaves here. I give here a few instances out of thousands to enable you to sympathize with us and to do something for us.

1. Before we came here we were given several promises but very few of them are fulfilled.

2. We are entitled to one month's leave in a year but there are people who are serving since 1916 have not given even one day's leave.

3. Arrears pay of followers as a rule are pocketed in their respective depots in India.

4. People are compelled to renew their agreements by criminalism, conditions, and false hopes.

5. People are unnecessarily harassed in Rest Camp while waiting for the passage, even the clerks have to do menial works as road-making etc. While waiting for passage, some are waiting since October 1920.

6. The members of jail Corps are made to do even sweeper's work, there are several Brahmins and other high class Hindus who are doing the dirty work against their will.

7. People are recruited in India as Hospital orderlies etc. but when they come here they find that they are to clean latrines; when recruited for Sanitary Section they are told that they shall have to do masting etc. but they are latrine cleaners. There are hundreds of high class people doing this work.

8. With the authorities the religion of Indians does not count, there are several cases in which Mohomedans are burnt by Hindus and Hindus have been burnt by Mohomedans etc. When protest has been made the usual reply "It is Field Service" what does when man is dead.

9. There are several Indian Chaplains to look after the Indian Christians but there is no Brahmin priest or Mouli for the Hindus and Mohomedans, by what regulations Indian Chaplains have been pointed and are paid by the Indian Tax Payers.

10. That there is one Indian Chaplain Rev. Waris Din of Lahore whose business is to visit units and mislead people, in one of his lectures he said that in the Punjab there is only one loyal man that is he himself and that Indians should not go back to India as there are troubles awaiting them. This was brought to the notice of the authorities who have conferred on him M. B. E. for frightening men to remain here.

11. One Mr. Sureshwar B. A. happened to displease his officers, who to humiliate him asked before others "well Babu are you not people of your education and standing cover our boots in India why then you take abusive words to us?"

12. Mr. Roberts an Indian Christian Store-keeper, on the strength of an anonymous letter was given 30 stripes and reduced to a labourer, he was a head-master of one English school in India.

13. Mr. Garkwad 2nd. clerk, on a false charge was awarded 25 stripes, after receiving 12 he died unconscious and had to be sent back to India as invalided. We hear he has since died.

14. Londhe of Ahmadanagar, was kicked by his officer and he died, his body was thrown into the river which was not allowed to be recovered and quietly burnt at night.

15. Overseer Bagan Singh, and Ram Dittani for no fault of theirs were severely kicked and beaten by the Arab Police and Civilians in the Bazaar but they had no redress. The British authorities told them that they do well to remember that they are living in the country of the Arabs so they must be prepared for such things, these two gentlemen were put up in the Police lock-up.

Our only hope is in you you must save us from all such indignities and ill treatment. If Indians in Mesopotamia are sure of your support they may present a bold front. Please someone to help us here or get us released at once.

Yours fellow citizen,

Copy to:—Late Lajpat Rai, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Mazharul-Haq, Bapu Bopinchandra Pal, C. K. Das Esq., Moulana Shaukatullah.

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THE CURSE OF BETTING

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

"You will earn the gratitude and thanks of thousands of wives, both European and Indian, if you can succeed in putting a stop to betting at the races. My husband was an ideal husband—until he took to betting at the races. We are now in debt, and, although he draws a good salary and does not drink alcohol, we are hard up, and I am sure this is the experience of very many wives. I have often implored him on my bended knees not to go to the races but to no purpose. And does it not seem very hard that wives and children should suffer because their husbands cannot refrain from going to the races and losing money?"

It is true that alcohol is ruining thousands, but betting at the races is certainly ruining tens of thousands.

By practically robbing the public, the W. I. T. Club can afford to pay its European employees handsome salaries. If you were only in the know I am sure you would agree with me that banky-panky tricks are carried on by the Turf Club, and thus the public are cheated and robbed of a lot of money. Do, for God's sake, try, and right matters. Things were certainly better when the book-makers were allowed to take bets on the race-course.

Sir, I am sure you are acquainted with a number of men on the new Councils, and, with their aid, I do hope you will succeed in putting a stop to betting at the races. If Government would take over and manage the totes, I am sure, things would be more fair and square. The public invariably lose, and those who win are the owners of horses and their trainers and jockeys; and is it not a scandalous shame that Government should connive at it, simply because some of their big officials are keenly interested in horse racing?

I had better not offer my signature to this letter as my husband is in Government service; but I pray that you will interest yourself in what I have written and succeed in stopping betting at the races."

This letter has been travelling with me for some time. The reader will share my feelings that it is a pathetic letter. Anonymous letters are rarely valuable. But this one is certainly an exception, though the writer has chosen not to disclose her name.

I know nothing of horse-racing. I have ever looked upon it with horror for its associations. I know that many men have been ruined on the race course.

But I must confess I have not had the courage to write anything against it. Having seen even an Aga Khan, prelates, viceroys, and those that are considered the best in the land, openly patronising it and spending thousands upon it, I have felt it to be useless to write about it. As a journalist and reformer, my function is to call public attention to these vices about which there is likelihood of public opinion being created. Much as I disapprove of vaccination, I deem it to be waste of effort to draw public attention to the evil. I must own that I had not the courage to bring the drink

traffic in the campaign of purification. It has come unsought. The people have taken it up of their own accord.

The surest sign that Non-co-operation is a movement of purification is that many abuses are being removed by the people without any guidance or preaching. And it is in such hope about betting that I have published the above letter.

I am aware that the writer would be satisfied merely with some modification. What is required is a total destruction of the pest. Betting at races is a part of the gambling mania. If only the people will non-co-operate, the evil will die a natural death. Thousands who attend the race-course do so merely for fun. They attend either to see horses run breathlessly, or because it is the fashion, but they, nevertheless, aid and abet the ruin of many a gambler.

But betting is, I apprehend, more difficult to deal with than drinking. When vice becomes a fashion and even a virtue, it is a long process to deal with it. Betting is not only fashionable but is hardly regarded as a vice. Not so drinking. Fortunately, it is still the fashion to consider drinking a weakness, if not positively a vice. Every religion has denounced it with more or less vehemence. But betting has escaped such special attention. Let us hope however that the vigilant public will find a more innocent recreation than attending the race course, and thus show its disapproval of gambling at the race course.

THE DRINK EVIL

I have just come across this most apposite statement, quoted by the 'Indian Witness' of Lucknow from the speech of Lord Chesterfield in the House of Lords, in 1748, against the British Excise and Licence revenue derived from intoxicating drink. It reads as follows:—

"Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice must be prohibited. Let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Will you lay a tax on the breach of the Commandments? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous, because it would imply an indulgence to all those who would pay the tax? This Bill [to license liquor-shops for the sale of revenue] contains the conditions, on which the people are to be allowed henceforth to riot in debauchery, licensed by law and countenanced by magistrates. For, there is no doubt, but those in authority will be directed by their masters to assist in their design to encourage the consumption of that liquor, from which such large revenues are expected.

"When I consider, my Lords, the tendency of the Bill, I find it only for the propagation of disease, the suppression of industry, and the destruction of mankind. I find it the most fatal engine that was ever pointed at a people—an engine, by which all those who are not killed will be disabled, and those who preserve their wits will be deprived of their senses."

Lord Chesterfield was no Puritan, his own morals were not high, if judged by the Christian standard. But this licensing of gin-shops, for the sake of revenue, was too much for him. With remarkable precision, he then pointed out exactly what would happen, if a Bill were passed in England. The authorities, he said, were bound to endeavour to increase the revenue. In this way, they would promote the liquor-traffic itself, and become panderers to vice. We know for certain this has happened in England. We know, also, that England has imported this evil into India, and that the British Empire in India has been built up, with liquor-traffic as one of its financial foundations and with opium-traffic as another. So true is this that the argument openly used in the Bihar Legislative Assembly by the Executive members of the Council was, in so many words, that the Government could not be carried on without its 'drink' revenue.

In the Government of India Legislative Assembly, the answer given by Sir William Vincent was more non-committal than that given in Bihar. When the question was asked:—

"Is there any truth in the allegation, that men have been prosecuted for preaching temperance?" Sir William instantly replied—

"Certainly not! Government has never opposed any one advocating the cause of temperance only. When violence is used then persons are prosecuted."

This is all very well as a copy-book maxim. But when the Government of India make a profit each year of 17 crores of rupees out of its licensing and excise for 'liquors and drugs,' and when Government has a special department, whose sole interest it is to collect this revenue, and when promotion in this service depends largely on the effectiveness of revenue collection, is it not certain that what Lord Chesterfield predicted will happen? Is it not certain that, "those in authority will be directed by their masters to assist in their design to encourage the consumption of that liquor, from which such large revenues are expected?"

Again, if this is the actual position and standing of Government officials as collectors of revenue from drink and drugs, if their profession is of such character that promotion depends upon effective collection, then, is it not a foregone conclusion (human nature being what it is) that these officials will endeavour to the utmost of their power to prevent forcibly voluntary temperance workers, who wish to reclaim drunkards, from carrying on their beneficent work? What is easier than to trump up a charge of violence or intimidation against them, and have them stopped or imprisoned by law?

Before coming out to India, when I was quite young, I lived among the very poor for many years in Sunderland and in South East London. My room, in which I lived and slept, was in their midst, and I knew everything that was going around me. I have no hesitation in saying that five-sixths of the misery, the destitution, the crime, the sickness, and even infantile mortality, which I thus saw with my own eyes, was due to

intemperance. This intemperance was being fostered by the all-powerful licensed Victualler's Trade, which was carried on under the direct licence of the British Government, and with an yearly profit to Government that ran into more than a hundred million pounds sterling, even in my own recollection of nearly 20 years ago.

Those sights, which I saw then—nay, those sights which I lived among them—have been branded on my memory for all time. They can never be effaced! The horror of them can never be forgotten as long as I live—never! Only those who know the drunkenness of the slums of London can understand what I have described in India during these later years of my life, since I landed at Bombay in March, 1901. I have seen a steady increase of intemperance in almost every part of the country, which I have visited. When I first came out, I wrote in one of my books, "I have never once seen in the streets an Indian drunkard"! Alas. I could not write this to-day. I have seen drunkenness wide-spread in *Perambur*, among the Madras labourers, it was not an uncommon sight in Bombay, I have seen it also in Calcutta. And I have witnessed the same miserable spectacle in the country-districts, also—men intoxicated with country-liquor. I have seen Indian women intoxicated also. Still further, in this very district where I live, in Bengal, the whole country-side has deteriorated, owing to two main causes, (i) malaria, and (ii) the drink and drug habit, which has been steadily and insidiously increasing.

Our student workers have been making a noble effort to get the villagers to give up intoxicants. The people have now abandoned drink in large numbers, and license-holders of liquor shops, under Government, have approached me and asked me whether they can throw up their licenses as they do not wish to go on any longer with the drink-traffic. The question is now going to be put to the licensing authorities themselves, whether they are ready to allow licenses to be cancelled, we shall find out how far Sir William Vincent's maxim holds good, when he said:

"Certainly not. Government have never opposed any one advocating the cause of temperance only."

Will Government oppose these repentant liquor vendors?

O. F. Andrews.

P. S.

The following quotation from "The World and New Dispensation" seems to sum up the whole matter. It writes: "The majority of Hindus are totalitarians by nature, and to the true Moslem, religious instruction notes drink *haram*. Shad not, then, Hindus and Moslems join hands in forcing the Government to abolish the excise altogether?...Now that the country as a whole is working towards this end, let us concentrate our efforts, and push forward the work through the press, the pulpit, and (wherever possible) through chosen hands of workers. Behold the light of heaven in the country today! Behold the spirit of God walking and working among the people."

EXCISE—AND WHAT IT MEANS.

III

A STUDY IN FIGURES.

In our last article, we sketched in broad outlines the methods of manufacture and the systems of sale. It should be borne in mind that taxation in various forms is imposed upon all intoxicating liquors and drugs as well as spirits, that the right of manufacturing country-spirits and liquors is auctioned, except where liquor is supplied from Central Government distilleries, when a still-head duty is imposed before it reaches the retail-seller who had purchased the right of retail-vending at the annual, biennial, or triennial auction. We shall now examine the excise revenue—the figures show the revenue derived by the Government, not the

amount actually spent by the people, which is considerably more. The curious may ascertain this amount by adding 10% to the gross Revenue returns (column 1). 10% is a low estimate. It includes the hire and up-keep of the shop. It includes the pay of the assistants and servants employed, as well as the profits of the owner. In our own opinion, it would be a safe assumption to allow 15%—the retail-sellers are notoriously rich and prosperous.

And now to the figures. The first column shows the gross revenue realized by Government, the second the amount realized from custom-duties on liquors and spirits imported into the country from abroad. The last column (5) shows the net revenue i.e. total revenue from the first two heads (col. 3) minus the total expenditure (col. 4)

Years.	1 Gross Revenue	2 Custom Duties	3 Total Revenue (1+2)	4 Expenditure and Charges	5 Net Revenue (3-4)
1880-81	Rs. 3,13,62,260	37,98,360	3,51,50,620	9,51,040	3,41,99,580
1885-86	Rs. 4,16,21,360	41,98,100	4,57,13,460	12,43,720	4,44,75,740
1890-91	Rs. 4,94,77,800	60,09,000	5,54,86,800	17,49,810	5,37,36,990
1895-96	Rs. 5,72,24,170	66,25,860	6,38,50,030	0,79,570	6,17,70,460
1900-01	Rs. 5,90,88,030	69,38,205	6,59,96,235	24,17,640	6,35,78,595
1905-06	Rs. 8,53,17,300	97,40,000	9,50,57,300	38,71,740	9,11,85,560
1910-11	Rs. 10,54,54,715	1,20,53,394	11,75,08,109	60,89,004	11,14,18,205
1915-16	Rs. 12,94,83,132	1,17,90,000	14,12,73,132	70,61,095	13,42,12,037
1916-17	Rs. 13,82,38,495	1,25,13,946	15,07,52,044	71,79,474	14,35,72,567
1917-18	Rs. 15,44,25,390	1,00,96,886	16,54,22,476	73,00,000	15,81,22,476
1918-19	Rs. 17,35,52,770	1,10,65,351	18,46,18,121	82,00,000	17,64,18,121

The figures tell their own deplorable tale. It is no small sum that the Government derives from the people's vice. Since 1905, it has been the largest item of revenue excepting the revenue from land. The growth of revenue too has been progressive. The figures in columns 1, 3, and 5, show that the revenue has increased with an uncanny regularity. Till 1910, the revenue may be said to have doubled itself every twenty years.

NET REVENUE.

1880-81 ... 341 lakhs. 1890-91 ... 537 lakhs.
1900-01 ... 635 lakhs. 1910-11 ... 11.14 lakhs

In the period 1895-1915, the revenue had more than doubled itself from 617 lakhs to 1,342 lakhs. But, gathering momentum in its progress, even this rate has now increased. In 1910-11 the net revenue stood at 11.14 lakhs. In 1918-19 it had reached the unprecedented figure of 17.64 lakhs, increasing by half in a period of eight—and not ten—years.

The figures of the actual amount of increase convey their own meaning. The eight years

1910-18 show an increase of 650 lakhs, whereas it required a period of 25 years (1885-1910) to show an increase of almost the same amount, viz. 670 lakhs.

A graph of the annual net revenue from 1880-81 to 1918-19 would show very much the same results. Starting from 1880-81, when the net revenue was 341 lakhs, the line of our graph would shoot up till 1895-96—an unbroken period of 25 years—when the net revenue stood at 617 lakhs. The two following years would show a slight drop of 26 lakhs, but in 1898-99, with the net revenue at 619 lakhs, the line again rises to a point above that of 1895-96. From 1898-99 the line again shoots, only at a less inclined angle, for the next 16 years, with the revenue, in 1913-14, standing at 14.02 lakhs. There is again a drop of 60 lakhs, in the next two years, but like a towering falcon, it soars as if in scorn, from 14.35 lakhs in 1916-17 to 17.64 lakhs in 1918-19.

(To be continued.)

MR. GANDHI & THE SUPPRESSED CLASSES. A CHAPTER OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Gandhi presided at the Suppressed Classes Conference held in Ahmedabad on the 13th and 14th instant. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen from the town, though the number of the untouchables was much less than expected, a rumour having spread in the town that Government would arrest those of them who attended.

Mr. Gandhi regretted in the beginning this small attendance, and said that, incidents as the present, took away what little faith he had in conferences as an effective agency of social reform. If therefore he occupied the audience shorter than they expected, it would be because his remarks would not reach all he meant to address and not because his enthusiasm for the work was in any way damped. He was also thankful for the fact that the conference had brought him the pleasure of meeting friends on the same platform it was not usual for him nowadays to meet—friends, cooperation with whom used to be a pleasure and privilege, but from whom the present conditions had unfortunately cut him off. It was happy, however, that on the question of untouchability he was in the same boat as they.

Coming to the subject he said, 'I do not know how I am to convince those who oppose the reform, of the wrong position they have taken. How am I to plead with those who regard any contact with the members of the suppressed community as entailing defilement and of which they cannot be cleansed without necessary ablutions, and who thus regard omission to perform the ablutions a sin? I can only place before them my innermost convictions.

'I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism. This idea was not brought home to me by my bitter experiences during the S. African struggle. It is not due to the fact that I was once an agnostic. It is equally wrong to think—as some people do—that I have taken my views from my study of Christian religious literature. These views date as far back as the time when I was neither enamoured of, nor was acquainted with, the Bible or the followers of the Bible.

'I was hardly yet twelve when this idea had dawned on me. A scavenger named Uka, an untouchable, used to attend our house for cleaning latrines. Often I would ask my mother why it was wrong to touch him, why I was forbidden to touch him. If I accidentally touched Uka, I was asked to perform the ablutions, and though I naturally obeyed, it was not without amiably protesting that untouchability was not sanctioned by religion, that it was impossible that it should be so. I was a very dutiful and obedient child and so far as it was consistent with respect for parents, I often had tussles with them on the matter. I told my mother that she was entirely wrong in considering a person's contact with Uka as sinful.

'While at school I would often happen to touch the "untouchables", and as I never would conceal the fact from my parents, my mother would tell me that the shortest-cut to purification after the unholy touch was to cancel the touch by touching any Mussalman passing by. And simply out of reverence and regard for my mother I often did so, but never did so believing it to be a religious obligation. After some time we shifted to Porbandar, where I made my first acquaintance with Sanskrit. I was not yet put to an English school, and my brother and I were placed in charge of a Brahman, who taught us *Ram Raksha* and *Vishnu Puran*. The texts '*jale Vishnuh*' '*stale Vishnuh*' (there is the Lord (present) in water, there is the Lord (present) in earth) have never gone out of my memory. A motherly old dame used to live close by. Now it happened that I was very timid then, and would conjure up ghosts and goblins whenever the lights went out, and it was dark. The old mother, to disabuse me of fears, suggested that I should mutter the *Ram Raksha* texts whenever I was afraid, and all evil spirits would fly away. This I did and, as I thought, with good effect. I could never believe then that there was any text in the *Ram Raksha* pointing to the contact of the 'untouchables' as a sin. I did not understand its meaning then, or understood it very imperfectly. But I was confident that *Ram Raksha*, which could destroy all fear of ghosts, could not be countenancing any such thing as fear of contact with the 'untouchables'.

'The *Ramayana* used to be regularly read in our family. A Brahman called Laha Maharaj used to read it. He was stricken with leprosy, and he was confident that a regular reading of the *Ramayana* would cure him of leprosy, and indeed, he was cured of it. 'How can the *Ramayana*,' I thought to myself, 'in which one who is regarded now-a-days as an untouchable took Rama across the Ganges in his boat, countenance the idea of any human beings being 'untouchables' on the ground that they were polluted souls?' The fact that we addressed God as the 'purifier of the polluted' and by similar appellations, shows that it is a sin to regard any one born in Hinduism as polluted or untouchable—that it is satanic to do so. I have hence been never tired of repeating that it is a great sin. I do not pretend that this thing had crystallised as a conviction in me at the age of twelve, but I do say that I did then regard untouchability as a sin. I narrate this story for the information of the Vaishnavas and Orthodox Hindus.

'I have always claimed to be a *Sanatani* Hindu. It is not that I am quite innocent of the scriptures. I am not a profound scholar of Sanskrit. I have read the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* only in translations. Naturally therefore mine is not a scholarly study of them. My knowledge of them is in no way profound, but I have studied them as I should do as a Hindu and I claim to have grasped their true spirit. By the time I was of the age of 21, I had studied other religions also.

There was a time when I was wavering between Hinduism and Christianity. When I recovered my balance of mind, I felt that to me salvation was possible only through the Hindu religion and my faith in Hinduism grew deeper and more enlightened.

But even then I believed that untouchability was no part of Hinduism; and, that if it was, such Hinduism was not for me.

True, Hinduism does not regard untouchability as a sin. I do not want to enter into any controversy regarding the interpretation of the *śāstras*. It might be difficult for me to establish my point by quoting authorities from the *Bhagvat* or *Manusmṛiti*. But I claim to have understood the spirit of Hinduism. Hinduism has sinned in giving sanction to untouchability. It has degraded us, made us the pariahs of the Empire. Even the Mussalmans caught the sinful contagion from us, and in S. Africa, in E. Africa and in Canada the Mussalmans no less than Hindus came to be regarded as pariahs. All this evil has resulted from the sin of untouchability.

(To be continued.)

N.-C.-O. in Andhra.

Mr. K. Venkatappayya has sent a preliminary list of collections for the Swaraj Fund made during Mr. Gandhi's tour through the Andhra districts. The total amount of cash is Rs. 21,902-18-2½ which is of course exclusive of the jewels and ornaments collected in different places.

VIZAGPATAM DISTRICT.

Vizianagaram	...	...	459-8-0
Anakapali	...	...	200-0-0
Patna-i Swami Baba Garu, Narasannapet	...	...	200-0-0
Other collections.	...	...	57-2-9
			916-10-9

KRISHNA DISTRICT.

Ellore including Nidadavola & other intermediate stations	1021-14-4½
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MASULIPATAM.

Balance at Co-Operative Bank, Masala, (including the amount Rs. 1716) given by Kanuru China Venkatasoyya Garu	7372-6-0
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GUNTUR DISTRICT.

Guntur	727-15-5
Chebrole, Manipalle, Manchalla,	
Tadiparru	813-0-3
Ponnur & Appikatta, Other villages.	...	...	825-6-4
Bapatla Town's people	...	...	825-0-0
Brahmandam Lakshminarayana Garu,	...	...
Bapatla	...	...	1116-0-0
Chirala	2828-14-9
Chilka Ganjam	232-0-0
			7368-4-9

NELLORE DISTRICT.

Nellore	2411-1-7
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Total 21902-18-2½

A NON-BRAHMIN'S COMPLAINT.

To The Editor,

Young India.

Sir,

Mr. Gandhi made some remarks regarding Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the course of his lecture at the Beach in Madras last Friday. His speech has caused great pain to the non-Brahmin nationalists of Madras. It would have been highly preferable if Mr. Gandhi had not at all touched on this point; for from his speech it was evident that he was completely ignorant of Dravidian civilization, religion, culture, and the inner meaning and causes of the present non-Brahmin movement. He does not seem to have recognized the special features of Dravidian civilization which marks off South India from the rest of India. In praising the Brahmins for their contribution to the religion and civilization of India (probably he means North India), he has involuntarily cast a slur on the Non-Brahmins whose ancestors have also contributed as much as, if not more than, the Brahmins to the glory of South India as seen in their literature, religion, and philosophy.

It need hardly be pointed out that nothing can offend a whole community like a slur of the above kind, even though it may be done unwittingly by one whose heart is overflowing with love, and for whom the community has the highest regard. Farther, the object of Mr. Gandhi's recent visit and proposed long tour in the South in the middle of the next month is, we may take to strengthen the cause, and propagate the movement of Non-cooperation.

Surely making hasty and flippant remarks about a highly vexed question, is likely to weaken the cause he advocates and, estrange the sympathies of a vast majority of the masses who feel strongly on the matter.

If he really wants to bridge the gulf unhappily widening between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins of South India, let Mr. Gandhi take up the question in right earnest with an entirely blank and open mind, and then he may in all probability be in a position, after careful study to find out a solution for the problem. Otherwise he will do well in the interest of the great Non-co-operation movement, to leave severely alone the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin controversy, in the course of his forthcoming long tour in South India.

Madras, 11th April, 1921

C. KANDASWAMY.

[I have received more letters in a similar strain. The correspondents have clearly misunderstood me. I have not seen the report of my speech. I do not therefore know whether it lends itself to misinterpretation. But I claim that the Brahmins' service to Hinduism or humanity is unaffected and undiminished by the achievements of the Dravidian civilisation which nobody denies or disputes. I warn the correspondents against segregating the Dravidian South from the Aryan North. The India of today is a blend not only of two but, of many other, cultures. M. K. G.]

NOTICE

It has been decided to hold the fifth Gujarat Political Conference at Broach on 28th and 29th May, 1921. The first meeting of the reception Committee will be held on the 21st inst.

YOUNG INDIA

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Edited by M. K. Gandhi.

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AHMEDABAD, WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1921.

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Notes.

A Set-Back—

If the facts reported in the press are substantially correct, Malegaon non-cooperators have been false to their creed, their faith, and their country. They have put back the hands of the clock of progress. Non-violence is the rock on which the whole structure of Non-co-operation is built. Take that away and every act of renunciation comes to naught, as artificial fruit is no more than a showy nothing. The murder of the men who were evidently doing their duty was, if the report is correct, deliberate. It was a cowardly attack. Certain men wilfully broke the law, and invited punishment.

There could be no justification for resentment of such imprisonment. Those who commit violence of the Malegaon type are the real cooperators with the Government. The latter will gladly lose a few officers if thereby they could kill Non-co-operation. A few more such murders and we shall forfeit the sympathy of the masses. I am convinced that the people will not tolerate violence on our part. They are by nature peaceful and they have welcomed Non-co-operation because it is deliberately non-violent.

What must we do then? We must ceaselessly preach against violence alike in public and in private. We must not show any sympathy to the evil-doers. We must advise the men who have taken part in the murders to surrender themselves if they are at all repentant. The workers must be doubly careful in their talks. They must cease to talk of the evil of the Government and the officials, whether European or Indian. Bluster must give place to the work of building up put before the nation by the Congress. We must be patient if there is no response to the demand for men, money, and munitions. All police orders must be strictly obeyed. There should be no processions or hartals when known workers are prosecuted or imprisoned. If we welcome imprisonments of innocent men, as we must, we ought to cultivate innocence and congratulate ourselves when we are punished for holding opinions, or for doing things that we consider it our duty to do, as for spinning, or collecting funds, or getting names for the Congress register. There should be no civil disobedience. We have undertaken to stand the grav-

est provocation and remain non-violent. Let us be careful lest the hour of our triumph be, by our folly, the hour of our defeat and humiliation. I implicitly subscribe to the test suggested by the 'Times of India'. It may be recognised that as a movement relying ostensibly upon moral force, the only test of its value must be in the absolute sincerity of its upholders. Once let that sincerity fail under justifiable suspicion and those forces are let in which must inevitably end in its moral ruin.

Sindh Reflections—

It was a packed programme in Sindh. Hyderabad, Karachi, Larkhana, Shikarpur, Sukkur, Rohri, Kotri, and Mirpurkhas, between the 24th and the 30th was a fairly big bite. And as Mr. Mulechand of Sukkur justly remarked 'the work could only be half done'. 'Better half a loaf than none,' said another friend. Sindh has certainly as fine material as any province. It has men, money, and ability. It can lead, if it chooses. But it cannot today, in spite of the advantages mentioned. My letter to 'Young Sindh' written on the 25th stands without alteration in spite of the later experiences.

Karachi is the worst. Sindh is divided into district parties without a central guiding organisation. But Karachi has not one party but many groups. It was of Karachi that I heard complaints regarding suspicious finances. I've public national schools, I was told, will not publish accounts. Karachi will not acknowledge one leader. I heard even charges of misappropriation of funds. I do not know how far the charges are justified. But they were brought to my notice with such persistence and by so many persons that I feel I must call public attention to them. We are bound to render a faithful account to the people of every pie they give us. I invite the controllers of national schools not only to render accounts of their dealings but also to put their schools under public management. In my opinion there should be but two funds—the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the Khilafat Fund. All activities should come under one or the other organisation. All schools must be financed by these two bodies. There should be no separate collections for separate enterprises. We must collect and organise our energy and resources, not fritter them away by having many agencies. We must demonstrate our fitness for Swaraj by sinking differences, avoiding jealousies, and submitting

to control from a central organisation, by being able to collect and honestly spend large sums of money by managing the education of our children and our own disputes, by being self-contained in every village as to food and clothing, and by driving away national vices such as drink and untouchability.

National schools are springing up every where in Sind. I must warn the managers against preparing big budgets. In my opinion, for this year at any rate, every school and college must principally become a carding and spinning institute. It must pay its monthly expenditure from the labour of the boys and girls who attend there. The capital expenditure should only consist of a little furniture and spinning wheels. We must not waste national time at present by devoting any time to English studies. Karmachars demand recognition of certain fundamental principles, if Swaraj is to be attained within one year, and if we believe in the programme of Non-co-operation and the resolutions of the All India Congress Committee.

Enough, however, of criticism. There was so much to make me hopeful. The babbling and almost embarrassing confusion the people was a soul-stirring sight. The women of Sind gave liberally to the Tilak Swarni fund. Karachi led with a purse of Rs. 25,000. The purse is meant for me to be used as I choose. I can only make the choice in favour of the Tilak Swarni Fund.

The following is a rough estimate of the collections—

Karachi...	..	Rs.	50,000
Lahore ..	..	"	15,000
Shikarpur ..	..	"	15,000
Sukkur ..	..	"	10,000
Relri ..	..	"	1,000
Nawabshah ..	..	"	5,000
Hyderabad ..	..	"	15,000
Mirpur Khair ..	..	"	1,000
Sundries ..	..	"	1,000

Many non-co-operating students are doing most valuable work in Sind. The most cheering event I can record is the fact that the Shikarpuris had a violent quarrel among themselves resulting in the imprisonment of many notable men, but were able, through the effort of Sidhu Vaswani, to make up their differences. This naturally resulted in the discharge of all who were arrested. We would be super-human if we never quarrelled. But we show ourselves as men when we become charitable and amicably settle our differences.

Abuse of Hartals—

A correspondent from Karachi writes to me deploring the frequency of hartals in that city. I have also seen a cutting from the 'Indian Social Reformer' dealing with the same subject. I agree with the I. S. Reformer's criticism that the hartals have become cheap of late. They are fast losing their value. But for the sacred character of the G. B. and the

13th April, I would have refrained from advising Hartals for those two days. Hartals are either meant as a protest against something extraordinary or a religious demonstration. There was no meaning in declaring a Hartal when H. E. the Governor visited Karachi. If it was meant to be a demonstration against him personally, it was bad taste, for in my opinion, he is among the wisest officials and but for the vicious system he is called upon to administer he would make a popular Governor. Hartals for imprisonments or discharges are equally bad taste. Imprisonments must not inspire fear in us. Under an unjust government, imprisonments of innocent men must be regarded as their ordinary lot even as disease is the ordinary state of persons living in insanitary conditions. The Government will cease to imprison us when we cease to fear imprisonments. The Government will cease to exist or (which is the same thing) will reform itself, when its most frightful punishments, even Dyerism, fail to strike us with fear. Hartals therefore in regard to imprisonments are a symptom of nervous fear and must therefore be tabooed. I quite agree with the I. S. R. that local leaders ought not to declare Hartals without reference to headquarters. As a rule I would say, save the 6th and 13th April, every other Hartal should be declared by the All India Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee in conjunction. It will be a misfortune to cheapen the Hartals. [M. K. G.]

A STRING OF QUESTIONS.

To The Editor,

Young India

SIR,

You know that Maulana Mohammed Ali has publicly declared from a platform in the Madras presidency that he would assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he came towards India against those who have emasculated Islam and who are in wrongful possession of the Holy Places etc. I think Indian opinion is divided on this question. The Moderates are bent upon crushing any such movement. Even the nationalists such as Lala Lajpat Rai and Messrs. C. R. Das and Malaviya have not spoken out their mind—may even you have not taken any notice of this very important speech. It may be high treason to show sympathy and give open assistance to the King's enemy, but in these days of frank talk and candid speech one is eager to hear the decision of leaders. It is a vital question. The publicists—I have the honour of being one—are at a loss to form any opinion.

The next point on which I beg to address you is this: Do you suppose that only the God-fearing, or for that matter believers in one God, are to be Non-co-operators? A friend of mine who is a Rationalist—thank God I myself am a staunch Muslim—*is a pious nationalist*. He is ready to sacrifice everything at the altar of the Motherland and for the restoration of justice to a weaker nation, but he has nothing to present to God because he denies His very existence. My friend is ready and has already undertaken to wear khaddar.

He is an admirer of Tilak Maharaj and freely adds to the Fund by frequent donations. But is he a "non-co-operator"? Has he got a place in your list? Can he be admitted to your Ashram if he is not deficient in other requisites?

The third difficulty lies in the fact that you say that to be a member of this Government-astatic as it is—is sinful but still you tolerate the existence of so many of your fellow-countrymen in that service and in those associations. You do not invite them to your fold at present. Is it justifiable? If to serve the present Government is a social or religious crime, which I think it is, then why let them be there? Does expediency hold good in the domain of religion, self-purification, and self-reliance?

And lastly what do you mean by "attaining Swaraj within one year"? Does it imply that the Nation would at the coming session of the Congress declare itself free and out of the British Empire? Or if merely the consciousness of freedom, the adoption of Swadeshi, and the partial boycott of law courts and Schools mean Swaraj within India. And if, may God forbid, our boycott movement fails, then does it mean that those who have been asked to give up their study or practice for one year can return to the tabooed institutions?

Bareilly,

Yours s'd.

15th April

AHFAD HUSAIN.

[I have dealt with the first question in a separate article. As for the second question, I think that only God-fearing people can become true non-co-operators. But the programme of Non-co-operation does not require a man to declare his faith. Any person believing in non-violence and accepting the Non-co-operation programme can certainly become a non-co-operator. As to the third question the correspondent misapprehends the position. The nation has not embarked on complete Non-co-operation, not for want of faith or will, but for want of ability. It has, therefore, not called upon Government servants as yet to give up their posts. But any such servant is free to throw up his office whenever he likes. But there cannot be such a call until all reasonable precautions are taken against an outbreak of violence. Not until the nation is in a position to find occupation for such men, can the call therefore be made. Thus, here, there is no question of expediency as it is generally understood. But purest religion is highest expediency. Many things are lawful but they are not all expedient. The law, the Ideal of Non-co-operation is before the country.

As to the fourth question, my meaning of Swaraj is that India should be able to regulate her life without any restraint from outside. She should be able to regulate her military expenditure and the method of raising her revenue. She should be able to withdraw every one of her soldiers from wherever she chooses. How (this will be, or can be, done depends upon the nation. India's representatives freely chosen by the people must decide upon the method of execution. If Swaraj is not established during one year, if I can help it, certainly not a single boy who has left his school or a lawyer his practice will return thereto.

M. K. G.]

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 4th May, 1921.

THE AFGHAN BOGEY.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The reader will find elsewhere a string of questions put by a correspondent. The most important relates to a speech delivered by Maulana Mahomed Ali on the fear of an Afghan invasion. I have not read Maulana Mahomed Ali's speech referred to by the correspondent. But whether he does or not, I would, in a sense, certainly assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he waged war against the British Government. That is to say I would openly tell my countrymen that it would be a crime to help a Government which had lost the confidence of the nation to remain in power. On the other hand I would not ask Indians to raise levies for the Amir. That would be against the creed of non-violence accepted by both Hindus and Muslims for the purpose of the Khilafat, the Punjab, and Swaraj. And I apprehend that Maulana Mahomed Ali could not mean more in his speech than what I have suggested. He could not very well do otherwise, so long as the Hindu-Muslim compact subsists. The Muslims are free to dissolve the compact. But it would be found upon an examination of the case, that the compact is indissoluble. Dissolution of the compact means destruction of India's purpose. I cannot conceive the present possibility of Hindus and Muslims entering upon a joint armed revolt. All Muslims can hardly expect to succeed with any plan of an armed revolt.

However, I warn the reader against believing in the bogey of an Afghan invasion. Their own military writers have often let us into the secret that many of the punitive expeditions were manufactured for giving the soldiers a training or keeping idle armed men occupied. A weak, disarmed, helpless, credulous, India does not know how the Government has kept her under its hypnotic spell. Even some of the best of us today really believe that the military budget is being piled up for protecting India against foreign aggression. I suggest that it is being piled up for want of faith in the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Pathans, and the Rajputs, i. e. for want of faith in us and for the purpose of keeping us under forced subjection. My belief (I write under correction) is that the anxiety of the Government always to have a treaty with the Amir was based, not so much upon the fear of a Russian invasion as, upon the fear of losing the confidence of the Indian soldiery. Today there is certainly no fear of a Russian invasion. I have never believed in the Bolshevik menace. And why should any Indian Government, to use the favourite phrase of the erstwhile Lord of Bengal, "be based upon a people's affection", fear Russian, Bolshevik or any menace? Surely a contented, and a powerful India (all the more), in alliance with Great

Britain, can any day meet any invasion upon her. But this Government has deliberately emasculated us, kept us under the perpetual fear of our neighbours and the whole world, and drained India of her strength so that she has lost faith in herself either for defense or for dealing with the simple problem of the growing poverty. I, therefore, do certainly hope that the Amir will not enter into any treaty with this Government. Any such treaty can only mean unholy bargain against Islam and India. This Government being unwilling to part with O'Dwyerism as an 'emergency' measure, being unwilling to keep its faith with the Muslims, (I must decline to treat the Government of India separately from the Imperial Government) and being unwilling to let India rise to her full height, wants Afghanistan to enter into a treaty of offence against India. I hope that there is but one opinion so far as non-co-operators are concerned. Whilst unwilling ourselves, we cannot wish others to co-operate with the Government.

GANDHI OLD AND NEW.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The *Times of India* has returned to the charge of insincerity which was to be inferred from its previous article which I dealt with recently in these columns. It is a sober article to which no exception could be taken. I am certainly anxious to retain the reputation for sincerity which has been credited to me and which I certainly claim. My article, "The Mists" should generally be regarded as my last word to my critics. I must rely upon my actions for final explanation. No man can be called just, sincere, or good before his death. But I would like to correct some of the misstatements of the *Times of India* writer. Even when I declared Satyagraha, I was charged with having fallen from my original non-political state and the state of isolation. Even in South Africa, I was referred by my critics to my past. Every campaign that I have been connected with had its critics who praised my past at the expense of the then present. I state this fact not to disprove the present charge but to steel my heart against believing in the charge of unconscious insincerity and self-deception. I never suspended Satyagraha. I certainly never retired into private life. I suspended civil disobedience, and it remains still suspended, because I believed, as I still believe, the country not to be ripe for it. My Himalayan mistake was my miscalculation of the preparedness of the country. Non-co-operation of the type undertaken is not attended with any danger such as is attendant on civil disobedience. The latter is not always a duty as Non-co-operation is. Hence it is that I have said that I must continue to advise Non-co-operation even though it may result in anarchy. Am I to recall my medals, or advise friends to recall theirs, or advise lawyers to resume practice because, supposing, anar-

chists have gained the upperhand? Am I to associate myself for fear of anarchy with a dishonest government which believes in Dyerism as a faith? I know that anarchy as a creed is devilish, but Dyerism is still more so for it is anarchy wearing the mask of constituted authority. Ordered anarchy is infinitely worse than avowed anarchy. Only, in the latter event, I should dissociate myself from the anarchy of the mob as I have dissociated myself from the anarchy of the Government. For me both are evils to be shunned. I have not asked for reprisals against the author of the Jallianwala Massacre, I have asked for nothing more than the stopping of the pensions to the culprits and the dismissal of those who are yet holding office. I have not advised the Sikhs to give any pension to Mahant Narandas or to keep him in office. I have ventured to advise the Sikhs to waive the prosecution of the murderers as I have advised the nation to waive the prosecution of the official murderers in the Punjab. I claim consistency of conduct about Amritsar and Nankhna. I have said repeatedly that I am acting towards the Government as I have acted towards my own dearest relatives. Non-co-operation on the political field is an extension of the doctrine as it is practised on the domestic field. The reference to my association with lawyers &c. is hardly becoming. As a matter of fact there are very few practising lawyers now holding office in Congress organisations.

I adhere to my opinion that where non-co-operators are in a majority, none who has not fully non-co-operated should hold office. The Congress Committee has not rejected the proposal. I do not know that practising lawyers presented me with any address in Surat. But I would not hesitate to receive one even from them so long as I was free to warn them from the error of their ways. So far as my association with the Ali Brothers is concerned, I consider it a proud privilege. But in South Africa I had as my associates murderers and thieves, men who had certainly suffered imprisonment for attempts to murder or steal. Only they carried out their compact as to non-violence as honourably as any other Satyagrahi. I see no difference between the old Gandhi and the new, except that the new has a clearer conception of Satyagraha and prizes the doctrine of Ahimsa more than ever. Nor, I promise the *Times of India* writer, is there any self-deception in this belief. But time must show who is right. Precedent is on my side.

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THE MANAGER,

Young India, Ahmedabad.

EXCISE—AND WHAT IT MEANS.†

IV.

THE MEANING OF FIGURES.

We showed last week that the net excise revenue, which ordinarily doubled itself every twenty years, had gathered an increasing velocity since 1910. The gross revenue returns of some of the major provinces at the beginning and end of the decade 1908-18 bear an even more striking testimony to the alarming and rapid growth of excise revenue. We append them for the reason that they will be of some aid in elucidating the title of this article.

The following statement shows that in two provinces—Bombay and the Punjab—the gross revenue has actually more than doubled in ten years. The other provinces, it will be noticed, are not left much behind. And the increase is in lakhs and crores, not in thousands. The smallest increase is in the Punjab, and that amounts to fifty-one lakhs; the maximum increase, in Madras, is over two crores and ten lakhs! The increase in Bombay is slightly less than that of Madras and stands at two crores.

Gross Revenue in Thousands of Rupees.

Province.	1908-09	1918-19
Central Prov. & Berar.	66,15	1,23,54
United Prov.	85,62	1,59,30
Punjab.	47,59	98,31
Madras.	2,54,42	4,64,43
Bombay.	1,68,54	3,76,27
All India Total.	1,75,44	4,76,85

What, then, one well may ask, is the meaning of these figures? Does the growth of revenue connote a proportionate or less increase in the liquor vice, or does it only mean that the increase is accounted for by the heavier taxation imposed 'with a view to lessen' this habit? It is clear that the whole excise policy of the Government should be judged by this pertinent question: Is the drink evil to-day less than it was, say, ten or twenty years ago?

We shall first give the Government's version of its policy and the attempts made to carry it out as have been set forth in blue-books, white-papers, and other Government publications. The policy followed at the present time has been thus summarised by the Government of India: "The Government of India have no desire to interfere with the habits of those who use alcohol in moderation.....and it is necessary in their opinion to make due provision for the needs of such per-

sons. Their settled policy, however, is to minimise temptation among those who do not drink and to discourage excesses among those who do, and to the furtherance of this policy all considerations of revenue must be absolutely subordinated. The most effective method of furthering this policy is to make the tax upon liquor as high as it is possible to raise it, without stimulating illicit production to a degree which would increase instead of diminishing the total consumption. Subject to the same considerations the number of shops should be restricted as far as possible."

We may say at once that the Government has carried out the two methods suggested—though (as we shall shortly see) not for the reasons mentioned. Liquor has certainly been taxed higher and higher every year; the number of shops has also been restricted, though not to the same extent.

Statement showing Number of Shops

Year.	Liquor shops	Drugs	Total.
1892-1900	82,117	19,000	1,01,117
1900-1901	81,447	20,000	1,01,447
1910-11	71,052	29,014	1,00,066
1914-15	50,723	17,693	68,416
1915-16	55,046	17,316	72,362
1916-17	51,017	17,177	68,194
1917-18	54,898	17,147	72,045
1918-19	52,683	17,152	69,835

It must be added that there was a steady decrease in the number of shops from 1905-06 to the year 1916-17—a decrease of 44,218 shops in a period of 11 years or an average of 4,020 per year. In the year 1917-18 the number of shops was increased to 72,045, and the next year the number was again reduced to 69,835, or 741 more than in 1916-17.

But are these the most effective methods that could be devised for lessening the drink evil? We may suggest that it would have been more effective if the Government had restricted the amount of liquor supplied to a person per day, and limited it to a fixed quantity, to be lessened year after year. Another, though less effective way, would have been to restrict the number of hours for the retail sale of liquor to three or four. The last method was tried in various countries, including Great Britain, during the recent war and was found to answer the purpose of restricting consumption. This would have really decreased the drink habit, and the Government's revenue would have proportionately decreased; whereas the Government's aim (as we hope to prove) was to send up the revenue.

†Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of April 13th and 27th.

Has the Government, then, no explanation to offer for its increasing revenue? The growth of revenue is explained away by "the heavier taxation"—which is, at least, intelligible, and what is not—"the increasing prosperity of the people," "the fine harvest," "the higher standard of living," and the "growth of population"—explanations not only untrue but even cruel in face of the admitted and growing poverty of the people. The one and only point in favour of the Government's excise policy is the reduction of shops, though there are numerous instances where, with push and zeal, the excise department has opened drinking booths in respectable residential localities where none had existed within the memory of the living generation.

Excepting, perhaps, the reduction of shops, the excise policy pursued is with a view solely to enhancing the revenue. "The most effective method of furthering this policy is to make the tax upon liquor as high as it is possible to raise it withoutdiminishing the total consumption." This sentence, with one clause removed, is taken from the declared policy of the Government of India (quoted at the commencement of this article). It will be noticed how different now the meaning becomes; but we shall show that it is a more correct expression of Government policy in their own words. The Government itself is conscious of the marked discrepancy of its "settled" policy and the actual results. The figures of consumption belie its declaration, and it apologises for them in the familiar, crude, official, way.

"It is not possible," says the Moral (1) and Material Progress Report of 1911-12, "to give a complete statement of the consumption of intoxicating liquors in India. There is no record of the output of toddy and other fermented liquors, nor is the quantity of spirits produced in out-still areas accurately known."

Consumption of Imported Liquor and Country Spirits under distillery systems in Liquid Gallons.

Kind.	1901-02	1911-12
Ale, Beer, & Porter	3,673,852	4,239,783
Cider, etc.	4,012	11,283
Whisky	553,971	655,673
Brandy	202,059	338,485
Gin	73,215	73,792
Rum	40,671	50,782
Liquor	11,804	14,821
Wines	300,672	335,716
Total	4,261,157	5,715,137

It is difficult, if not impossible, to give any idea of the total consumption of intoxicating

Liquors. The figures given above will give a general idea of the scale of consumption of Imported Liquors and country spirits under distillery areas. There has been a considerable rise in consumption under every separate head, while the total shows an increase of over 750,000 gallons in 10 years. Provincial figures will bring home to us the increasing amount of intoxicating liquors consumed.

Consumption of Country Spirits in Proof Gallons.

Province,	1901-02	1911-12
Punjab	248,524	5,65,233
Central Prov.	266,180	10,67,000
United Prov.	12,14,798	15,38,504
Madras	8,75,755	16,28,177
Bombay and Sind	17,17,775	29,37,034
Bengal, with Bihar & Orissa	6,08,298	18,76,319

N. B.—It should be stated, however that distillery areas were smaller in 1901-02 than in 1911-12.

The increase in consumption is staggering. In Bombay, Madras, and the Punjab, the consumption of country spirits has almost doubled in a decade; in Bengal it has more than trebled from 6 lakh gallons to 18½ lakh gallons; while in the Central Province the consumption of country spirits has quadrupled!

Surely, this is enough to show that the enhanced taxation was not designed to lessen the drink habit. The real policy, as we stated before, is to increase the drink-evil. We shall examine the details of this policy in one province. For obvious reasons we choose the Presidency of Bombay.

**Consumption in Bombay Presidency
(Exclusive of Sindh)
of Different Intoxicating Liquors and Drugs.**

Kind	1908-09	1913-14	1918-19
Consumption of Country Spirits in Proof Gallons	2,824,810	3,450,582	2,471,992
Quantity of Toddy sold in Liquid Gallons...	6,347,029	8,930,043	12,830,675
Consumption of Opium & Hemp Drugs etc. in Seers, 1 seer=80 tolas ...	100,344	105,638	113,892

The above statement bears eloquent testimony to the Government's real policy

It shows a steady increase in the consumption of country spirits, toddy, and, what is even worse, opium and other drugs. While the consumption of country liquor does not call for any special comment, that of toddy must be regarded as phenomenal: an increase in consumption from 6 crore gallons to nearly 18 crore gallons is, indeed, a terrible phenomenon. Nor has any explanation been vouchsafed to us for this sudden partiality of the people to toddy. The consumption per head of country liquor increased from 7.2 drams in 1908-09 to 7.8 in 1913-14, and 7.4 in 1918-19. The consumption of toddy increased by over 100 p.c. in ten years and that of drugs by 13 p.c. in the same period. It should not, however, be understood that consumption increases every year: but there is certainly a large increase in every decade.

Is this what the Government mean by their declared policy of minimising temptation to those who do not drink, and preventing access among those who do?

The statistics for drunkenness, appended below, serve only to show that even drunkenness is on the increase. The table shows the number of cases in which convictions have been recorded for drunkenness.

Convictions for Drunkenness in Bombay Presidency (exclusive of Sindh.)

Year.	On Licensed Premises.	Elsewhere	Total
1910-11	4	5023	5027
1912-13	4	5027	5081
1914-15	.	574	580
1916-17	10	6075	6085
1917-18	0	6493	6493
1918-19	9	6954	6963

There was, thus, an increase of 1036 in the number of convictions for drunkenness in a period of 8 years in one province alone. These statistics, however, give no correct estimate. An observer of such things cannot but notice the smallness of the number of people convicted for being drunk on the premises. We have seen at least half a dozen people reeling, much the worse for liquor, in front of a drinking booth in as many hours.

And here, we must stop. The reader has been initiated into the Meaning of Figures. He will see with us that the drink evil in spite of, really on account of, the Government's policy, has been on the increase. But what about the drug habit? We shall deal with this in an exclusive article next week.

(To be continued.)

B.

MR. GANDHI & THE SUPPRESSED CLASSES.

The following is the remaining portion of Mr. Gandhi's speech at the Depressed Classes Conference

'I may here recall my proposition, which is this: So long as the Hindus wilfully regard untouchability as part of their religion, so long as the mass of Hindus consider it a sin to touch a section of their brethren, Swaraj is impossible of attainment. Yudhishtira would not enter heaven without his dog. How can, then, the descendants of that Yudhishtira expect to obtain Swaraj without the untouchables? What crimes, for which we condemn the Government as satanic, have not we been guilty of towards our untouchable brethren?

'We are guilty of having suppressed our brethren; we make them crawl on their bellies; we have made them rub their noses on the ground; with eyes red with rage, we push them out of railway compartments—what more than this has British Rule done? What charge, that we bring against Dyer and O'Dwyer, may not others, and even our own people, lay at our doors? We ought to purge ourselves of this pollution. It is idle to talk of Swaraj, so long as we do not protect the weak and the helpless, or so long as it is possible for a single Swarajist to injure the feelings of any individual. Swaraj means that not a single Hindu or Muslim shall for a moment arrogantly think that he can crush with impunity weak Hindus or Muslims. Unless this condition is fulfilled we will gain Swaraj only to lose it the next moment. We are no better than the brutes until we have purged ourselves of the sins we have committed, against our weaker brethren.

'But I have faith in me still. In the course of my peregrinations in India I have realised that the spirit of kindness of which the Post Tulasidas sings so eloquently, which forms the corner-stone of the Jain and Vaishnava religions, which is the quintessence of the *Bhagavat* and which every verse of the Gita is saturated with—this kindness, this love, this charity, is slowly but steadily gaining ground in the hearts of the masses of this country.

'Many a fracas between Hindus and Mussalmans is still heard of. There are still many of these who do not scruple to wrong one another. But as to the net result, I feel that kindness and charity have increased. The Hindus and Mahommedans have become God-fearing. We have shaken ourselves free from the hypnotism of law-courts and Government schools, and no longer labour under many another hallucination. I have also realised that those whom we regard as illiterate and ignorant are the very people who deserve to be called educated. They are more cultured than we, their lives are more righteous than ours. A little study of the present-day mentality of the people will show that according to the popular conception Swaraj is synonymous with *Ram Raj*—the establishment of the Kingdom of Righteousness on earth.

If it can bring any comfort to you, my untouchable brethren, I would say that your question

does not cause so much stir as it used to do formerly. That does not mean that I expect you to cease to have misgivings about the Hindus. How can they deserve to be not mistrusted having wronged you so much? Swami Vivekanand used to say that the untouchables were not depressed, they were suppressed by the Hindus who in turn had suppressed themselves by suppressing them.

I suppose I was at Nellore on the 6th of April. I met the untouchables there and I prayed that day as I have done today. I do want to attain *Moksha*. I do not want to be reborn. But if I have to be reborn, I should be born an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings, and the affronts levelled at them, in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition. I, therefore, prayed that if I should be born again, I should do so not as a Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, or Shudra, but as an Atishudra.

Today is much more solemn than the sixth. It is hallowed by the memory of the massacre of thousands of innocents. And I prayed, therefore, also today that if I should die with any of my desires unfructified, with my service of the untouchables unfinished, with my Hinduism unfulfilled I may be born again amongst the untouchables to bring my Hinduism to its fulfilment.

I love scavenging. In my Ashram, an eighteen year old Brahmin lad is doing the scavenger's work in order to teach the Ashram scavenger cleanliness. The lad is no reformer. He was born and bred in orthodoxy. He is a regular reader of the *Gita* and faithfully performs *Sandhyavandana*. His pronunciation of Sanskrit verses is more faultless than mine. When he conducts the prayer his soft sweet melodies melt one into love. But he felt that his accomplishments were incomplete until he had become also a perfect sweeper, and that if he wanted the Ashram sweeper to do his work well he must do it himself and set an example.

You should realize that you are cleaning Hindu society. You have therefore to purify your lives. You should cultivate the habits of cleanliness, so that no one may point his finger at you. Use alkali wash or earth if you cannot afford to use soap. To keep yourselves clean. Some of you are given to drinking and gambling which you must get rid of. You will point your finger at the Brahmins and say even they are given to these vices. But they are not looked upon as polluted; and you are. You must not ask the Hindus to emancipate you as a matter of favour. Hindus must do so, if they want, in their own interests. You should, therefore, make them feel ashamed by your own purity and cleanliness. I believe that we shall have purified ourselves within the next five months. If my expectations are not fulfilled, I will think that al-

though my proposition was fundamentally correct, yet I was wrong in my calculation, and I will again say that I had erred in my calculation.

You claim to be Hindus, you read the *Bagava*, if, therefore, the Hindus oppress you then you should understand that the fault does not lie in the Hindu Religion but in those who profess it. In order to emancipate yourselves you shall have to purify yourselves. You shall have to get rid of evil habits like drinking.

If you want to ameliorate your condition, if you want to obtain *Swara*, you should be self-reliant. I was told in Bombay that some of you are opposed to N. C. O. and believe that salvation is only possible through the British Government. Let me tell you that you will never be able to obtain redress by discarding Hindu Religion and courting the favour of a third party. Your emancipation lies in your own hands.

I have come in contact with the untouchables all over the country and I have observed that immense possibilities lie latent in them of which neither they nor the rest of the Hindus seem to be aware. Their intellect is of virginal purity. I ask you to learn spinning and weaving, and if you take them up as a profession, you will keep poverty from your doors. As regards your attitude towards the *bhungs* I will repeat what I said at Godhra. I cannot understand why you should yourselves countenance the distinction between *Dheds* and *Bhungs*. There is no difference between them. Even in normal times their occupation is as honourable as that of lawyers or Government servants.

You should now cease to accept offerings from plates however clean they may be represented to be. Receive grain only—good, sound grain, not rotten grain, and that too only if it is courteously offered. If you are able to do all I have asked you to do, you will secure your emancipation, not in four or five months, but in so many days.

The Hindus are not sinful by nature—they are sunk in ignorance. Untouchability must be extinct in this very year. Two of the strongest desires that keep me in flesh and bone are the emancipation of the untouchables and the protection of the cow. When these two desires are fulfilled, there is *Swara*, and therein lies my own *Moksha*. May God give you strength to work out your salvation.

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Notes.

Swami Govindanand—So, Swami Govindanand has got five years' transportation. He has a tough back. He has undergone previous incarceration without trial. He has put on record his experiences of the tortures he had to put up with in the various jails in which he was placed. He has now gone through the farce of a trial and has been duly convicted. Does the transportation on that account carry any weight, or does it not rather show the hypocrisy of the whole transaction? The form is changed, the spirit remains the same. What is wanted is a change of the spirit. 'Handsome is that handsome does.' I have read the full text of the Swami's speech. It contains some bitter and offensive language but nothing out of the ordinary. Certainly there is no incitement to violence in it. Disaffection there is. But if he deserved prosecution for uttering disaffection, I am as guilty as Swami Govindanand. I have probably the greatest disaffection for the existing system of Government. For nobody has perhaps the same horror of the system that I have. One would think that disaffection was an established common fact in India and that so long as the speakers did not incite to violence, they were to be free from the attentions of the police. But the worst of this Government is that it has no consistent policy. The late Mr. Chamberlain used to pride himself on reiterating as a belief that a British official's word was as good as a bond. We know by painful experience that to-day a British Government's bond is worth no more than was a paper. Happily India was under no delusion when Sir William Vincent pompously pronounced the sentences conveying to the Indian ear the assurance that non-co-operators were to be left undisturbed so long as there was no incitement to violence. The assurance only meant that non-co-operators were to be left undisturbed so long as their propaganda did not result in effective action. Now that we have gone far beyond the stage of mere demonstration, we need not expect freedom from imprisonment or worse. The more the movement tells, the greater must the repression be. Five years' transportation is clearly intended to produce a theatrical effect. Five years in the life of India to-day mean, I do not know, how many ages. If India is as good as her word, she would have acquired the power long before the expiry of the period to discharge all

prisoners unjustly detained. But whether that event is far or near, our duty is clear. We must answer every imprisonment not with anger, as in Malegaon, but with quiet courage and determination. We must prosecute, if we are true to our creed, still more vigorously the concrete constructive programme of the All-India Congress Committee to its full fruition. We must not indulge in empty or provoking demonstrations at each arrest. We must not indulge in bravado. We must seek imprisonment for doing solid work.

Malegaon misbehaviour—I observe that there is a tendency to minimise the guilt of the non-co-operators at Malegaon. No amount of provocation by the Sub-Inspector could possibly justify retaliation by the non-co-operators. I am not examining the case from the legal standpoint. I am concerned only with the non-co-operators. He is bound under his oath not to retaliate even under the gravest provocation. We have the brilliant instance of Sardars Lachmansingh and Dalipsingh and their party. If we are true non-co-operators, we must be so in power if dying as they did. I would have hailed with joy the immolation of Malegaon non-co-operators if they had died bravely and without providing any justification. That would have brought the day of India's freedom nearer. As it was, who gave the first provocation, again, from the non-co-operator's standpoint? Did they or did they not try to overawe the police? These dangerous demonstrations when any of us is arrested are as I have already observed before, an unseemly exhibition of our anxiety to avoid imprisonment. We have chosen a standard of judgment for ourselves and we must abide by it. I retain the opinion that the non-co-operators, so far as the facts hitherto brought to light show, committed a grievous breach of the code of non-violent Non-co-operation. I would ask the public who are interested in the Khilafat or Swaraj, religiously to refrain from all demonstrations over the arrest or imprisonment of even their dearest leaders. I would hold it no honour to me for the public to proclaim a hartal or hold meetings if I was arrested or Maulana Shaukat Ali for that matter. I would welcome and expect in any such event a complete immediate boycott of all foreign cloth, a more energetic adoption of the spinning wheel, a more vigorous collection in behalf

of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and a flooding of Congress offices for registration as members, I would certainly expect the emptying of Government schools and colleges and more suspensions of practices by lawyers. Killing officers and burning buildings will not only retard the advent of Swaraj and the righting of the Khatia and the Punjab wrongs, but are likely to lead to utter demoralisation of the nation. We must therefore scrupulously avoid all occasions which would excite the passions of the mob and lead them into undesirable or criminal conduct.

Carping criticism—Often do young men criticise the conduct of leaders without just cause. The latest instance that has come to my notice is rather striking. A special train was arranged for a visit to Mirpur Khas from Hyderabad during my recent visit to Sindh. This was too much for a correspondent. He thought that the leaders had indulged in a waste of national funds. I had not stopped to inquire the reason why the special was arranged. He advised me to cancel the special and give a day more to Sindh and save the money. If he had inquired into the matter, the friend would have discovered that without the special it was impossible to take me to Mirpur Khas, that I could not have given a day more to Sindh without disturbing the rest of the programme, that it was necessary for me to go to Mirpur Khas and that the expense was comparatively small. Criticism of public men is a welcome sign of public awakening. It keeps workers on the alert. Those who pay have a right to ensure economy. There is undoubtedly an extravagance often noticed about popular demonstrations, much money is spent in tinsel splendour. The expense is often thoughtless. And we are likely to gain by fearless criticism of public expenditure or general conduct of public men. But all such criticism must be well informed and thoughtful. All carping criticism must be avoided.

Whilst on the question of railway travelling, I must remark that there is still noticeable a desire to avoid 3rd class travelling. I am sorry to say that, being no longer physically able to travel 3rd class, I am deprived of the inestimable experiences of third class railway travelling. It affords an opportunity of contact with the national mind which nothing else does. It enables one to render service which cannot be otherwise rendered. I would therefore urge all workers to avoid 2nd class travelling save in rare cases. No one perhaps knows better than I do the discomfort of 3rd class railway travelling. I put it down partly to callous railway management and partly to bad national habits that ignore the convenience of the neighbour. Observant workers traveling 3rd class would efficiently deal with the disregard both of the management and the passengers. There is no doubt that 2nd class travelling is not within the reach of the masses. And national servants may claim no privileges not enjoyed by the latter.

M. K. G.

ARROWS OF FIRE

(Shuma'a, I—3.)

Love your enemies—and you will have none.
To love your enemy is to conquer him.
If you love him who hates you, what more can he do?

Even in your worst enemy recognize the Divine Friend.

Only the strong are strong enough not to resist.

Let the slanderer perish with his slander; do not contradict him.

To the false witness against you, not a word!
..... it might save him.

If God chooses to show so little of himself in each man, why blame the man?

The future alone is the true judge.

The punishment that imitates the crime, justifies it.

'Civilisation'—the privilege of a few peoples estimated by the number of their fire-arms.

'Barbarism'—not to have your fire arms up to date.

If thou seest God nowhere, it is because He is everywhere.

One idol hides the One God; many idols reveal Him.

A little ignorance makes men bow down to wood and stone; a greater ignorance prevents them from doing it.

To give to God all one loves—that is indeed to love God.

To live in Heaven means to make Heaven live on earth.

Blessed are they who make nothing their own, for they shall possess all things.

Blessed are they who covet nothing, for they will receive all that others covet.

Blessed are the meek, for they alone shall survive when the rest have finished destroying each other.

Blessed are they who, in the cause of Justice, are condemned by a justice.

Blessed are they whom the present persecutes, for they are the children of the future.

When the rich concern themselves with the business of the poor it is called charity.

When the poor concern themselves with the business of the rich it is called anarchy.

Thy surfeit is another's starvation.

To have is to owe.

Thou shalt only be forgiven those possessions which thou hast given.

PAUL RICHARD

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THE OPIUM POISON.

I

In the present great movement of the masses of the people of India towards Swaraj, self-purification has become at last the one leading note. There is on every side the enthusiasm of a lofty ideal—the ideal of a purer India. The women of India are now adding their untold moral wealth. Their aid will give to the Movement a purity and a radiant beauty beyond all else besides. We shall see, if we have faith, many age-long evils swept away. In my former article, I wrote about the 'Curse of Drink' Along with this, there is another curse: the Curse of Opium—in some ways more deadly to the soul of India than intoxicants, because it has its effect chiefly on a neighbouring and a friendly people, the Chinese. It is thus at once more cruel and more selfish than the Curse of Drink.

The justice which is to be wrought out, when India regains her independence, must be in every way a fuller justice than that which now exists, under a foreign rule. Christ himself has given the test of all reformation when he said: "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

We have seen, in a previous article, how a far 'higher righteousness' is needed with regard to intoxicants than that which is shown in the revenue policy of the present Government. We must no longer dare to make 13 crores of rupees out of the Drink Traffic, when once Swaraj is ours. Whatever we spend in India must be pure, not tainted money.

Let us now consider the Opium traffic, which still brings into the Indian revenue immense profits year by year. It is difficult to obtain the total figures both for external and internal sale, because the opium sold in India itself is going along with intoxicants, in one figure, under the head 'intoxicating liquors and narcotics.' But the revenue from opium which was sold outside India amounted to £ 1,572,218 in 1914-15, to £ 1,913,514 in 1915-16, and to £ 3,160,005 in 1917-18. I have not been able to obtain more recent figures.

The following extract, from a book recently published, gives the story of external Opium Traffic in the past:—

"The sole object of the nefarious opium Monopoly between India and China, prompted by the British Government in India, was to make money.

"It was well known, that opium smoking was a curse in China in every possible way. The opium vice destroyed, by degrees, both body and mind. In whole districts where people were devoted to opium smoking, the adult male population became slowly incapable of any action or exertion, and gradually descended from debauchery to despair and death. That made no difference to English merchants or English capitalists or English politicians. Huge profits could be raised by a comparatively small outlay. Indian finance could be helped by an opium monopoly. So opium was 'good business.'"

No Englishman can read the plain account of what was done, without understanding why the foreigners denounce the hypocrisy of his country, which, while claiming a high morality, refuses to allow any consideration of human well-being to interfere with its greed of gain.

'Happily this miserable Opium Trade is now being suppressed.'

It is just at this last point that the writer's information fails him. He is taking the assertions of those, whose interest it is to keep up the opium revenue. But unfortunately the facts do not bear out, what we have been so often told in the Press namely, that the 'Opium Traffic is dead.'

Let us test this common press statement in a very simple manner. Miss La Motte, an American lady, with independent financial means at her disposal, made a thorough investigation. She writes as follows:—

On our way out to Japan, in July 1916, we met a young Hindu on the steamer, who was indignant about the policy of the British Government which had established Opium Trade in India, as one of the Government departments. Of all the phases of British rule in India, it was this policy which excited him most, and which caused him most ardently to wish, that India had some form of self-government, so that the country could protect herself from this evil. Without self-government, he said, his country was powerless to put a stop to this traffic, imposed by a foreign government, and he greatly deplored the slow but steady demoralisation of the Indian nation which was taking place. As he produced his facts and figures, showing what this meant to his own people—this gradual undermining of their moral fibre and their economic efficiency—we grew more and more interested. It seemed incredible.....So shocked were we by what this young Hindu told us, that we flatly refused to believe him. We decided not to take his word for it, but to look into the matter ourselves.

"We did look into the matter. During a stay in the Far East of nearly a year, we looked into the matter in every country we visited. Whenever possible we obtained government reports and searched them carefully...We found a thorough and complete establishment of the Opium Traffic, run by Government, as a monopoly. Revenue was derived from the sale of opium, through Excise Tax upon opium and through licence fees paid by the keepers of opium shops. A complete systematic arrangement was established by which the foreign government profited at the expense of the subject people under its rule. In European countries and in America, we find the government making every effort to repress the sale of habit-forming drugs. Here, in the Far East, a contrary attitude prevails. The Government makes every effort to encourage and extend the sale...Two notable exceptions presented themselves. Japan protected its people as carefully as any European country. The other exception is the Philippine Islands."

(To be continued.) C. F. ANDREWS,

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 11th May, 1921.

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

That unity is strength is not merely a copy-book maxim but a rule of life, is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu Muslim Unity. Divided we must fall. Any third power may easily enslave India so long as we Hindus and Mussalmans are ready to cut each other's throats. Hindu Muslim Unity means not unity only between Hindus and Mussalmans but between all those who believe India to be their home, no matter to what faith they belong.

I am fully aware that we have not yet attained that unity to such an extent as to bear any strain. It is a daily growing plant, as yet in delicate infancy, requiring special care and attention. The thing became clear in Nellore when the problem confronted me in a concrete shape. The relations between the two were none too happy. They fought only about two years ago over what appeared to me to be a small matter. It was the eternal question of playing music whilst passing mosques. I hold that we may not dignify every trifle into a matter of deep religious importance. Therefore a Hindu may not insist on playing music whilst passing a mosque. He may not even quote precedents in his own or any other place for the sake of playing music. It is not a matter of vital importance for him to play music whilst passing a mosque. One can easily appreciate the Mussalman sentiment of having solemn silence near a mosque the whole of the twenty four hours. What is a non-essential to a Hindu may be an essential to a Mussalman. And in all non-essential matters a Hindu must yield for the sake of unity. It is criminal folly to quarrel over trivialities. The Unity we desire will last only if we cultivate a yielding and a charitable disposition towards one another. The cow is as dear as life to a Hindu, the Mussalman should therefore voluntarily accommodate his Hindu brother. Silence at his prayer is a precious thing for a Mussalman. Every Hindu should voluntarily respect his Mussalman brother's sentiment. This however is a counsel of perfection. There are nasty Hindus as there are nasty Mussalmans who would pick a quarrel for nothing. For these we must provide Panchayats of unimpeachable probity and imperturbability whose decisions must be binding on both parties. Public opinion should be cultivated in favour of the decisions of such panchayats so that no one would question them.

I know that there is much, too much distrust of one another as yet. Many Hindus distrust Mussalmans honestly. They believe that Swaraj means Mussalman Raj, for they argue that without the British, Mussalmans of India will aid Mussalman powers to build up a Mussalman empire in India.

Mussalmans on the other hand fear that the Hindus being in an overwhelming majority will smother them. Such an attitude of mind betokens impotence on either's part. If not their nobility, their desire to live in peace would dictate a policy of mutual trust and mutual forbearance. There is nothing in either religion to keep the two apart. The days of forcible conversion are gone. Save for the cow Hindus can have no ground for quarrel with Mussalmans. The latter are under no religious obligation to slaughter a cow. The fact is we have never before now endeavoured to come together, to adjust our differences and to live as friends bound to one another as children of the same sacred soil. We have both now an opportunity of a lifetime. The Khilafat question will not recur for another hundred years. If the Hindus wish to cultivate eternal friendship with the Mussalmans, they must perish with them in the attempt to vindicate the honour of Islam.

ASHOKA'S TWELFTH EDICT ON THE GIRNAR ROCK.

The beloved of the gods does not value gifts and reverence so much as the advancement of the strength of all the religionists. Advancement of strength has many aspects. But its root lies in keeping watch over one's speech, for it avoids overrating one's own religionists and underrating another's on unimportant occasions; otherwise there may be absence of dignity. On occasions, other religionists ought to be honoured in various ways. Doing this, one promotes one's fellow religionists and benefits other religionists too. But behaving otherwise, one injures one's own religion, and does harm even to other religionists; for one who extols his co-religionists and condemns other religionists, does so out of devotion to his religion in order to glorify his co-religionists. But doing so, one injures one's own religionists the more. A conciliatory course is preferable, in as much as people may bear the Law unwittingly and may listen to it.

IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?

Is life worth living? yes, so long
As there is wrong to right,
Wail of the weak against the strong
Or tyranny to fight:
Long as there lingers gloom to chase
Or streaming tear to dry,
Ole kindred woe, one sorrowing face
That smiles as we draw nigh,
So long as faith with freedom reigns
And loyal hope survives,
And gracious charity remains
To leaven lowly lives,
While there is one untrodden tract
For intellect or will,
And men are free to think and act
LIFE is worth living still.

ALFRED AUSTIN.

SPINNING AS FAMINE RELIEF.

Mrs. Jaiji Patel has sent the following notes of an experiment being conducted in spinning among the famine-stricken people at Miri near Ahmednagar. I gladly publish the notes as the experiment is being conducted under the supervision of an Englishwoman. The reader will not fail to observe the methodical manner in which the work is being done. All the difficulties have been met and provided for. Even the very small experiment shows what a potent instrument, the spinning wheel is for famine relief. Properly organised it cannot but yield startling results.—M. K. G.

In the month of August 1920, when the severity of the famine was being felt, the idea of introducing spinning as a famine relief to respectable middle class people was started and Miss Latham kindly gave a spinning wheel to introduce the work. Attempts were made to introduce the work especially among the Dhangars who were used to spinning wool but they proved futile. Spinning a thin thread of cotton was thought an impossibility in a village which did not know anything about it. Doubts were also entertained as to whether the work if taken up would be paying or at least helpful. In such different difficulties and objections, the wheel remained idle for nearly three months, and in spite of vigorous efforts no body seemed willing to take up the work. In December 1920, Miss Latham again sent four more wheels through the kindness of Mrs. J. Petit and some cotton. They were given for trial to different persons. Signs now seemed a little hopeful and at last one Ramoshi woman was prevailed upon to take up the work seriously. This was about the 20th of January 1921, since when the work has assumed a different shape. The example of this woman was copied by two more who undertook to take up the work. Through great perseverance 4 lbs. of yarn were prepared by these three spinners and it was sent for sale. In the meantime many women began to make inquiries and expressed a desire to take it up if it helped them financially in some way. A rate of spinning 6 as. a lb. was therefore fixed and it helped other spinners to join the work.

Here another difficulty viz. want of funds, came in the way. All the five wheels were engaged and five more prepared locally were also engaged. The stock of cotton was also exhausted. It seemed that the work would suffer for want of funds to prepare wheels, purchase cotton, and pay the workers. Rao Bahadur Chitale personally saw this difficulty and helped the work with a grant of Rs. 100. Miss Latham, when she knew of this difficulty, kindly sent another hundred. These two grants came at the right time and gave a stimulus to the work. Local gentlemen helped with their own cotton.

The demand for wheels went on increasing day by day. People being too poor to pay for the wheels, it became necessary to get the wheels prepared locally and lend them to the workers. Twenty seven more wheels were prepared which also gave work to local carpenters who had no work on account of famine. One carpenter improved the wheel by making it more light and useful for finer yarn. The prices of the wheel were paid at Rs. 3, Rs. 3-8, and Rs. 4 per wheel according to the quality. Three of these wheels have been sold for Rs. 3-5 as. The total sum spent on these wheels is

Rs. 103-8-0 which includes the sum for the wheels kindly sent by Mrs. Petit.

Though local cotton was secured for the work, it proved too bad for beginners. A new method therefore was introduced to improve the local cotton, which not only helped the work but also provided work for a few more persons. Raw cotton was secured and the dirt and the dry leaves in it were carefully removed before it was ginned. The rate for this work was fixed at one pie per lb. Any old man who did this work got an opportunity of earning one anna a day, by cleaning 4 lbs. of raw cotton. After it was thus cleaned, it was ginned with a hand-gin which gave work to some women who ginned, at the rate of one anna per 10 lbs. One woman could thus earn 2 as. and 6 pies each day. This ginned cotton was then cleaned by a pinjari who charged at the rate of one anna per pound and earned about 8 as. per day. It would have been better and easier too, if cotton had been purchased from the mulla, but as this cleaning process of the local cotton provided work for a few workers, it was thought the more desirable in these days. A major portion of these cleaning charges is however made up by the sale of cotton seed secured after ginning. The following statement will show the expenses incurred for this and the price of raw cotton for every 60 lbs.

	Rs.	As.	Pi.
Price of 60 lbs. of raw cotton @ 20 Rs. a patta (240 lbs.).	5-0-0
Removal of dirt waste and dry leaves @ 1 pie per pound	0-15-0
Ginning of 52 lbs. of raw clean cotton @ 1a. per 10 lbs.	0-5-3
Cleaning the Lint (17 lbs.) by a pinjari @ 1 Anna per lb.	1-1-0
			<u>Total 7-5-3</u>
Deduct price of cotton seed 35 lbs. @ 29 lbs. per Rs.	1-12-0
			<u>Net charges for 17 lbs. of clean cotton ... 6-3-3</u>

Thus the cost of one pound of cotton comes to 6 as. and 3 pies only. The proportion of waste viz. 8 lbs. in 60 lbs. of raw cotton is too high and could be avoided by securing better and cleaner cotton.

There are at present 29 wheels going and there is still a great demand for wheels. But the funds being limited, more wheels could not be prepared and provided. Spinning is done by those who absolutely know nothing about it previously. Consequently the yarn is still of an inferior sort. It is improving day by day but if a competent teacher could be secured, it would improve rapidly. Amongst the spinners, some are full-time workers and others are leisure-time workers.

About two lbs. of yarn are now prepared every day and the quantity will increase as the spinners get used to the work. The rate for spinning is fixed @ 6 as. a lb., though many workers complain that it is not enough. As the yarn sent for sale realised a price of 12 as. a lb., the spinning charges could not be increased without a loss. Every lb. of yarn requires Annas 11 pies 3 for expenses, as 0-5-3 for cotton & 0-6-0 for spinning. Thus every lb. leaves a profit of 9 pies only. The establishment and other charges are not calculated. With the present rate of spinning @ 6 as. a lb., one spinner earns 3 as. per day by spinning 23 to 24 tolas, more earn 2 as. a day by spinning 15 tolas and the rest 1½ as. a day for 10 tolas, the beginners excluded. The more the spinner is used to the work, the more he will earn.

An attempt was made to prepare cloth out of the yarn and three and a half lbs. of yarn were given to a weaver for weaving. He however charged an exorbitant rate for weaving. He prepared nine and a half yards of cloth and charged Rs. 3-0 for it, practically 1 rupee a lb. The cloth cost Rs. 6-0-0 and was sold at Rs. 6-8-0, with a profit of no. 2 pice 6 only. To obviate the difficulty about weaving, a separate loom with one teacher to teach weaving to local persons is urgently required. Many local people wish to learn this art. A separate loom will reduce the cost of the cloth prepared on it below the prevailing market rate. About 6 lbs. of yarn are given to different weavers to ascertain the exact charges, but all this difficulty can only be removed by having a special loom.

When there was a shortage of cotton and the workers had no work, wool was introduced for spinning till cotton was ready. This work was willingly taken up by the Dhangars. They were however required to spin finer thread of wool than they usually prepared. They took some time to pick up the work, and now there are 10 wool spinners working fine thread. They are also paid at 6 as. a lb. for spinning. Wool worth Rs. 31 @ 2 lbs. a rupee was purchased, and though the cotton was ready, the wool spinning was continued by starting a separate department, as the Dhangars readily took up the work. The whole process of cleaning the wool is also done by the Dhangar women, who get an extra anna per lb. for it. The sorting of wool is carefully looked to. The majority of wool spinners use their own spinning wheels but a few are now asking for the improved wheel for preparing finer threads.

Dhangar weavers being locally available, blankets after the Pandharpur and Dawangiri pattern are being prepared from this finer thread and different designs have been suggested to them. The Dhangars being a stubborn race do not readily adopt the new improvement, but this work has set them to work up new designs of blankets which will permanently help them in their own profession. They now require a broader and improved loom and instruction in colouring wool. Efforts are made to secure a clever full-time weaver who will introduce a better method of weaving. Two blankets were prepared and sold at cost price, one for Rs. 5-12-6 and the other for Rs. 6-0-0. Orders are being received for more blankets now, but to continue the work would require some funds.

To keep so many persons working is not only an ideal form of famine relief, but a means to promote village industries, and remove the demoralising effects of successive famines. Thus stands the work of about one month. It now requires an improved handloom, a good teacher, a special loom for wool, more spinning wheels (which the neighbouring villagers are also demanding) & many other things. The work is going on vigorously and it is hoped will not be allowed to suffer for want of funds.

Sound, sound the clarion, fill the air,

To all the sensual world proclaim,

One crowded hour of glorious life

Is worth an age without a name.

MR. GANDHI'S ELLORE SPEECH

It was my intention to reproduce some of my Andhra Desha Speeches in "Young India". But that has not been possible. I was most anxious to reproduce my Rajmahendry speech. But I have no notes of it. The industry of a co-worker enables me to give the speech at Ellore which deals somewhat with the special matter of the Rajmahendry speech, and as it is otherwise not a bad effort, I take the liberty of giving it to the readers of Y. I.

M. K. Q.

You will please forgive me for not standing up to speak to you. You know that I am physically very weak.

You will please also forgive me that I have not with me this evening Maulana Shaukatullah.

We have given to India an object lesson in Hindu-Muslim unity by travelling as full-born brothers throughout the length and breadth of India for one year. He claims to be, and is, one of the staunchest of Muslims and I claim to be a staunch Sabatani Hindu. But we find no difficulty in living and serving together.

But you and I are in a hurry to establish Swaraj or Dharma Raj in India during this very year. You will not expect us any longer to be travelling together.

It has given me the greatest pleasure to be able to unveil the portrait of Lokamanya Tilak. Swaraj to him was the breath of his nostrils. He lived for Swaraj and he died muttering the Swaraj mantra. It is therefore, but right that you treasure the portrait of that great patriot, and I consider it a privilege and an honour having been called upon to unveil the portrait. I congratulate the local artist on his creation. But you know that the unveiling of portraits of great men and women, and reciting the names of gods and personages carry with them certain duties, if they confer certain privileges. I assume that you have realised your duty in having asked me to perform this sacred ceremony. I shall assume that this unveiling of the portrait of Tilak Maharaj marks your fixed determination to redress the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and to establish Swaraj. We can only earn the title to be the heirs of the fame of this great patriot if we sacrifice everything for the attainment of Swaraj and succeed in the attempt. I regard it also as a happy augury that I have been called upon to perform the opening ceremony of a club for women in Ellore. It delights my heart to see brave sisters, dressed in Khaddar going about from door to door, and asking for money for the national fund.

It is equally a happy augury that you have asked me to perform the opening ceremony of the national college for which you have collected the handsome sum of Rs. 67,000. And I have much pleasure in declaring open the national college. May God grant that institution a long life and all that the professors and workers may entitle it to. I consider that the profession of the schoolmaster is one of the noblest professions in the world. Schoolmasters are trustees for the future generations. I hope that the schoolmasters of this great institution will remember that only that education is true which fits boys and girls for complete self-expression. Let me in all humility tell the schoolmasters that the only art that boys and girls can learn this year is the fine art of spinning, the art of carding cotton and the art of weaving.

It is on the slender cotton thread that the honour of Islam and India and the secrets of the enormity of the Punjab wrong rest. I am absolutely convinced after years of search and experiment (and now that experi-

ment has been supplemented by experience) that the introduction of spinning in every home is the solution for the grinding poverty of the masses. We have no right to call ourselves the sons and the daughters of India so long as we remain silent witnesses to the plight of lakhs of our semi-starved countrymen. Our degradation and the grinding poverty of India began with the destruction of the spinning wheel, and it is but small penance for us men, women, boys and girls to spin during all our leisure hours in order to win Swaraj for India. I regard it as a sin, and I would ask every one of you to regard it as a sin to wear a single piece of foreign cloth. I regard as foreign cloth even that which comes from Bombay and Ahmedabad. Our spinning mills must be in our homes or weaving mills must be in our villages. And just as it will be a sin for you to have your bread baked in the oven so it is a sin for you to have your cloth manufactured in Bombay or Ahmedabad. It is not possible to take the gospel of Swadeshi to you who know better, it must be a crime not to spin your own yarn and get it woven. It has given me the greatest pleasure to find that as has provided you are sure to spin very fine superior yarn and weave better cloth in your weavers' looms. I hope also that the professors and trustees of the national colleges will bear in mind that the Tamils and the Bengalis have cut themselves off from India by not learning Hindustani. I feel compelled to have to speak in English to face a vast audience like this which understands a not a word of English and I wish you would consider it shameful that not a single one of you can translate a simple spoken Hindustani.

But I must now hasten to other matters. I had my folk say at Rajahmundry that it is an important matter and I hope that some Telugu friend will reproduce that speech, translate it, and spread it broadcast among hundreds of our countrymen. It was at about ten o'clock last night in Coimbatore that dancing girls paid me a visit when I understood the full significance of what they were. I felt like sinking in the Earth below. I ask you to blot that sin out of us. It is not right that for our lust a single sister should have to live a life of shame and humiliation. In this movement of purification we are in duty bound to regard these girls as our sisters and daughters. Let us who feel the pricks of violence that this insolent government inflicts on us to commit worse violence by ruining the life of a single girl in India. I ask you, brothers and sisters, to send me assurance, as early as possible, that there is not a single dancing girl in this part of the land. I charge these sisters who are sitting behind me to go about from place to place, find out every dancing girl and shame the men into shunning the wrong they are doing.

We call this a movement of purification, we call it a religious movement, we dare to call this Government satanic, we compare it to Ravana's Raj, we think of our future Raj in terms of religion and gladly call the Swaraj to come, Dharma Raj. Let us not deceive ourselves and gods and deserve the curse of God for deceiving men. We may not regard a single being as untouchable. We have become lepers of the Empire by regarding a class of Hindus as lepers. I speak with the authority of experience and I assure you that in Hinduism there is no sanction for treating a single human being as untouchable. In the estimation of a Brahman knowing and living his religion, a Shudra is as good as himself. The Bhagavad-gita has nowhere taught that a Chandal is in any way inferior to a Brahman. A Brahman ceases to be a Brahman, immediately he becomes insolent and considers himself a superior being. India owes a deep debt

to the Brahmins, who voluntarily sacrificed themselves for the betterment of all. It was Brahmins who have called God servant of servants, the purifier of the fallen. It was Brahmins who taught that the prostitute and the Chandal could attain *moksha* if she or he only purified her or his heart.

But unfortunately for the human race the Brahmin shares with mankind the frailties of all. In common with others he has neglected his duty of giving knowledge to mankind, of guiding them in the right and earnest path. We gladly charge Englishmen with insolence and haughtiness. Let us, before we cast the stone at them, free ourselves from liability to reproach. Let us put our own house in order.

I believe in Varnashrama Dharma. But what we know today by that name is nothing but a travesty of it. Varnashrama Dharma is the truest road to equality, it is a religion not of self-indulgence but of self-sacrifice. It is a religion not of insolence but of humility. Whilst therefore, some of our weaknesses make me shudder and despair, I see many a silver lining to the cloud of despair.

The spiritual character of the movement is one of the most soul-stirring phenomena that India could pass through. I ask you to put a stop to gambling, the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs, and other kindred vices. Believe me that when we have done this there is no power on Earth which can stand in our way.

It is now commonplace for me to draw your attention to Hindu Muslim unity and to non-violence. I hope that these things have become articles of faith for all of us.

For a Hindu to quarrel with a Mohammedan or for a Mohammedan to quarrel with a Hindu is to destroy the prospect of Swaraj. This union between the Hindus and the Mussalmans means the redress of Khilafat wrongs and of the Punjab wrongs.

For us to draw the sword is to perish by it. Let not an angry word slip against our opponents or Englishmen. It is not necessary to criticize Englishmen or our own countrymen who differ from us. For the best and the truest criticism consists in living according to our faith.

Let us concentrate our attention on three things that the Congress Committee has placed before us. You invited the all-India Congress Committee to your capital, you lavished boundless affection on the members, you held a spontaneous demonstration as if it was a religious festival, as if it was a Congress gathering. The demand for men, money, and munitions, as Mr. Das put it, was born at Benwada. And I hope that you will put your shoulders to the wheel and work ceaselessly so that every one is registered in the Congress Ledger.

Long before the 30th June dawns upon you, I hope that you will have collected your quota, and long before the same date, you will place the spinning wheel in every home of this Andhradesha.

I hope that in three months' time there will be, not a man or woman calling himself or herself the son or daughter of this land, using foreign cloth. Your energy and faith had captivated me even in South Africa. My best fellow prisoners were Tamil and Telugu countrymen. They were the first to come to the field and never left it. But the energy, the devotion, the faith, the simplicity, the industry that you are exhibiting amazes me. Your natural freedom and natural self-restraint have enchanted me. With all such magnificent qualities it will be nothing

but a misfortune if we do not attain *bhwaraj* during one year. I ask every one of you to remain on the watch-tower, to watch and check yourself in everything you do. It is no exaggeration to say that all that you have let me see of you convinces me that you have in you the making of *Ramraj*. Frankness and generosity are written in your faces, and I pay the sisters of *Andhradesha* the highest compliment when I say that they have shown the same noble bearing which I have seen in *Maharashtra*.

Go on as you have begun and I have no doubt that when the Congress Secretary presents the balance sheet you will be found on the top. If there are any lawyers in *Ellore* who have not yet suspended their practice, I ask them to throw in their lot with the masses of India and take the opportunity of serving the motherland.

May God grant power to your elbow, courage to suffer, ability to go through any sacrifice for the motherland.

Presently, volunteers will go amongst you, and I ask you to give me all that you can now for the *Tilak bhwaraj*. Men of *Ellore*, part with all the luxuries and ornaments and you will find that you will get one *Dharmaraj* in an incredibly short time.

I thank you, I congratulate you, for the considerate arrangement which has enabled me to go through this heavy programme without much inconvenience. I thank you also for the patience with which you have listened to my remarks.

GREATER USE OF HANDLOOMS.

To the Editor, Young India.

Sir,

All patriotic Indians agree that India should be a self-clothing country, that is that India should not import foreign yarn or piece-goods. The question is as to the best and the quickest means of attaining that object. The *Charkha* has been preached to be the means. We however, believe that there are easier, quicker, and in every respect better, means for accomplishing the object. What are they? Let us declare at once that they are—(1) increasing the number of hand-looms in India; (2) preaching that it is the imperative duty of every Indian to be satisfied for the present with comparatively coarse cloths made from yarn produced in India and to avoid using imported cloths, and cloths made in India from imported yarn (chiefly fine), however comfortable wearing these clothes may be. A little explanation is necessary. One of the cardinal facts to remember in this connection is that if the total amount of twist and yarn, that is now produced in India without the use of *Charkha*, were converted into cloth, it would practically suffice to clothe India from her own produce, supposing the country were prepared to wear coarse cloths only. As a matter of fact about 148 million pounds of twist and yarn made in India are exported every year from India. Convert i. e. weave this stuff into cloth in India and prepare the country for making the small sacrifice involved in being content for the present with the coarse cloth thus produced, and the great problem of making India self-clothing within a very short time is solved. Here the first question that crosses one's mind is whether the existing power looms and hand-looms of India would be able to weave the above huge quantity of yarn into cloth. The answer must be in the negative. What then is to be done? The obvious

answer is. increase the number of looms. It would be difficult to increase the number of power looms at once. A large quantity of machinery (weaving) would have to be imported from foreign lands. That means a delay of two or three years, leaving aside for the nonce the difficulties arising from the unfavourable rate of exchange and the recently imposed high import duty on this kind of machinery. To increase the number of hand-looms is not difficult. They can be manufactured here in India within a very short time and at a very small cost. From a calculation based on statistics for the year 1919 published by the Director, General of Statistics, which however I do not wish to inflict on your readers, it can be easily shown that it would be practically sufficient for our present purposes, if we multiply our hand-looms to twice their existing number. And I appeal to the readers to consider the matter with all the earnest care that the importance of the question demands, and put their powerful shoulders to the wheel.

CALCUTTA

19 April

Yours faithfully,

S. B. MITRA

[The correspondent seems to ignore the fact that the propaganda of hand-spinning involves that of hand-weaving. India cannot be self-contained for her clothing if the hand-spun yarn could not be hand-woven. But the mere multiplying of hand-looms cannot solve the problem. The art of hand-weaving is not dead. There are to-day more hand-looms working in India than power-looms. But they mostly weave foreign yarn. I heartily support the proposition that we should use only coarse cloth and induce the weavers to weave only Indian yarn. The correspondent should also have advised 'the leaders' to appeal to the mill-owners not to export yarn at all. Only it is well nigh impossible to induce the mill-owners to forego the larger profits they make by exporting yarn. If only the mill-owners and the other capitalists took it into their heads, they could certainly bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth during this year. But even so the problem of hand-spinning remains. It is not enough merely to bring about boycott of foreign cloth. It is absolutely necessary to give the millions of the peasantry a supplementary industry. They must utilize, as they did before, their spare hours in some occupation supplementary to agriculture. The millions who are living in semi-starvation for want of occupation must find an easy one in their own homes. This is again hand-spinning. What the correspondent urges is going on. The number of handlooms is increasing, the people are taking to wearing coarse cloth. But universal handspinning alone can immediately solve the problem of the growing poverty of the masses. Let me put my conviction still more strongly. India cannot become a contented, fearless, and self-supporting India without hand-spinning. It is therefore that Mr. Jastoreo of Masulipatam instinctively recognised the duty (*dharma*) of hand-spinning as a sacramental rite. The masses with their clear imagination have certainly recognised it as such. I ask everyone who thinks like Dr. Mitra not to divert the national mind from the central fact. Hand-spinning includes all that the correspondent suggests, but it includes much more. An ocean necessarily includes that which is yielded by a river. M. K. G.]

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Notes.

Horniman and Company—Friends have accused me of indifference about Mr. Horniman, and some have also wondered why I rarely write about the Savarkar Brothers. There is a favourite saying among lawyers, almost enjoying the dignity of a maxim, that hard cases make bad law. I know to my cost how true the saying is. Many a judge has been obliged to give a decision apparently unjust but perfectly sound in law. Similarly one may say that hard cases make bad Non-co-operation. My business as an economical journalist is to deal with such matters only as have a bearing on the one issue before the country. If I mention Mr. Horniman's case or that of the Savarkar Brothers, I can mention it not to influence the Government's decision but to stimulate the public in favour of Non-co-operation. I would be delighted to have Mr. Horniman back as an able and brave comrade. I know that he was unjustly deported. The Savarkar Brothers' talent should be utilised for public welfare. As it is, India is in danger of losing her two faithful sons, unless she wakes up in time. One of the brothers I know well. I had the pleasure of meeting him in London. He is brave. He is clever. He is a patriot. He was frankly a revolutionary. The evil, in its hideous form, of the present system of Government, he saw much earlier than I did. He is in the Andamans for his having loved India too well. Under a just Government, he would be occupying a high office. I therefore feel for him and his brother. Had it not been for Non-co-operation, Mr. Horniman would have returned and the brothers would have been discharged long ago. Now Non-co-operation blocks the way. Those who are really interested in the release of the brothers and such others as are suffering imprisonment and in the return of Mr. Horniman, must hasten the fulfilment of the Non-co-operation programme and therefore the advent of Swaraj. Meanwhile we must not only put up with the existing incarcerations, but we must seek imprisonment ourselves, by offending the Government in all just, lawful and peaceful ways.

What are they?—I am writing these notes in Anand Bhavan. I have just been shown a leaflet for distribution among the Kisans. I resent it because it credits me with an unconditional promise of Swaraj during the year. But there is

nothing offensive in it. On the contrary it exhorts the Kisans to remain peaceful even in the face of provocation. It is for distributing these leaflets that five young men have gone to gaol. The leaflets are held by the Magistrate to be seditious, and the young men called upon to furnish security that they will not distribute them. Instead of giving the security, they have preferred imprisonment. This is one clean way of offending the Government.

I have read a notice issued by the collector of the Allahabad District that Government servants must not wear the Gandhi cap. I would advise every Government servant to wear these beautiful, light, inoffensive caps, and brave dismissal and even imprisonment. I was told whilst in Allahabad that overzealous servants of the Government have even been telling poor people that if they introduce the spinning wheel into their homes, they will be prosecuted. If a spinning wheel can by any possibility be turned into a seditious article, its possession will be another honourable method of seeking imprisonment.

The Zamindars and the Ryots—Whilst the U. P. Government is crossing the bounds of propriety, and intimidating people, there is little doubt that the Kisans too are not making wise use of their newly found power. In several Zamindari, they are said to have overstepped the mark, taken the law into their own hands and to have become impatient of anybody who would not do as they wish. They are abusing social boycott and are turning it into an instrument of violence. They are reported to have stopped the supply of water, barber, and other paid services to their Zamindars in some instances and even suspended payment of the rent due to them. The Kisan movement has received an impetus from non-co-operation but it is anterior to and independent of it. Whilst we will not hesitate to advise the Kisans when the moment comes, to suspend payment of taxes to the Government, it is not contemplated that at any stage of non-cooperation we would seek to deprive the Zamindars of their rent. The Kisan movement must be confined to the improvement of the status of the Kisans and the betterment of the relations between the Zamindars and them. The Kisans must be advised scrupulously to abide by the terms of their agreement with the Zamindars, whether such agreement is written or inferred from custom. Where a custom or even a written contract is

bad, they may not try to uproot it by violence or without previous reference to the Zamindars. In every case there should be a friendly discussion with the Zamindars and an attempt made to arrive at a settlement. Our capacity for Swaraj depends upon our capacity for solving without reference to, or intervention of, the Government, all the varied and complex problems that must arise in the affairs of one of the biggest and the most ancient nations like ours.

Discipline—It is high time that we disciplined ourselves. The demonstrations at railway stations are becoming a menace to the comfort of the travelling public. I am told that some railway passengers who, only a short time before a station demonstration were praising me, were, after one or two demonstrations at intermediate stations, heard to curse me. I sympathise with them. I had a fellow-passenger with me during the Allahabad journey. Owing to the pressure of the crowds that besieged the station, he was unable to get a cup of tea or go out for his refreshments. I should not at all be surprised if he considered me to be a plague. On my way back from Allahabad, there was an unmanageable crowd on the Cawnpore platform, yelling the national cries, pressing towards my compartment and making every body uncomfortable. The noise continued the whole time. The leaders were with difficulty able to make the crowd sit, but it could not be made to stop shouting and yelling. I was asked to stand near the door to give *Darshan*. Much to the disappointment of the friends who urged me, I resolutely refused to stir out of my seat, unless there was perfect silence.

This din, noise, and bustle was due purely to want of forethought, management and organisation. It is best now to avoid all demonstrations at stations. We must consult the convenience of the passengers. If there must be a demonstration, national cries must be regulated, every facility must be provided for the easy movement of passengers. The nation must be disciplined to handle mass movement in a sober and methodical manner. This means previous training of volunteers and previous discipline of the masses. It is not impossible to give an elementary training in a few days. Wherever the people have been previously instructed, they have responded wonderfully well. Without this training, we never know when there might be an accident. It is the innate good nature of the people that has saved us hitherto from mishaps. But under proper training, we should be able to feel absolutely safe and comfortable in the midst of the biggest demonstrations. We cannot afford to be hysterical or mad.

Sikh Colour—A friend has just drawn my attention to a resolution passed by the Sikh League inviting me to include the Sikh black colour in the national flag. These friends forget that all other colours are represented on the white strip. We must not be parochial, provincial or sectarian. Hindu and Mussalman colours are specially re-

presented, not so much for the numbers they represent, as for the fact that they have remained apart for so long and that their mutual distrust has been an effectual bar against the realization of national aspirations. The Sikhs have never had any quarrel with Hindus. And if one has the Sikh colour separately represented, why not the Parsee, the Christian and the Jewish? I hope the Sikh Leaguers will see the unpractical nature of their suggestion.

I have been flooded with letters suggesting changes in the proposed national flag. I am unable to publish the voluminous correspondence. There is nothing striking in any of the letters. Some deplore the want of artistic beauty about the flag, others would make additions representing Hindu and Mohammedan symbols. The critics have missed the central idea. We must not have any religious symbols and we must find a clear and permanent rallying object. That is the spinning wheel, according to the vast majority who believe with me that we lost our liberty with the loss of the spinning wheel, and we can only regain it when we have revived the spinning-wheel and rejected foreign cloth.

To Correspondents—Many friends who send me urgent wires may consider me to be discourteous in that they get no replies to their wires. The fact is that the telegraph department at Ahmedabad seems to have received instructions to delay delivery of my telegrams. The authorities have the right if they choose, to put such obstacles in my way. And our movement must be capable of being carried on, independently of the use of public departments controlled by the Government. I would advise correspondents not to waste money in sending wires, but transact all their business with me through the post, so long as the regular delivery to me of the post is continued by the Government.

M. K. G.

(Concluded from Page 156)

it a creature? Hardly. The beast's claw is no more conscious than the thorn of the plant. The fatal condition of things brings forth the unconscious organism. In point of personality, and apart from the power of killing for a living, the tiger does not exist. If Muravieff thinks himself some one, he is mistaken.

Bad men spring from bad things; hence, let us correct the things.

And here we return to our starting-point; the extenuating circumstance of despotism is—idiotcy.

Shakespeare, III—1.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager, Young India,
Elephant Road, Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

VICTOR HUGO ON N. C. O.

The thinker is the weigher; clemency is his distinction. Let us then admit that those who have done evil may plead one extenuating circumstance—imbecility.

They have still another excuse—the mental condition of the race at the time of their advent; the modifiable but obstructive realities of their environment.

Not men, but things, are tyrants. The true tyrants are the frontier, the beaten track, routine, the blindness of fanaticism, deafness and dumbness caused by diversity of language, dispute caused by diversity of weights and measures and coin, hate born of dispute, war born of hate. All these tyrants have a single name—Separation. Division, whence issues the Reign, is the despot in the abstract state.

Even the tyrants of flesh are mere things. Caligula is much more a fact than a man, a result rather than a living being. The Roman proscriber, dictator, or Caesar, prohibits fire and water to the vanquished,—that is, deprives them of life. One day of Gelon represents twenty thousand proscriptions; one day of Tiberius, thirty thousand; one day of Sulla, seventy thousand. Vitellius, being ill one evening, sees a house lighted up for a merry-making. Do they think me dead? says Vitellius. It is Junius Vindex supping with Tuscus Ocellus. The Emperor sends a cup of poison to these drinkers, that, by the fatal conclusion of too merry a night, they may feel that Vitellius still lives. Otho and this Vitellius make friendly exchanges of assassins. Under the Caesars, to die in one's bed is a marvel. Piso, to whom this happened, is remarked for this eccentricity. Valerius Asiaticus has a garden that pleases the Emperor; Statilius a face that displeases the Empress: treason! Valerius is strangled for having a garden, and Statilius for having a face. Basil II, Emperor of the East, captures fifteen thousand Bulgarians; he divides them into bands of a hundred each, and puts out the eyes of all save one in each band. This one leads his ninety-nine blind comrades home to Bulgaria. History characterises Basil II as follows: 'He loved glory too much' (Delandine). Paul of Russia utters this axiom: 'No man possesses power except whom the Emperor addresses, and his power continues only so long as the word he hears.' Philip V of Spain, so farciously calm at the *auto-da-fé*, is stricken with fright at the thought of changing his shirt, and lies in bed six months at a time without washing and without trimming his nails, for fear of being poisoned by the scissors, or by the water in his basin, or by his shirt, or by his shoes. Ivan, grandfather of Paul, puts a woman to the rack before admitting her to his bed, hangs a bride and takes the bridegroom on guard to keep the rope from being cut; has the father executed by the son; invents a method of sawing men in two with a cord; burns Barinskoy by a slow fire, and, deaf to his victim's

shrieks, adjusts the firebrands with the end of his stick. Peter aspires to excel as an executioner; he practises the art of decapitation. At first he can cut off but a trifle of five heads a day; by strict application, however, he becomes expert enough to cut off twenty-five. What an accomplishment for a Czar, to be able to tear out a woman's breast with a stroke of the knout! What are all these monstrosities? Symptoms, angry pustules, pus issuing from an unhealthy body. They are hardly more responsible than the sum of a column is responsible for the figures. Basil, Ivan, Philip, Paul, and the rest, are the product of the vast environing stupidity. The Greek clergy having, for example, this maxim, 'Who could make us judges of those who are our masters?' it follows as a matter of course that a Czar, this same Ivan, should sew an archbishop in a bearskin and have him eaten by dogs. It is right that the Czar amuse himself. Under Nero, the man whose brother has been put to death goes to the temple to give thanks to the gods; under Ivan, an impaired boyard employs his death-agony of twenty-four hours in repeating, 'O Lord, protect the Czar!' The Princess Sanguzko comes weeping and upon her knees to present a petition to Nicholas; she begs mercy for her husband, she implores the master to spare Sanguzko—a Pole guilty of loving Poland—the terrible journey to Siberia. Nicholas mutely listens, takes the petition, and writes at the bottom the words, 'On foot'. Then Nicholas goes into the street, and the people throw themselves on the ground to kiss his boot. What can you say? Nicholas is mad, his people brutes. From the Khan comes the knia, from the knia the czar, from the czar the czar,—a series of phenomena rather than a lineage of men. What is more logical than that after this Ivan should come this Peter, after Peter, Nicholas, after Nicholas, Alexander? You all desire it more or less. The tortured consent to the rack. You have yourselves made 'this Czar, half putrefied, half frozen,' as says Madame de Staël. To be a nation, to be a force, and to witness these things, is to approve them. To be present is to assent. He who assists at the crime assents the crime. The presence of the inert is an encouraging sign of abjection.

Let it be added that, even before the commission of the crime, some pre-existing corruption has given rise to the complicity; some foul fermentation of original baseness engenders the oppressor.

The wolf is the fact of the forest. He is the wild fruit of the defenceless solitude. Group and combine silence, darkness, ease of conquest, monstrous infatuation, abundance of prey, security in murder, the connivance of all present, weakness, want of weapons, abandonment, isolation,—from the point of intersection of all these things springs the ferocious beast. A gloomy region, where no cries of succour can be heard, produces the tiger. A tiger is blindness-armed and hungry. Is

(Concluded on Page 154)

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 18th May, 1921.

OUR NEIGHBOURS.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Is not my article on the Afghan Bogey an invitation to the Afghans to invade the Indian border, and thus do I not become a direct party to violence? Thus asks Mr. Andrews. My article was written for Indians and for the Government. I do not believe the Afghans to be so foolish as to invade India on the strength of my article. But I see that it is capable of bearing the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Andrews. I therefore hasten to inform all whom it may concern that not only do I not want to invite the Afghans or anybody to come to our assistance but am anxious for them not to come to our assistance. I am quite confident of India's ability to settle with the Government without extraneous help. Moreover, I am interested in demonstrating the perfect possibility of attaining our end only by nonviolent means. I would therefore strain every nerve to keep the Afghans out of the Indian border, but my anxiety to keep them off the Indian border will not go so far as to assist the Government with men or money.

In my article I have put my position as clearly as possible. For me the existing Government is the most intolerable of all, it is the greatest danger to the manhood of India and I would welcome its re-formation at any cost. It is my settled conviction that it is a Godless Government. That there are good Englishmen and good Indians connected with it makes it all the more dangerous for India. It keeps the nation's eyes off the inherent evil of it. My attack is not against individuals, it is directed against the system, against the aggregate called the Government. The best of viceroys have been powerless to eradicate the poison of the system. The poison is its foundation. Therefore I can reconcile myself to all the worst that can happen to India in the place of the present system.

What however I would do is totally different from what I can do. I am sorry to have to confess that the movement has not yet acquired such hold on the soldier class as to embolden them to refuse assistance to the Government in time of need. When the soldier class has realized that they live for the nation, and that it is a travesty of a soldier's calling when he undertakes to kill to order, the battle of India's worldly freedom is won without more. As it is, the Indian soldier is as much subject to fear as the layman. He fills the recruiting ranks, because he believes that there is no other means of livelihood. The Government has made the profession of killing attractive by a system of special rewards, and by a system of skillfully devised punishments has made it well-nigh impossible for the soldier, once he is in, to get out without difficulty. In these circumstances I do

not delude myself with the belief that the British Government will be without Indian help in the event of an immediate Afghan invasion. But it was my duty, especially when challenged, to put before the nation the position logically arising from Non-co-operation. It was necessary, too, to warn the nation against being frightened by the Afghan bogey.

The second part of the question contains, in my opinion, a misconception of non-violence. It is no part of the duty of a non-violent non-co-operator to assist the Government against war made upon it by others. A non-violent non-co-operator may not secretly or openly encourage or assist any such war. He may not take part directly or indirectly in it. But it is no part of his duty to help the Government to end the war. On the contrary his prayer would be, as it must be, for the defeat of a power which he seeks to destroy. I, therefore, so far as my creed of non-violence is concerned, can contemplate an Afghan invasion with perfect equanimity, and equally so far as India's safety is concerned. The Afghans have no quarrel with India. They are a God-fearing people. I warn non-co-operators against judging the Afghans by the few savage specimens we see in Bombay or Calcutta. It is a superstition to suppose that they will overrun India if the British post at the frontier was withdrawn. Let us remember that there is nothing to prevent them from overrunning India today, if they wished to. But they are as fond of their country as we claim to be fond of ours. I must devote a separate article to an examination of the difficult problem that faces the residents near the frontier.

LET HINDUS BEWARE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Bihar is the land of promise for Non-co-operation. For the Hindu-Muslim Unity of Bihar is proverbial. I was therefore distressed to find that the unity was suffering a strain which might almost prove unbearable. I was told by all responsible leaders—both Hindu and Mahomedan—who are not given to be panicky—that it was taxing their resources to the utmost to avoid a Hindu-Muslim disturbance. They informed me that certain Hindus, by name Gangaram Sharma, Brahatnath and Vidyasundar for instance, had told the people that I had prohibited the use of meat to any Hindus or Mussalmans and that meat and fish were even forcibly taken away from people by overzealous vegetarians. I know that unlawful use is being made of my name in many places, but this is the most novel method of misusing it. It is generally known that I am a staunch vegetarian and food reformer. But it is not equally generally known that *Ahimsa* extends as much to human beings as to lower animals and that I freely associate with meat-eaters.

I would not kill a human being for protecting a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious. Needless to say

I have authorized no one to preach vegetarianism as part of Non-co-operation. I do not know the persons named above. I am sure that our purpose will be defeated if propaganda of any kind is accompanied by violence. Hindus may not compel Mussalmans to abstain from meat or even beef-eating. Vegetarian Hindus may not compel other Hindus to abstain from fish, flesh or fowl. I would not make India sober at the point of the sword. Nothing has lowered the morale of the nation so much as violence. Fear has become the part of the national character. Non-co-operators will make a serious mistake, if they seek to convert people to their creed by violence. They will play into the hands of the government, if they use the slightest coercion towards anybody in the course of their propaganda.

The cow question is a big question. The greatest for a Hindu. I yield to no one in my regard for the cow. Hindus do not fulfill their trust so long as they do not possess the ability to protect the cow. That ability can be derived either from body-force or soul-force. To attempt cow protection by violence is to reduce Hinduism to Satanism and to prostitute to a base end the grand significance of cow protection. As a Mussalman friend writes, beef-eating which is merely permissible in Islam will become a duty, if compulsion is resorted to by Hindus. The latter can protect the cow only by developing the faculty for dying, for suffering. The only chance Hindus have, of saving the cow in India from the butcher's knife, is by trying to save Islam from the impending peril and trusting their Mussalman countrymen to return nobility, i. e. voluntarily to protect the cow out of regard for their Hindu countrymen. The Hindus must scrupulously refrain from using any violence against Mussalmans. Suffering and trust are attributes of soul force. I have heard that at big fairs if a Mussalman is found in possession of cows or even goats, he is at times forcibly dispossessed. Those, who, claiming to be Hindus thus resort to violence, are enemies of the cow and of Hinduism. The best and the only way to save the cow is to save the Khilafat. I hope therefore that every non-co-operator will strain himself to the utmost to prevent the slightest tendency to violence in any shape or form, whether to protect the cow or any other animal or to effect any other purpose.

THE OPIUM POISON

II.

As an example of what is actually happening under British rule, Miss La Motte points out, from Government statistics, that, in budgeting for a revenue of 18 million dollars, the Straits Settlements derive 9 million dollars (or nearly half their whole revenue) from opium manufactured and exported by the British Government in India.

In Hong Kong, another British possession, and one of the most wealthy mercantile ports in the world, one third of the whole revenue of the Colony

is derived from Opium, which is also manufactured and exported by the British Government in India under a five-yearly contract.

Further facts, disclosed in Miss La Motte's book, (which are taken from Blue Books and Government Records) show beyond any doubt, that, while the 'front door' into China for the Indian Opium Traffic has been closed, every 'back-door' is being used to flood China once more with opium,—only by new and underhand methods and at a much greater profit. The hateful and miserable thing is this, that the British Government in India, at through the war and since the war, has been a party to this new process of opium-poisoning China. I have with me a letter from the International Anti-Opium Association at Peking, in which the Secretary asserts, from intimate knowledge of the facts, that the greatest hindrance to the suppression of Opium in China is the production and sale of such large amounts of Opium by the Indian Government.

Take a few salient facts. Hongkong, with a small population of 500,000, has received year by year enough opium to satisfy the medical needs of 150,000,000 people. Where does most of this go to? It is smuggled into China. Macao, with a population of about 80,000 people, has obtained opium in even greater proportional quantities. This also is used for smuggling purposes. The British Indian Government has recently signed a contract with the British Hongkong Government for another five years to supply Opium, in large monthly quantities. This was acknowledged in the House of Commons. The Hongkong Government does not deny, that wholesale smuggling has been going on, and yet it accepts this new Opium contract, which is far in excess of its own medical needs. Why? Because its revenue depends upon this Opium Monopoly as one of its main pillars of support. The wealthy British merchants of Hongkong (who could stop the traffic tomorrow, if they tried) prefer to tax themselves lightly and to make up their revenue from opium, rather than tax themselves to the extent of the requirements of the Island. The Island of Singapore, as we have seen, has an even blacker record. The European Quarter at Shanghai bears a character in this matter, which is equally disgraceful.

With regard to Singapore, I will give Miss La Motte's experiences in her own words —

"We learned," she writes, "that the Opium Trade was freely indulged in at Singapore, fostered by Government. Singapore is a large city of about 300,000 inhabitants, a great number of whom are Chinese. It has wide beautiful streets, magnificent quays and docks,—a splendid European city at the outposts of the Orient. We found that a large part of its revenue is derived from the Opium Traffic,—from the sale of opium and from the licence fees levied on shops where opium may be purchased, or from the divans where it may be smoked. The customers are mainly Chinese,

"I wanted to visit these Government-licensed opium shops and opium dens. A friend lent me two servants as guides. We three got into rickshaws and went down to the Chinese quarter, where there are several hundreds of these places, all doing a flourishing business. It was early in the afternoon but even then trade was brisk. The people purchased their opium on entering: each packet bears a red label, "Monopoly Opium."

"In one den there was an old man,—but you can't tell whether a drug addict is old or not; he looked as they all do, gray and emaciated. As he caught my eye, he laid down the needle on which he was about to cook his opium pill, and glanced away.

"Why doesn't he go on?" I asked my guide.

"He is ashamed to have you see him," he replied.

"But why should he be ashamed?" I asked. "The British Government is not ashamed to sell opium to him. Why should he be ashamed?"

"Nevertheless, he is ashamed," replied the guide. "You see what he looks like,—what he has become. He is not quite so far gone as the others. He still feels his degradation. Most of them do not feel that way,—after a while."

"So we went on down the street. There was a dreadful monotony about it. House after house, of feeble, emaciated wrecks, all smoking Monopoly Opium; all contributing by their shame and degradation to the revenue of the mighty British Empire.

"That evening, I sat on the wide verandah of the hotel, looking over a copy of the "Straits Times." One paragraph, a despatch from London, caught my eye. "Chinese in Liverpool. Reuter's Telegram. London, Jan. 17, 1917. Thirty one Chinese were arrested last night during police raids on opium dens in Liverpool."

"Coming fresh from the opium dens in Singapore, I must say that this item caused me some mental confusion. It must also be very perplexing to the Chinese. To come from a part of the British Empire, where opium smoking is freely encouraged, to Great Britain itself, where such practices are not tolerated,—the Chinese must ask themselves, why it is that the White Race is so sedulously protected, while the subject races are so eagerly encouraged. It may occur to him, that the White Race is regarded as valuable and must be preserved, and that subject races are not worth protecting."

I will quote one more passage from Miss La Motte's book, which has a terrible interest for us in India. Mauritius is a small island, which has been filled up to its fullest capacity with Indians, who have gone out there under indenture. This Indian indentured system of labour, as we all know, has had an altogether pernicious moral effect, wherever it has been in force; and the degradation of Indians in Mauritius, owing to indenture, had already taken place. At now, we have from Miss La Motte the following added facts:—

"The population of Mauritius is about 377,000, of which number 258,000 are Indians and 8000 Chinese....The statistics for British India, Eighth Issue give these figures:—

Opium exported to Mauritius from India.

1912-13...	...	10 Chests
1913-14...	...	19 Chests
1914-15...	...	23 Chests
1915-16...	...	65 Chests
1916-17...	...	120 Chests"

Thus, in addition to sending out these Indians, as cheap labour, under the degrading conditions of indenture, the British Government in India are still further demoralising them by sending out the Opium Poison in ever increasing quantities! This is all done to obtain revenue which is used to support the military establishment in India!

Miss La Motte gives a further quotation from the 'Statistics of British India' about India itself, which runs as follows:—

"During the ten years, ending 1916-17, the receipts from Opium, consumed in India, increased at the rate of 44 per cent.....The revenue from drugs consumed in India (excluding opium) has risen, in ten years, by 67 per cent."

Miss La Motte's comment on this statement represents the only outburst of passionate indignation in a singularly dispassionate book. She says with flaming passion:—

"A nation that can subjugate 300,000,000 helpless Indian people, and then turn them into drug addicts, for the sake of revenue, is a nation, which commits a cold-blooded atrocity unparalleled by any atrocity committed in the rage and heat of war."

O. F. ANDREWS.

BEFORE SEDAN.

Sedan is the battle-field, where Germany crushed France fifty years ago.

I
Here, in this leafy place,
Quiet he lies,
Cold, with his sightless face
Turned to the skies,
'Tis but another dead,
All you can say is said.
Carry his body hence,—
Kings must have slaves;
Kings climb to eminence
Over men's graves;
So this man's eyes is dim,—
Throw the earth over him.

II
What was the white you touched,
There at his side?
Paper his hand had clutched
Tight ere he died,—
Message or wish, may be;—
Smooth the folds out and see.
Hardly the worst of us
Here could have smited!
Only the tremulous
Words of a child;—
Prattle, that has for stops
Just a few, ruddy drops.

III

Look. She is sad to miss,
Morning and night,
His—her dead father's—kiss,
Tries to be bright,
Good to mamma, and sweet,
That is all. "Marguerite."
Ah, if beside the dead
Slumbered the pain!
Ah, if the hearts that bled
Slept with the slain.
If the grief died;—but no;—
Death will not have it so.

AUSTIN DOBSON.

FINE SPINNING IN ANDHRADESHA.

During his recent tour in the Andhra Province, Mr. Gandhi was shown specimens of some of the best hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. Having personally experienced the difficulties in the way of improving the yarn spun at present in Gujarat and elsewhere, he naturally doubted the truth of the claim made. He therefore deputed me to Chicacole, a town in the Ganjam Dist., for conducting a personal investigation. I visited some of the adjoining villages which were reputed for home-spinning and home-weaving. What I was able to see in these villages has convinced me of the existence there of both these arts in great perfection. The Ganjam, the Vizagapatnam and the Wallora Districts are truly maintaining the glory of the ancient cloth industry on the East Coast. Its existence has been quite a pleasing revelation to us, as it will be to the vast majority of the readers of 'Young India.' It seems, as if Swadeshi has come just in time to save an industry which was about to die.

I reached Chicacole on the 3rd April, where I was the guest of Mr. Shankar Shastri. During my stay I was able to visit four villages within 20 miles of Chicacole. Mr. Devendranath Shastri, the younger brother of Mr. Shankar Shastri, very kindly accompanied me to every village.

Umpolu was one of the villages visited. From what I had heard of this village, I entertained high hopes of seeing very fine spinning there. Not long after we reached there, they were fully realised. The village headman who, with a few industrious Non-co-operating students, received us, led us into one of the houses where yarn was being spun. Having myself struggled and witnessed several others doing the same unsuccessfully at the spinning wheel to spin fine counts, I was somewhat unprepared for the sight of an old lady spinning with the greatest facility yarn as fine and bright as the thread of a spider's web. Yet that is what I saw to my agreeable surprise. She handled the wheel as an accomplished artist handles her musical instrument. The yarn she spun was of about 20 to 100 counts. The first few minutes I gazed in silent admiration. The phenomenal achievements in the cloth industry of Dacca recorded in history seemed to me much more clearly within human possibility than ever before. The music of the spinning wheel was never so distinctly audible to my heart as then. I can confidently say that with my eyes closed, it would have been difficult for me to differentiate

between the hum of the bee and the hum of the spindle. I know I am not exaggerating. I asked the old lady hesitatingly if she would allow me to try my hand at her wheel. Not without some degree of surprise to me, she readily stepped out of her seat. Unlike the ordinary method with which we are familiar, of sitting on the ground between the spindle point and the handle, this lady sat on a stool close by the handle. This enabled her to draw a longer thread. I sat in the same posture. The glow of delight I felt, when I handled the wheel myself, was a hundred times greater than when the lady worked it. I was not sure of the success I met with in my attempt. The old lady was pleased with my performance. But I hasten to inform the reader that my success was due more to exquisite carding, the method of handling thread and the smooth going wheel than to the skill of my fingers. Encouraged in my confidence in the spinning-wheel as the means of national salvation, I hurriedly gave the old lady the message I carried. Mr. Shastri interpreted it for me in Telugu. I told the lady that it was Gandhiji's firm conviction that here was a most honourable and sacred occupation. There could be no greater service than to clothe those whom God had created. To find her still devoted to the ancient household duty, in spite of the tendency of the present times to deride it, filled me with reverence and admiration for her. I pray that she may never forsake it even in the most trying circumstances, for in the spinning wheel lies the ultimate peace and prosperity of India.

My words were no doubt received by her with surprise. They conveyed much, with which she could hardly be expected to be familiar. It was perhaps for the first time she came across some one who interested himself in her keeping faithful to her industry. The simple reply was, "I spin, because it has been a custom with our family for generations, and nothing can induce me to abandon the art."

Before leaving her, I expressed my desire to take with me a few articles. She readily consented. I thereupon took a spindle, the card which was packed in plantain bark, also sample of cotton in the different stages, through which it had passed, a comb for which a fishhead served the purpose and a bow for cleaning cotton.

I saw in the same village many other spinners. Almost every *charkha* I saw, had a card for at least 20 years and more! The difference between this and the common *charkha* is mainly in the spindle. All women made spindles out of umbra or wicker.

An ordinary spinner spins in eight to ten hours, one and a half to two tolas of yarn of 50 to 100 counts. This is worth twelve annas. I found that each woman did her own ginning and carding and this done with the greatest care and skill. The processes through which raw cotton is passed, before it is finally ready to be spun are more than and somewhat different from those with which we are generally familiar. The old lady of Umpolu demonstrated all of them for me. Before raw cotton is ginned, i.e. before the seed is separated from the cotton, the fibres of the cotton are neatly drawn out and cleaned with the comb referred to by me. Good spinning depends very largely upon perfection in the preliminary treatment of the cotton. In order to spin the amount of yarn mentioned above, a woman has to buy 15 tolas

of raw cotton for about an anna. At the end of the ginning and carding processes, these 15 tolas are reduced in weight to 2 to 3 tolas. This wastage is absolutely essential to fine spinning. I was told that

took 3 to 4 hours to prepare sufficient cotton for a day's spinning. Children often help at these preliminary processes. The reader must know that no process however clever can give fine yarn, unless the cotton is long staple. The two villages grow special cotton for these spinners and though I am not sure, this variety is better than any American or Uganda cotton. I was not however able to visit the cotton farms or to compare specimens.

Weaving here is as efficient as spinning. The weavers mainly weave dhottos. The fabric is decidedly of a superior variety. These dhottos are claimed to be four times as durable as any mill-made dhoti. It feels like, and is in appearance at a distance easily mistaken for silk, but for wear next to the skin, it is healthier than the latter. A pair 7 yards long and 50 inches wide takes 3 to 4 days to weave. The yarn required for a pair weighs about 33 tolas and costs Rs. 11, the count varying between 80 to 120. Such a pair is generally sold for Rs. 15 to 17. Thus one weaver earns more than a rupee a day. The sitloom was the only one in use, I found. It is perhaps the only convenient loom for very fine weaving. I conversed with many of the weavers in the different villages. My experience in two of the other villages I visited was much the same as in Umpolu. The most tragic feature about this industry is that a very large majority of the weavers have succumbed to the temptation of weaving cheap Japanese yarn to the destruction of all national sentiment. This sounded the death-knell of the once flourishing spinning industry. The number at present of women who still continue

to spin, and weavers who weave handspun yarn, is certainly not worth enthusing over, when compared to the numbers of deserters. Out of about forty villages known for these industries in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts, there are hardly two or three which can be said to have a majority of looms on which handspun yarn is woven. There are villages which the foreigner has invaded wholesale, leaving not a single loom of that kind or a spinning wheel to swear by; the village I saw the first day, contained only one loom that wove handspun yarn.

Whilst it is profitable to the weavers to take to foreign yarn, the cloth they produce is necessarily of inferior variety. In the long run it is costlier than the swadeshi stuff. But the people are blind to this fact and continue to encourage the baneful tendency among the weavers.

The remedy lies mainly in the hands of the Andhra themselves. What is wanted is not so much willing customers to buy the indigenous yarn and cloth at a high price, as strenuous propaganda among these classes of spinners and weavers to revert to the ancient practice. I am sure that there is custom today for all the homespun that can be manufactured and that too at a good price. I would warn readers against the mistake of rushing to order homespun from these parts. Execution of orders will be indefinitely delayed and may cause serious inconvenience to the present customers. At present it is as well that we remain content with what coarse cloth we are able to produce in our Provinces. This of course will not apply to a few individual cases, for which it is hoped, it will be possible to procure a small supply of the fine cloth. In the meantime, it remains with the Andhras to rescue their dying industry.

RAMANUJ.

Progress of N.-C.-O. in Guntur District, Andhra Desh (up to 7-5-21)

Number of Village Associations.	Number of members on rolls.	Number of workers.	Number of pleaders who have suspended practice.	Number of teachers who have non-co-operated	Number of National (high) Schools.	Number of students on rolls.	Number of spinning wheels.	Tilak Swaraj Fund.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
401	8711	87	32	32	6	668	4860	Rs. As. Ps. 733-0-1½ & jewels not yet sold, roughly Rs. 4000/-	Vigorous propaganda against the drink evil is being carried on.
		32 married workers 23 Rs. 370 (including one lady)							
		Teachers of National Schools 15							
		Pleaders receiving honorarium from Sheth Jammalal Fund 14 Rs. 865							
		Other honorary workers 35							
		87							

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Notes.

Maulana Mahomed Ali—I observe that the *Indian Social Reformer* rates me for not having said anything about Moulana Mahomed Ali's speech at Madras, and not having criticised Lala Lajpat Rai's at Bombay. I must not answer the inferences and the innuendoes contained in the paragraph. Critics do not know under what difficulties I edit *Young India*. I rarely read newspapers. I cannot even get them during my incessant traveling. But having read this criticism, I purposely procured at Simla a copy of the Moulana's speech. I have only just read it. I have twice read the paragraph criticised, and I am of opinion that it contains nothing in it that is objectionable. The speech is certainly not inconsistent with his interview at Allahabad. In the Madras speech, he simply states the Muslim position. In the Allahabad interview, he has accepted my application and restriction of the ideal Muslim conduct. There is no doubt that if the Mussalmans could take up arms, they would do so in defence of Islam. The difficulty arises because of our belief in the impossibility of the Afghans invading to defeat the British without wishing at the same time to occupy India. That may be and will be a good reason for Mussalmans, if they are true to India, not joining the Afghans even if they were able. But we may not dispute the theoretical religious right of Mussalmans to state their correct position. We can only honour them for it. The two great qualities of the brothers are their bravery and sincerity. And I can read nothing but these two qualities in the Madras speech.

Lala Lajpat Rai—Let me take the *Indian Social Reformer* into the secret of my methods. My assistant drew my attention to the hostile criticism of Lala's speech and asked me whether I wished to say anything upon it. I had not the text of his speech before me, nor had seen any criticism. I therefore wrote to Lala, asking him to enlighten me on the matter, and suggesting that he should apologise, if a single hasty word was uttered. It has been my privilege on close acquaintance to find him generous, forgiving and frank. He said in his letter that his Bombay speech was a specially considered utterance, and that he had not attacked any person in it. He had only dealt with the action of the Moderates as a

party. He sent me the cutting or more. This was whilst I was in Sindh. I was unable to read it and had forgotten all about it, till the *Reformer's* rebuke reminded me of it. I have now read Lala's speech and have much pleasure in stating that I find nothing offensive or discourteous in it. It is undoubtedly in Lala's fighting style. It is a party speech. He has adopted, by long residence in the west, the western form of criticism. But it is best western form. There is nothing vulgar in it. His charges are not unjustified by the conduct of the Moderate ministers. His worst charge is that they have merged themselves in the bureaucracy. It is a serious charge to make, but the instances adduced by him surely prove it. The Moderates may retort, if they choose, that outsiders cannot appreciate the difficulties of the ministers. But that is just what proves the error of the great leaders who find themselves allied with the Government. They should have known that such would be their lot, or they should now know by experience, that it is no use being ministers, until they have an effective control over the Government policy. All the repression that is now going on, is a most as bad as before. It makes little difference that now there is the farce of a trial. The fact is, that most of the political sections of the Penal Code are such as to bring almost every non-co-operation speech under them. I believe that if I was charged, I should have to plead guilty to the charge of sedition. It is the duty of a non-co-operator to preach dissociation towards the existing order of things. Non-co-operators are but giving disciplined expression to a nation's outraged feelings. I should like to see a considered reply to Lala Lajpat Rai's strong indictment. In my humble opinion, the speech of Lala Lajpat Rai does not betray any loss of temper, and is quite in keeping with the advice he tendered the youth of the country in his concluding paragraphs.

'A Messenger of God'—I have received a cutting, in which I am reported to be credited with being a messenger of God, and I am asked whether I claim to have any special revelation from God. I have already dealt with the miracles attributed to me. As to this the latest charge, I must disown it. I pray like every good Hindu. I believe that we can all become messengers of God, if we cease to fear man and seek only God's truth. I do believe I am seeking only God's Truth and have lost all fear of man. I therefore do feel that

God is with the movement of Non-co-operation. I have no special revelation of God's will. My firm belief is that He reveals himself daily to every human being but we shut our ears to the 'still small voice.' We shut our eyes to the Pillar of Fire in front of us. I realise His omnipresence. And it is open to the writer to do likewise.

A Sindh Critic—It gives me pleasure always to have criticism from Sindh. It is always searching and always courteous. Sindh suffers from the surfeit of western education, and therefore the youths of Sindh readily command my sympathy. They are bewildered to find themselves in the maze of western ratiocination. I must therefore try patiently to answer Mr. Jethmal's open letter, especially as I claim him to be one of my earliest comrades in Satyagraha and know him to be a leader of forlorn causes. I do believe in self-determination. Mr. Jethmal does not know that the Mussalmans do not claim Palestine for the Turks as against the Arabs. They claim Mussalman control of Jazirat-ul-Arab of which Palestine is but a part. They would not mind if it was restored to the Arabs without any outside interference. Mr. Jethmal must know that the present population of Palestine is overwhelmingly Mussalman. He should also know that the British mandate is to-day being imposed upon Palestine and Mesopotamia in the teeth of fierce Arab opposition.

Unlike Mr. Jethmal, I do believe in the distinctive character of the different scriptures. I cannot be party to putting a strain upon the scriptural loyalty of the Mussalmans, where it is not in conflict with reason and justice.

But I am one with Mr. Jethmal, in his fear of theocratic priesthood and its interpretations often given to suit occasions. The Mussalman claim is not based on Fatwas, but on a Quranic injunction which a child can understand. The Mussalman claim is again based upon justice, even apart from the scriptural authority. Jazirat-ul-Arab was under Mussalman control before war. No right has accrued to the Christians or the Jews over it, as against the Mussalmans of the world in general and of India in particular. The British mandate is an act of treachery towards Indian Mussalmans and of pillage against the world's Mussalmans.

I must not appropriate the easy compliment Mr. Jethmal pays me, of attributing to me the courage of saying that I differ from Shri Krishna in the matter of violence. I have the courage of saying that Krishna never taught violence in the Gita. My interpretation of the Gita is, that it has based a religious teaching on a historical incident, and that it does not deal with an earthly war but it deals with the ceaseless spiritual war going on in the human Kunkshetra. I can understand the *Nirdvandva* teaching on no other hypothesis. A man who is free from the action of the pairs of opposites, is incapable like the perfect man of the Bible, of injuring any living thing on earth. He is self so truly that there is no rebirth for him.

But a non-co-operator is not concerned with this part of my personal belief. He is bound to believe in non-violence as the only true policy for the removal of the threefold fever of India.

In spite of my firm faith in absolute *Ahimsa* i. e. innocence, I could reconcile myself to Kheda recruiting. My *Ahimsa* teaches me that I cannot carry the world with me by force of arms. I will not cut off the hands of my children for fear of their hurting others. A man is innocent when he is able to do harm and refrains. India's soldiers must have arms, so long as they believe in violence. I invited during the recruiting campaign, those who believed in violence, to join the battle and not to keep away, because they had a grievance against the Government, as they were inclined to do. I was against bargaining with the Government as I am against bargaining at any time.

I do not anticipate a time in India or the world, when all will be followers of *Ahimsa*. Police, there will be even in Satya Yoga. But I do contemplate a time, when in India we shall rely less on brute force and more, much more, on soul force,—when the Brahman in man will hold supremacy.

Now it must not be difficult for Mr. Jethmal to appreciate my alliance with the Ali Brothers. I believe them to be men of their word, as honourable as any I have had the privilege of meeting. It is enough for me to know that they observe the vow of non-violence, whilst they are in the movement of non-co-operation. They will no more prefer Afghan rule to British rule than Mr. Jethmal does. I believe that time will enable them to see that India can never, not at any rate within a generation, be free by violence. I believe that India and Khilafat can be free during this very year, if India responds to the simple programme sketched in these pages from time to time.

Sannyasa—A pleader who has suspended practice asks whether every non-co-operator should become a *Sannyasi* and renounce the world. I fear, this question has been asked because I appear to lead the life of a *Sannyasi*, whereas the renunciation required by the Non-co-operation programme is infinitely less than was required of thousands of Boer women and children during the Boer war, and of thousands of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans during the late war. Great success is possible for us with so little renunciation, only because our programme is non-violent, our cause absolutely just, and we are so many.

A Defendant's plight—The friend further inquires, what a man who is falsely sued is to do. Well, those who have been falsely charged by the Government have gone to gaol. Those who are falsely sued may, if the plaintiff will not go to private arbitration, make a statement and produce even witnesses without engaging a lawyer. He is likely to have judgment in his favour. But at the worst he runs the risk of having to pay a black-guard. Surely wrong judgments have been given before now in spite of the assistance of the ablest lawyers.

Doubting National Capacity—The third question is, "Do you believe that the constructive part of the Non-co-operation programme can attain success without our having a national Government?" This question betrays helplessness. We are delayed in the attainment of our goal, only because of this feeling of helplessness. We shall attain Swaraj, only when we feel self-reliant. Even a national Government will have to be the nation's creation; not the nation, the Government's. Why should we not stop drink without the aid of the Government, why should we not be able to boycott foreign cloth without the Government's aid? Non-co-operation enables us to show that in every thing that matters, we can be independent of the Government. A Government is an agency set up by the people. The principal has the right to non-co-operate with the agent, when he proves faithless. When on the contrary the principal feels helpless, he becomes his agent's slave. Such is our present position and we must get rid of it at any cost.

Contemplating postponement—The last question of the friend is, "In case the call of the Congress does not meet with adequate response, will the attainment of Swaraj be proportionately postponed?" I dread to contemplate postponement because it betrays distrust in the nation. Somehow or other I feel that the nation will respond in time. But the logical answer to the question undoubtedly is, that if the nation does not make an adequate response to the programme, attainment of our goal is likely to be delayed.

The Curse of Betting—Babu Bhagwandas, the learned chancellor of the National University Kashi, has sent me extracts from Manusmriti on the sin of betting. I reproduce them below:—

"The King should diligently keep gambling (*dyuta*) and betting (*samahvaya*) away from the state; for these two vices destroy the State and the sovereign themselves. (221)

Gambling and betting are indeed as daylight robbery; and the ruler should endeavour diligently to eradicate them. (222)

That wherein inanimate things are used, that is *dyuta*, gambling; that wherein, living things are used, that is *samahvaya*, betting. (223)

He who does these himself, or causes them to be done by others, secretly or openly, may be punished by the ruler with [punishment] up to that of death, at the ruler's discretion, like cheats and impersonators pretending to follow vocations other than their rightful ones. Or gamblers and betters (*kitavah*) may be banished from the land, like those who practise prostitution under cover of dancing and singing and acting, or those who make and sell spirituous liquors and other such cruel deceivers and spreaders of vice and followers of sinful trades. (224-225).

Sindh Collections Revised—In my note on Non-co-operation in Sindh, I gave figures of collections during my tour, but they were all approximate. Mr. Jairamdas has now sent a detailed account,

which is given below.

Karachi (roughly).	Rs. 30000
Larkhana.	1387
Shikarpur.	17246
Jacobabad.	1001
Sukkur.	3600
Rohri.	1002
Hyderabad.	7433
Mirpurkhas.	452
Tatta.	500
Dadu.	500
Tando Allahyar.	616
Shahpur.	73
Miscellaneous.	405

642 5

M. K. G.

EFFECT OF BETTING.

The Editor,

Young India.

SIR,

The *Deccan Herald* has it that the boycott movement is to spread to the forthcoming Race Meetings, and that Indians will not be allowed to visit the Race Course on Race days. If you really intend to do so, God bless you.

My husband used to be an ideal husband, until he was invited by his boss to go to the Races with him and unfortunately did so. He took Rs. 10/- with him, met with exceptionally good luck and brought home Rs. 300/. But since then he has never won except a few rupees on two occasions, and has often returned home drunk.

May God grant that your endeavour may be crowned with success.

I am sure that what I have stated will be endorsed by many wives who have the courage of their convictions.

Yours etc.,

A WOMAN.

[I hope a woman's prophecy will prove true, and that all who prize India's good and the purity of their homes will give up the racecourse.

M. K. G.]

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Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 25th May, 1921.

THE SIMLA VISIT.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Many are asking why I waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy. Some inquire why the author of Non-co-operation should seek to see the Viceroy. All want to know the result of the interview. I like the rigorous scrutiny of the non-co-operators, who more than Caesar's wife must be above suspicion. Non-co-operation is self-reliance. We want to establish Swaraj, not obtain it from others. Then why approach a Viceroy? This is all good, so far as it goes. And I should be a bad representative of our cause, if I went to anybody to ask for Swaraj. I have had the hardihood to say that Swaraj could not be granted even by God. We would have to earn it ourselves. Swaraj from its very nature is not in the giving of anybody.

But we want the world with us in our battle for freedom, we want the good will of every body. Our cause, we claim, is based upon pure justice. There are certain things we want Englishmen to surrender. All these things need mutual discussion and mutual understanding. Non-co-operation is the most potent instrument for creating world opinion in our favour. So long as we protested and co-operated, the world did not understand us. The erstwhile lion of Bengal in his early days used to relate the story of Englishmen, who asked him how many broken heads there were in India, if things were really so bad as he represented them to be. That was the way John Bull understood best. The other question the world has undoubtedly been asking is:—If things are really so bad, why do we co-operate with the Government in so humiliating and humiliating us? Now the world understands our attitude, no matter how weakly we may enforce it in practice. The world is now anxious to know what will be. The Viceroy represents a big world. His Excellency wanted to know why I, with whom co-operation was an article of faith, had non-co-operated. There must be something wrong with the Government or me.

And so His Excellency mentioned to Pandit Malaviya, and to Mr. Andrews that he would like to see me and hear my views. I went to see the Panditji because he was anxious to meet me. I hold him in such high regard that I would not think, even if he was well and I could help it, of letting him come to me. As it was, he was too weak to travel to me. It was my duty to go to him. And when I heard the purport of his conversation with His Excellency, I did not require any persuasion to prompt me to ask for an appointment, if His Excellency wished to hear my views. I have devoted so much space to the reason for my

seeking an appointment, for I wanted to make clear the limits and the meaning of non-co-operation.

It is directed not against men but against measures. It is not directed against the Governors, but against the system they administer. The roots of non-co-operation lie not in hatred but in justice, if not in love. Gladstone used to draw a sharp distinction between bad actions and bad men. He was accused of discourtesy for using some very strong expressions about the acts of his opponents. He put up the defence that he would have failed in his duty if he had not characterised their actions as they deserved to be, but he did not therefore mean to convey that his opponents deserved the epithets he had used about their acts. As a youth, when I heard this defence, I could not appreciate it. Now with years of experience and use, I understand how true it was. I have found some of the truest of my friends capable of indefensible acts. For me there are few truer men than V. S. Shrinivas Shastriar, but his actions confound me. I do not think he loves me less because he believes that I am leading India down to the abyss.

And so I hope, this great movement of Non-co-operation has made it clear to thousands, as it has to me, that whilst we may attack measures and systems, we may not, must not, attack men. Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and be slow to impute motives.

I therefore gladly seized the opportunity of waiting upon His Excellency and of assuring him that ours was a religious movement designed to purge Indian political life of corruption, deceit, terrorism and the incubus of white superiority.

The reader must not be too curious. He must not believe the so-called 'reports' in the press. The veil must remain drawn over the details of the conversation between the Viceroy and myself, but I may assure him that I explained, as fully as I knew how, the three claims—the Khilafat, the Punjab, and Swaraj, and gave him the genesis of Non-co-operation. His Excellency heard me patiently and attentively. He appeared to me to be anxious to do only the right thing. We had a full discussion of the burning topics as between man and man. We discussed the question of non-violence, and it appeared to me to be common cause between us. Of that I may have to write more fully later.

But beyond saying that we were able to understand each other, I am unable to say that there was more in the interview. Some may think with me that a mutual understanding is in itself no small gain. Then, in that sense, the interview was a distinct success.

But at the end of all the long discussions, I am more than ever convinced that our salvation rests solely upon our own effort. His Excellency can only help or hinder. I am sanguine enough to think that he will help.

We must redouble our efforts to go through our programme. It is clearly as follows: (1) removal of untouchability, (2) removal of the drink our a, (3) ceaseless introduction of the spinning wheel, and the ceaseless production of Khaddar leading to an a most complete boycott of foreign cloth, (4) registration of Congress members, and (5) collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund.

No fierce propaganda is necessary for solidifying Hindu Muslim unity and producing a still more non-violent atmosphere.

I have put untouchability in the forefront because I observe a certain remoteness about it. Hindu non-co-operators may not be indifferent about it. We may be able to right the Khilafat wrong but we can never reach Swaraj, with the poison of untouchability corroding the Hindu part of the national body. Swaraj is a meaningless term, if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection, and deliberately deny to them the fruits of national culture. We are seeking the aid of God in this great purification movement, but we deny to the most deserving among His creatures the rights of humanity. Inhuman ourselves, we may not plead before the Throne for deliverance from the inhumanity of others.

I put drink second, as I feel that God has sent the movement to us unsought. The greatest storm rages round it. The drink movement is fraught with the greatest danger of violence. But so long as this Government persists in keeping the drink shops open, so long must we persist in sleeplessly warning our erring countrymen against polluting their lips with drink.

The third place is assigned to the spinning wheel, though for me it is equally important with the first two. If we produce an effective boycott of foreign cloth during this year, we shall have shown cohesion, effort, concentration, earnestness, a spirit of nationality that must enable us to establish Swaraj.

Membership of the Congress is essential for the immense organisation required for dotting the country with the spinning wheels and for the manufacture and distribution of Khaddar, and dispelling the fear that membership of the Congress may be regarded as a crime by the Government.

The fifth item, the Tilak Swaraj Fund perpetuates the memory of the soul of Swaraj, and supplies us with the sinews of war.

We are under promise to ourselves to collect one crore rupees, register one crore members and introduce twenty lacs of spinning wheels in our homes by the 30th June. We shall postpone the attainment of our goal, if we fail to carry out the programme evolved at a largely attended meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, and arrived at after full consultation and debate.

THE FRONTIER FRIENDS.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Panjabees living on the Frontier deserve the sympathy of the whole of India. They are exposed to attacks from the neighbouring tribes, they are defenceless, and from all the accounts received by me, the Government seem to give them little or no protection, and now-a-days the rule for the officers, if any one complains, is to refer the complainant to the Ali Brothers and to me. If we had charge of the Frontier, I know what we would have done. We would certainly have died in the attempt to defend the unarmed population of the districts. We would have, if necessary, armed the population for self-defence. But what is more, we would have won over the tribesmen and turned them from marauding bands into trustworthy neighbours. But we have to take things as they are. I assume that the Hindus and the Mussalmans are friendly to one another, and that no Mussalman traitorously helps the tribesmen against his Hindu brother. The Mussalman population this side of the Frontier is in an exceptionally strong position to help.

We must not despair of the tribesmen. We have too often considered them to be hopeless. In my opinion, they are amenable to reason. They are God-fearing. They do not loot merely for pleasure. I believe that they are themselves coming under the influence of the wave of self-purification that is spreading.

I know that the process of reforming the tribesmen is slow and tedious. It provides poor comfort to those that are robbed of their possessions or their dear ones.

The difficulty is to be traced to the same cause—we fear Englishmen, and we have become slaves. We fear the tribesmen and we are satisfied with our slavery, we are thankful that we are protected by the former against the latter. I cannot imagine greater humiliation for a self-respecting man to be dependent, for the safety of himself or his family on those who he takes prey upon him. I would prefer total destruction of myself and my all to purchasing safety at the cost of my manhood. I feel a sense of helplessness in us which really arises from our deliberate damming of God from our affairs. We have become atheists for all practical purposes. And therefore we believe that in the end we must rely upon physical force for our salvation. In the face of physical danger, we turn to the philosophy of the winds. Our daily recitation of God, if then we would but have a little trust in God, i.e. ourselves, we shall find no difficulty with the tribesmen. Only in that case, we will have to be prepared at times to surrender our possessions and under certain circumstances our lives rather than our honour. We must refuse to believe that our neighbours are savages incapable of responding to the factor in man.

Thus consistently with our self-respect there are but two courses open to us.

as we wish to defend ourselves however weakly against robbery and plunder, or to believe in the capacity of our neighbours to respond to the nobler instinct in man and to endeavour to reform the tribesmen. I apprehend that the two processes will go hand in hand. We must avoid the third at any cost, that is, reliance in the British bullet to protect us from harm. It is the surest way to national suicide.

If my writings can reach the tribesmen, I would certainly urge them to leave their predatory habits. In as much as they loot a single man or woman, they belie the teaching of the Prophet whose name they prize above all others and whom they believe to be the messenger of the God of mercy and justice. It is the duty of every Mussalman and Ulema who has any influence with these simple men to tell them that if they will play their part in defending Islam from impending danger, the least they can do is to refrain from molesting their neighbours, who have done not only no harm to them but who, whether they are Hindus or Mussalmans, are doing their best to safeguard the honour of Islam.

REPRESSION IN THE C. P.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

In each province repression is taking its own special turn. In the U. P. the leaders of the movement are being generally left free. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the author of the circular to the Kisans, is left untouched but the young men who distributed the circulars are imprisoned. Whereas in the C. P. the acknowledged leaders are being picked up one after another and sentenced by an obliging magistracy. The latest instance is that of Mr. Sundarlal. He has undoubtedly a hold on the student world which few possess in the C. P. He is the restraining hand, so far as violence is concerned. But he is a courageous and effective speaker. And therefore, in the opinion of the C. P. Government, he must be put out of harm's way. Here is the charge-sheet against Mr. Sundarlal.

"That you, on or about the 2nd day of March 1921, at Kharangama, by delivering a speech (to about 5000 people), the substance of which was, that the British Government in India was being carried on deliberately and dishonestly with the object of exploiting the country and reducing it to a state of abject poverty and helplessness, and that the British Government is responsible for epidemics, famines, destruction of trade and industries, and all other misfortunes of the country, which is being so systematically marched towards destruction, that the pledges given to Mahomedans have been broken by the Government, tyrannies and atrocities of the worst type were practised in the Panjab, and people have consequently lost all their faith in the Government, and that the only remedy for this state of things was complete extinction of British rule in India, which is to be brought about by the use of the weapon of Non-violent Non-co-operation, brought or attempted to bring into hatred or contempt, or excited or attempted to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India and thereby committed an offence punishable under section 124 A of the I.P.C. and within my cognizance."

The charge is clear. It is not for violence done or intended. It is purely for spreading disaffection. There is practically nothing in the charge, which has not been repeated during the past twelve months from a thousand platforms. Indeed it may be stated to be the creed of the non-co-operator to give voice to the popular disaffection towards the Government and to spread it. Disaffection is the very essence of Non-co-operation. It is the belief of every non-co-operator that the Government, meaning always the system, is wicked, it is one of exploitation of India's resources, it has brought on unprecedented pauperism and consequently famine and disease. The system is responsible for India's helplessness. The British ministers have undoubtedly broken their pledges to the Mussalmans. This and much more, every non-co-operator does believe, and therefore seeks by Non-co-operation to destroy the evil. I congratulate Mr. Sundarlal on the prosecution. Indeed I envy the position occupied by him. Let the C. P. Government remove all the other leaders of the movement and yet they will find that as a result, the disaffection, which they would crush, is all the deeper and intenser for their mad and thoughtless repression. The duty of the people is clear. They must go on with their programme of construction and thus prepare for the final triumph. We must keep sane in spite of the Government's madness.

A KARACHI PROTEST.

The Editor,

Young India.

Sir,

It has pained many a Karachi-ite to read your animadversions on Karachi in the *Young India* of the 4th inst. Many of us feel, Sir, that you have unconsciously done our city an injustice. Your remarks, alluding to a local controversy about the accounts of a National School (and not National Schools as you write)—a controversy which was the outcome of a pure misunderstanding of one group of honest workers by another group of equally honest, though a little uncharitable, servants of the Nation—make painful reading. They cast a doubt on the honesty of some upright and selfless people who have sacrificed their all at the altar of the Motherland and who are as much above suspicion as our great leaders, the Ali Brothers, who, too, some time back were the victims of a malicious attack by some people. In the present instance the maligned gentlemen did submit their accounts at two large public meetings and invited all those that required further satisfaction to go to their office and examine their books. The matter was thought to be dead and buried, when it was revived by your references to it in your paper. I fear our adversaries will have an opportunity now to civil at the Movement more freely and exultantly than before. You little know, Sir, how our adversaries—not the Government, nor the Anglo-Indians, but our own rich and kind of the Moderate party, who are at present engaged in "out-heroding Herod,"—turn and twist your

utterances and writings (and your not infrequent warnings and snubs to your followers), and how they detach passages out of their context, and hold up Non-co-operators to ridicule and derision. Extracts from "Hind Swaraj," your article on self-control in sexual matters, your letter to Khalsaji, and your threat to go away to the Himalayas if people took to violence, all these are the favourite topics, with which the Movement and its adherents are ridiculed, and your Karachi reflections will add to their number.

As for your disapproval of the hartal organized on the occasion of the Governor's visit to Karachi and your reference to him as one of the best governors, I submit, sir, that despite all that he may have done or not done—which Bombay or Gujarat or the rest of the Presidency may be thankful for, he has done little for Sindh, for which Sindhis may join with you in your generous eulogy of him. There never was greater persecution, more tyranny or worse frightfulness in Sindh than we have today. Perfectly restrained as you are, even your wonted restraint would have been shaken, if you had, during your brief sojourn in Sindh, gone over to Sanjoro, Nawabad and Thar, and heard with your own ears from the people of those places what they had to say about the blood-curdling sufferings inflicted on them by the police and other Government servants. Thereafter, I assure you, sir, you would have changed your opinion of the Governor, with whose connivance all these frightful things are happening. It was this very Governor, who so far forgot himself as to compare the people with servants and the Government with masters, asking non-co-operators to do what servants ought to do when they are dissatisfied with the conditions of service, viz. "clear out"—clear out of the country. This he is reported to have said to a gathering of "co-operating" notables of Sindh. His latest act of 'goodness' was sanctioning the prosecution of our Swami Govindanand who was subsequently sentenced to five years' transportation. May we not then respectfully ask of you, sir, what heinous sin there was in organizing a hartal on the occasion of his visit to Karachi to demonstrate to him that we of Sindh were no more the dumb driven cattle of old, whom a Lawrence with the indulgent acquiescence of a Willingdon could frighten into submission by his highhandedness? That the people had their heart in the demonstration is borne out by the fact that the hartal was complete—even more complete than the great National hartals of the 6th and the 13th.

Karachi,
5th May.

I am etc.,

Girdharilal Khubchandani.

[I publish the foregoing with pleasure. I have only removed the embellishments. I am sorry if I have done an injustice to any school. It is my duty to publish well-authenticated complaints about public institutions. No amount of misrepresentation about them can damage honest national enterprises. As for the Governor of Bombay, I gave my own impression. I am still inclined to think that His Ex-

cellency does not know the highhanded character of the doings of the Sindh officials. But even if the charges against the Government can be established, I am unable to agree that we may resort to hartal every time an unpopular official visits a place. I should feel sincerely sorry, if the Governor passed the remarks attributed to him. I have believed the Governor of Bombay to be tactful and sober, and it would be a rude shock to me to find that he had made the tactless and hasty remarks reported of him.

M. K. G.]

EXCISE—AND WHAT IT MEANS.

V.

DRUGGING THE PEOPLE.

Miss La Motte recently charged the British Government with drugging the world, and Mr. Andrews in reviewing her book left us under the impression that the charge was justified in view of the Government of India's policy. Our charge, more confined but no less grave, is that the Government has been drugging the people of India.

In our last article, we showed that the consumption of intoxicating liquors in India increased considerably every decade. It is not the sales of intoxicating liquors alone that are on the increase. The drug habit—more vicious, more pernicious, and far more injurious than liquor even, more deadly in its effects on body and mind alike—is no less on the increase. The receipts from opium consumed in India—not exported—and the revenue from drugs—excluding opium—will show the profits of the Government at the cost of the people.

Revenue from Drugs in thousands of Rupees.

Year.	Opium.	Other Drugs	Total.
1899-1900.	1,01,81	55,60	1,57,41
1904-05.	1,29,93	68,03	1,97,96
1909-10.	1,48,71	98,83	2,47,54
1914-15.	1,94,99	1,40,21	3,35,20
1918-19.	2,42,25	1,59,21	4,01,46

The revenue from opium, which stood in 1899 at 101 lakhs, had increased to 242 lakhs in 1918-19. The rate of increase too was accelerated towards the end of the period under review. While the opium revenue increased by 47 lakhs in the first ten years 1899-1909, it took only 4 years 1914-18 to show an increase of the same amount, viz 48 lakhs. The revenue from other drugs, i.e. *hemp*, *ganja*, *charas* etc., increased from 55 lakhs in the year 1899-1900 to 159 lakhs in the year 1918-19. The above statement shows that the revenue from opium alone was one and a half times as much again in 1918-19 as in 1899-1900, and in this period of 20 years the revenue from drugs had nearly trebled. It is interesting to learn that the revenue from drugs alone in 1918-19 amounted to more than the total revenue from opium and drugs in 1899. The drug policy of the Government seems

The previous articles of this series appeared in our issues of April 18th and 27th, May 4th,

to be more thorough than its drink policy, for there has been a *steady*, unbroken increase in drug revenue during the last 20 years, and a *steady* increase in opium revenue for the last 18 years.

We showed in the last article that the growth of revenue was due not so much to increased taxation and the 'prosperity' of the people as to increased consumption. As far as the drug habit is concerned, the following tables will, we hope, be conclusive and nail to the counter the lie that "all considerations of revenue must be subordinated to diminishing this vile habit." Our conclusions are further supported by the so-called "preferential" method of taxation. There is no uniform taxation on drugs—the rates vary in different provinces from a few rupees to thirty rupees or more on the same commodity. *Ganja* was taxed in 1911 Rs. 20 per seer in Bengal and Rs. 10 in Bihar and Orissa; *charas* Rs. 30 in Bengal and Rs. 12 in Assam; opium Rs. 50 in Bengal and Assam, and only Rs. 10 in Sindh. The policy of taxation pursued seems to be that those drugs to which the people are strongly addicted are taxed as high as possible without fear of diminishing the sale and those drugs which are not in demand are taxed lightly. It seems that the policy of taxation is based on the principle of *maximum sale* where the sales are small or a new article is introduced—they are priced as low as possible to increase the demand and capture the market.

This policy has, of course, enhanced, as it was meant to enhance, the Government revenue. It has also pushed on the sale, in other words the consumption has also increased.

Consumption of Opium in Seers.

1 Seer=2-2/35 lbs.

Province.	1901-02.	1906-07	1911-12
O. P. & Berar.	29,988	48,372	64,357
Madras.	35,629	38,104	41,391
Bombay.	46,001	46,864	56,278
Punjab.	52,798	59,907	63,491
U. P.	62,301	68,864	61,810
Bengal, Bihar & Orissa & Assam.	141,074	160,558	163,441
All India TOTAL	411,913	503,521	500,156

This statement sheds a little light on the actual results of the Government's excise policy. In some places, like the United Provinces, there is no marked difference in consumption; but in others, like the Central Provinces, the figures of the growth of consumption at once arrest attention. Here the consumption of opium increased from

nearly 50 thousand seers to over 54 thousand! The consumption of opium alone in the whole of British India increased in ten years from 411,000 seers to 500,000 seers—an alarming increase for such a baneful drug.

The above statement is a sufficient refutation of the claim that increased rates of taxation act as a deterrent on consumption. Nor do the statistics for the consumption of hemp drugs show any better results. The subjoined statement shows the consumption of hemp drugs like *Ganja*, *lhany* and *charas*—the last being specially imported from Yarkand in Central Asia, perhaps the most baneful and deleterious of all drugs.

Consumption of Hemp Drugs sold by retail per 10,000 of the population, in Seers

1 seer=2-2/35 lbs.

Province.	1901-02.	1911-12.
Madras.	10.6	11.7
Bombay.	20.6	38.5
Bengal	32.8	35.1
Assam.	39.0	52.3
United Prov.	93.6	64.7
Punjab.	60.8	50.7
G. P. & Berar.	25.4	36.7
Sindh.	337.5	367.3
All India Average	63.7	65.6

Here, again, there is a marked increase in consumption, Sindh heading the list with an increase of 30 seers per 10,000 of her population, Bombay is second with an increase of 17.5 seers. The decrease in the United Provinces is by no means a matter for congratulation.

The drug vice had assumed terrible proportions. The *chamcha* shops and opium dens of Lucknow had become a disgrace. The misery, the squalor, and the filth, that was to be witnessed there, had been noised throughout the world. The late Mr. Kerr Hardie has left his impressions in language that will rouse the pity of the reader for centuries to come, and the noble-hearted Sreed joined with him in his cry for abolishing this evil, at least from the Indian Empire. But morals gave way to finance—the habit, it is true, is no longer centred in big cities, but like a canker it is eating into the heart of the nation.

The statements we have given require no explanation; they are pregnant with meaning. We have placed before the reader such statements as will lead him to form a correct opinion of the Government's excise policy and what it means to the people. In our last and concluding article we shall essay to sum up our conclusions and results.

(to be concluded.)

B.

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Notes.

The Afghan Alarm—It must be a matter of surprise to many people as it is to me, that Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal should be alarmed at the Afghan cry raised in interested quarters. He is a believer in full Swaraj, and I venture to suggest to Mr. Pal that we cannot establish Swaraj in India, till we rid ourselves of the feeling of helplessness. Swaraj means our preparedness to deal with the Afghan and every other menace in our country. The whole scheme of Non-co-operation is based on trusting other people, and if they prove untrustworthy, on our being prepared to meet their deceit by self-suffering. I remind Mr. Pal of what he truly said at Allahabad at the Hindu Mahomedan Conference in reply to Dr. Sapru, that the same power of combination, resourcefulness and suffering that would end the present system of slavery, would enable us to deal with every other system of a similar nature.

Pan-Islamism, which Mr. Pal fears, is an admirable doctrine in so far as a Mussalman wishes the solidarity of all Moslem states. It would be a dangerous doctrine, if it were to mean a combination of Islamic powers for the purpose of exploiting the world or converting it to Islam by force. No sane Mussalman of my acquaintance has ever entertained the latter idea. The world is growing sick of the domination of brute force.

I assure Mr. Pal that I do not believe in flirtation with any sentiment. I reject those that are bad, and hug those that are good. I do not believe that serious Mussalmans will welcome Afghan rule, any more than serious Hindus would. In writing my article on the Afghan Bogey, I was minded only to defend the correct position of a comrade, and to warn India against being frightened by the interested cry.

I totally dissent from Mr. Pal's view that the event of an Afghan invasion, or even the mere circulation of a rumour of such invasion will incite a very large part of our Moslem population to lawlessness, if not to open revolt. On the contrary it is my firm belief that the Mussalmans have too much at stake to-day—the honour of their religion—to do any such foolish act. As Maulana Shaukat Ali has said so often, the Mussalmans are too shrewd to mix up violence with non-violence. Mr.

Pal has done a grave injustice to the Hindus by attributing to 'a very large proportion' of Hindus 'a desire to settle their own account with the Mahomedans. He has I venture to assure him, entirely misread the Hindu mind. The Hindus are as much in earnest about the cow, as the Mussalmans about the Khilafat. And the former know that they cannot save the cow—the cherished dream of every Hindu—without the goodwill of the latter. I promise that the Hindus will forget every wrong done in the past by every Mussalman, when the latter help them to save the cow, as I know every Mussalman will feel eternally grateful to the Hindus, if he finds that he has retrieved the honour of Islam by their voluntary aid.

I deny in toto the truth of the proposition laid down by Mr. Pal, that Moslems and Hindus would welcome an Afghan invasion. The protests that have been made against the supposed intentions of Mahomed Ali are surely enough to convince anybody that India will not tolerate an Afghan invasion.

Mr. Pal suggests that if the Amir invades and if we do not aid the Government, there can only be a revolution. I venture to suggest another alternative. If India as a non-co-operating India does not assist, the Government will make terms with the people. I do not consider the British people to be so utterly devoid of commonsense or resourcefulness as to leave India, rather than come to terms with her and heal the Khilafat and the Punjab wounds. That India does not yet possess the power to command attention, I know only too well. I have simply suggested a contingent alternative.

Mr. Pal sees a difference between Lalaaji's and my declaration at Simla and our previous declarations. I know, none—neither Lalaaji nor I—have ever welcomed an Afghan invasion. But I gladly lay down my own position in categorical terms.

(1) I do not believe that the Afghans want to invade India.

(2) I believe that the Government is fully prepared to meet an Afghan invasion.

(3) I am sorry to confess that if there was an Afghan invasion, every Raja and Maharaja will render unconditional assistance to the Government.

(4) I believe too that we as a people are still so demoralised, diffident and distrustful of Afghan intentions, and Hindus and Mussalmans of us

another, that many would in mere panic rush to the help of the Government and thus still further strengthen the chain that binds India.

(5) In theory, it is possible to distinguish between an invasion of India and an invasion of the British Government for the purpose of the Khilafat. In practice, I do not believe in the Afghans invading India to embarrass the Government, and being able in the event of being successful to resist the temptation of establishing a kingdom in India.

(6) In spite of such belief, I hold it to be contrary to the faith of a non-co-operator to render unconditional assistance to a Government which he seeks to end or menl.

(7) A handful of conscientious objectors may make no impression on the then current of events, but they will sow the seed for raising a manly India.

(8) I would rather see India perish at the hands of Afghans, than purchase freedom from Afghan invasion at the cost of her honour. To have India defended by an unrepentant Government that keeps the Khilafat and the Punjab wounds still bleeding, is to sell India's honour.

(9) My faith, however, in the British nation is such that when we have shown sufficient strength of purpose, and undergone enough measure of self-sacrifice, the British people will respond fully. My reading of history is that they do not yield to justice pure and simple. It is too abstract for their 'commoneese.' But they are far-seeing enough to respond to justice when it is aided with force. Whether it is brute-force or semi-force, they do not mind.

(10) It is the duty of every non-co-operator to let the Afghans know that he believes in the capacity of Non-co-operation to restore the Khilafat to the pre-war status, and that India does not want their armed intervention, that non-co-operators would appreciate their refusal to enter into any deal with the British Government for holding India in subjection, and that India has none but the friendliest feelings for her neighbours.

English Learning—Elsewhere the reader will see my humble endeavour in reply to Dr. Tagore's criticism of Non-co-operation. I have since read his letter to the Manager of *Santhiniketan*. I am sorry to observe that the letter is written in anger and in ignorance of facts. The Poet was naturally incensed to find that certain students in London would not give a hearing to Mr. Pearson, one of the truest of Englishmen, and he became equally incensed to learn that I had told our women to stop English studies. The reasons for my advice, the Poet evidently inferred for himself.

How much better it would have been, if he had not imputed the rudeness of the students to Non-co-operation, and had remembered that non-co-operators worship Andrews, honour Stokes, and gave a most respectful hearing to Mours, Wedgwood,

Bon Spoor and Holford Knight at Nagpur, that Maulana Mahomed Ali accepted the invitation to tea of an English official when he invited him as a friend, that Hakim Ajmal Khan a staunch non-co-operator had the portraits of Lord and Lady Hardinge unveiled in his Tibbi College and had invited his many English friends to witness the ceremony. How much better it would have been, if he had refused to allow the demon doubt to possess him for one moment, as to the real and religious character of the present movement, and had believed that the movement was altering the meaning of old terms, nationalism and patriotism, and extending their scope.

If he, with a poet's imagination, had seen that I was incapable of wishing to cramp the mind of the Indian woman, and I could not object to English learning as such, and recalled the fact that throughout my life I had fought for the fullest liberty for women, he would have been saved the injustice which he has done me, and which, I know, he would never knowingly do to an avowed enemy. The Poet does not know perhaps that English is today studied because of its commercial and so-called political value. Our boys think, and rightly in the present circumstances, that without English they cannot get Government service. Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage. I know several instances of women wanting to learn English so that they may be able to talk to Englishmen in English. I know husbands who are sorry that their wives cannot talk to them and their friends in English. I know families in which English is being made the mother tongue. Hundreds of youths believe that without a knowledge of English, freedom for India is practically impossible. The cancer has so eaten into the society that in many cases, the only meaning of Education is a knowledge of English. All these are for me signs of our slavery and degradation. It is unbearable to me that the vernaculars should be crushed and starved as they have been. I cannot tolerate the idea of parents writing to their children, or husbands writing to their wives, not in their own vernaculars but in English. I hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great Poet. I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's houses as an interloper, a beggar or a slave. I refuse to put the unnecessary strain of learning English upon my sisters for the sake of false pride or questionable social-advantage. I would have our young men and young women with literary tastes to learn as much of English and other world-languages as they like, and then expect them to give the benefits of their learning to India and to the world, like a Bose, a Roy or the Poet himself. But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother-tongue, or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his

or her own vernacular. Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. It has room for the least among God's creation. But it is proof against insolence, pride of race, religion or colour. I am extremely sorry for the Poets' misreading of this great movement of reformation, purification and patriotism spelt humanity. If he will be patient, he will find no cause for sorrow or shame for his countrymen. I respectfully warn him against mistaking its exuberances for the movement itself. It is as wrong to judge Non-co-operation by the students' misconduct in London or Malegam's in India, as it would be to judge English men by the Dyers or the O'Dwyers.

The Brothers' Apology—The brief statement made by the Ali Brothers about some of their speeches will, I know, give rise to adverse criticism in whispers if not in public. It is best therefore to understand the apology. I am unable just now to go into the whole of the genesis, but I can safely inform the public that as soon as some friends brought passages in some of their speeches to my notice, I felt that they sounded harsh and seemed to be capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence. The air was thick with rumours of their arrest. No non-co-operator can afford to go to prison on a false issue, certainly not on a denial of his faith, i. e. non-violence. I felt at once that I should draw their attention to the passages, and advise them to make a statement clearly defining their position. In the heat of the moment one is likely to use language which may bear a meaning never intended. When one disregards the fear of the law and fears only one's own conscience, one has to be doubly careful. But all the care in the world would sometimes fail to prevent a slip. The Ali Brothers carry a big burden on their shoulders. The prestige of Islam, in so far as they are responsible for it, will be measured by the credit they acquire for the most scrupulous regard for truth and honesty in their dealings, and humility and courage of the highest order in their bearing. My 'alliance' with them, as our friendship has been called, is based upon my belief in their strict honesty, frankness, fearlessness, courage and humility. I know that they are among much maligned men in India. All kinds of motives are attributed to them. They are said to be making use of their easy tool, Time, I am sure, will disprove all these charges. But it was necessary that no hasty expression of theirs was used against them to damage their character or good faith. Nothing can be more hurtful to an honourable man than that he should be accused of bad faith. It was in order to safeguard them, in so far as it lay in their power, against any such imputation, that I advised them to make the statement now published. In my opinion, by making it they have raised the tone and prestige of the Khilafat struggle they are leading. They have set an example to other workers. We are not to seek imprisonment out of bravado. The gaol is the gateway to liberty and honour, when innocence finds itself in it. The statement is a

warning to all of us, that we who are fighting the battle for freedom and truth, must be most exact in our language. It would not be a bad thing to read our speeches or not to make any at all. One of the noblest of Mussalmans has imposed this restraint on himself. Maslama Abdul Bari is highly sensitive, and can be betrayed into using under excitement language which he would not use in cooler moments, and which he often does not mean. At the suggestion of friends he has therefore undertaken as a rule not to speak in public at all. I cite this great example for all of us to follow. The Ali Brothers, by their frank statement, have given the guidance. We must not speak, but if we must, we must weigh our words well, lest we say thoughtlessly what we do not mean, and thereby hurt the cause we represent.

More Parsi Generosity—Mr. Rustamji Jivanji Ghorkhoda of South Africa has cabled me Rs. 12,000 for the purpose of distributing spinning-wheels among the famine-stricken people of Gujarat. The reader will recall his munificent donation of Rs. 40,000 for schools. This donation has come in time, because the Famine Committee was hard pressed to meet the want. I hope that those who may not wish to subscribe to the 'Tusk Swaraj Fund' as being for a political purpose, will not hesitate to copy Mr. Rustamji's noble example and help the Famine Insurance Fund.

M. K. G.

AT RANDOM

(By M. H. D.)

Mr. Gandhi wrote some weeks ago about untouchability disappearing in parts of Gujarat. In one place, however, it appears that the people resented Mr. Gandhi's act-up, and purified themselves on his departure, by ablutions at the village wells. Perhaps that is an instance of appearances deceiving us. But the disappearing tendency of untouchability everywhere is unmistakable. The Secretary of the Bijapur District Congress Committee observes in the course of his report.

Another success scored by the non-co-operators is, that the untouchable classes at Bijapur have been devout non-co-operators and are sending nearly 40 boys daily to the Bhayun party, that parades through the streets of Bijapur singing national songs in the early morning every day. Many of the elders have joined the Congress Committee and given up drink. Some of them have been elected to work on the various sub-committees.

The recent Government Communiqués must have given the Government servants an idea of the basis on which they may continue in Government service. Higher officials have to "explain and defend" Government policy, if they want to show themselves worth their salt. All officers, high and low, have to refrain from all action calculated to show any sympathy with Mr. Gandhi's programme of Non-co-operation. Indeed the District Magistrate is known to have taken a

(Continued on page 176)

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 1st June, 1921.

THE POET'S ANXIETY

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Poet of Asia as Lord Hardinge called Dr Tagore, is fast becoming, if he has not already become the Poet of the world. Increasing prestige has brought to him increasing responsibility. His greatest service to India must be his poetic interpretation of India's message to the world. The Poet is therefore sincerely anxious that India should deliver no false or feeble message in her name. He is naturally jealous of his country's reputation. He says he has striven hard to find himself in tune with the present movement. He confesses that he is baffled. He can find nothing for his lyre in the din and the bustle of Non-co-operation. In three forceful letters he has endeavoured to give expression to his misgivings, and he has come to the conclusion that Non-co-operation is not dignified enough for the India of his vision, that it is a doctrine of negation and despair.* He fears that it is a doctrine of separation, exclusiveness, narrowness and negation.

No Indian can feel anything but pride in the Poet's exquisite jealousy of India's honour. It is good that he should have sent to us his misgivings in language at once beautiful and clear.

In all humility I shall endeavour to answer the Poet's doubts. I may fail to convince him or the reader who may have been touched by his eloquence, but I would like to assure him and India that Non-co-operation in conception is not any of the things he fears, and he need have no cause to be ashamed of his country for having adopted Non-co-operation. If in actual application it appears in the end to have failed, it will be no more the fault of the doctrine, than it would be of Truth if those who claim to apply it in practice do not appear to succeed. Non-co-operation may have come in advance of its time, India and the world must then wait, but there is no choice for India save between violence and Non-co-operation.

Nor need the Poet fear that Non-co-operation is intended to erect a Chinese wall between India and the West. On the contrary, Non-co-operation is intended to pave the way to real, honourable and voluntary co-operation based on mutual respect and trust. The present struggle is being waged against compulsory co-operation, against one-sided combination, against the armed imposition of modern methods of exploitation masquerading under the name of civilisation.

Non-co-operation is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil.

The Poet's concern is largely about the students. He is of opinion that they should not have been called upon to give up Government schools before

they had other schools to go to. Here I must differ from him. I have never been able to make a fetish of literary training. My experience has proved to my satisfaction that literary training by itself adds not an inch to one's moral height and that character-building is independent of literary training. I am firmly of opinion that the Government schools have unmanned us, rendered us helpless and Godless. They have filled us with discontent, and providing no remedy for the discontent, have made us despondent. They have made us what we were intended to become—clerks and interpreters. A Government builds its prestige upon the apparently voluntary association of the governed. And if it was wrong to co-operate with the Government in keeping us slaves, we were bound to begin with those institutions in which our association appeared to be most voluntary. The youth of a nation are its hope. I hold that as soon as we discovered that the system of government was wholly, or mainly evil, it became sinful for us to associate our children with it.

It is no argument against the soundness of the proposition laid down by me, that the vast majority of the students went back after the first flash of enthusiasm. Their recantation is proof rather of the extent of our degradation than of the wrongness of the step. Experience has shown that the establishment of national schools has not resulted in drawing many more students. The strongest and the truest of them came out without any national schools to fall back upon, and I am convinced that these first withdrawals are rendering service of the highest order.

But the Poet's protest against the calling out of the boys is really a corollary to his objection to the very doctrine of Non-co-operation. He has a horror of everything negative. His whole soul seems to rebel against the negative commandments of religion. I must give his objection in his own inimitable language. "It is in support of the present movement has often said to me that passion for rejection is a stronger power in the beginning than the acceptance of an ideal. Though I know it to be a fact, I cannot take it as a truth.....Brahma-vidya in India has for its object *Mukti* emancipation, while Buddhism has *Nirvana* extinction. *Mukti* draws our attention to the positive and *Nirvana* to the negative side of truth. Therefore he emphasised the fact of *duhkha* misery which had to be avoided and the *Brahma-vidya* emphasised the fact of *Ananda* joy which had to be attained." In these and kindred passages the reader will find the key to the Poet's mentality. In my humble opinion, rejection is as much an ideal as the acceptance of a thing. It is as necessary to reject untruth as it is to accept truth. All religions teach that two opposite forces act upon us and that the human endeavour consists in a series of eternal rejections and acceptances. Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good. I venture to suggest that the Poet has done an

unconscious injustice to Buddhism in describing *Nirvana* as merely a negative state. I make bold to say that *Mukta* emancipation is as much a negative state as *Nirvana*. Emancipation from or extinction of the bondage of the flesh leads to *Ananda* (eternal bliss). Let me close this part of my argument by drawing attention to the fact that the final word of the Upanishads (*Brahma-vidya*) is *Not. Nasti* was the best description the authors of the Upanishads were able to find for *Brahman*.

I therefore think that the Poet has been unnecessarily alarmed at the negative aspect of Non-co-operation. We had lost the power of saying 'no'. It had become disloyal, almost sacrilegious to say 'no' to the Government. This deliberate refusal to co-operate is like the necessary weeding process that a cultivator has to resort to before he sows. Weeding is as necessary to agriculture as sowing. Indeed, even whilst the crops are growing, the weeding fork, as every husbandman knows, is an instrument almost of daily use. The nation's Non-co-operation is an invitation to the Government to co-operate with it on its own terms as is every nation's right and every good Government's duty. Non-co-operation is the Nation's notice that it is no longer satisfied to be in tutelage. The nation has taken to the harness (for it), natural and religious doctrine of Non-co-operation is the place of the unnatural and irreligious doctrine of violence. And if India is ever to attain the *Swara*, of the Poet's dream, she will do so only by non-violent Non-co-operation. Let him deliver his message of peace to the world, and feel confident that India through her Non-co-operation, if she remain true to her pledge, will have exemplified his message. Non-co-operation is intended to give the very meaning to patriotism that the Poet is yearning after. An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and good will to a groaning world. Non-co-operation is designed to supply her with a platform from which she will preach the message.

KHILAFAT AND NON-VIOLENCE.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Mr. Vase of the *Servant of India* has referred me to the article of Mr. Zacharias in his weekly of 5th May last, and asked me to consider the *Khilafat* from the point of view suggested by the writer. Mr. Zacharias thus puts the question in his elaborate article, "How could one find an apostle of the principle of *Ahimsa* upholding its very contradiction,—the principle of the *Khilafat*? I am not concerned with the truth-value of either the *Khilafat* or the *Ahimsa* principle. But I do say that the one excludes the other; the one thing I do plead for and most earnestly, is clear thinking on the part of either side to this problem. It is muddled thinking and the consequent slide into compromise that is responsible for disaster in the recent history of mankind more than any other factor." After mentioning ex. President Wilson's fall the writer goes on,

"Will the great Satyagrahi of the East heed the warning? Will he be faithful to his whole life?... Will he not remain true to himself rather than compromise himself, for the sake even of so precious a thing as Hindu Muslim friendship is, with this antithesis of his, the principle of *Khilafat*?"

This fervent appeal requires a restatement of my position regarding the *Khilafat*. I would be false to my whole life, if even for securing Hindu Muslim Unity, I compromised the principle of non-violence for which I do claim to stand. It was only when I found that the Mussalman claim was just from every point of view, that I plunged myself into it. For me it was a chance of a life-time. I felt that if I could but show my loyalty to my Mussalman countrymen in the hour of their trial, I would be able to secure everlasting friendship between the two great communities. Anyway I felt that the attempt was worth making. I could not conceive the possibility of having a free India without a real friendship between the two.

But, argues Mr. Zacharias, the *Khilafat* is based on force. The *Khalifa* is the earthly representative of Islam pledged to defend it even with the sword. And how can I, a believer in non-violence, fight to sustain an institution that is permitted to resort to physical force for its defence?

Mr. Zacharias is right in his description of the *Khilafat*. He is wrong in his estimate of the function of a votary of non-violence. A believer in non-violence is pledged not to resort to violence or physical force either directly or indirectly in defence of anything, but he is not precluded from helping men or institutions that are themselves not based on non-violence. If the reverse were the case, I would, for instance, be precluded from helping India to attain *Swara*j because the future Parliament of India under *Swara*j, I know for certain, will be having some military and police forces, or to take a domestic illustration, I may not help a son to secure justice, because forsooth he is not a believer in non-violence.

Mr. Zacharias' proposition will reduce all commerce by a believer in non-violence to an impossibility. And there are not wanting men, who do believe that complete non-violence means complete cessation of all activity.

Not such, however, is my doctrine of non-violence. My business is to refrain from doing any violence myself, and to induce by persuasion and service as many of God's creatures as I can, to join me in the belief and practice. But I would be untrue to my faith, if I refused to assist in a just cause any men or measures that did not entirely coincide with the principle of non-violence. I would be promoting violence, if finding the Mussalmans to be in the right, I did not assist them by means strictly non-violent against those who had treacherously plotted the destruction of the dignity of Islam. Even when both parties believe in violence, there is often such a thing as justice on one side or the other. A robbed man has

justice on his side, even though he may be preparing to regain the lost property by force. And it would be accounted as a triumph of non-violence, if the injured party could be persuaded to regain his property by methods of Satyagraha, i.e. love or soul-force rather than a free fight.

Of course it is open to Mr. Zacharias to reject my claim as a devotee of non-violence, in view of all the limitations I have mentioned. I can only suggest to him that life is a very complex thing, and truth and non-violence present problems, which often defy analysis and judgment. One discovers truth and the method of applying the only legitimate means of vindicating it, i.e. Satyagraha or soul-force, by patient endeavour and silent prayer. I can only assure friends that I spare no pains to grope my way to the right, and that humble but constant endeavour and silent prayer are always my two trusty companions along the weary but beautiful path that all seekers must tread.

EXCISE—AND ALL IT MEANS. *

(concluded)

VI.

THE DISEASE AND THE CURE

The declared policy of the Government, as we have quoted more than once, is "to minimise temptation to those who do not drink and to discourage excesses among those who do." The statistics of consumption and drunkenness, given in the issues of May 2 and 25, give the lie direct to the Government's declared policy. Our readers must have noticed how the actual results are diametrically opposed to those which it was said to produce. An examination of the working of this policy will serve to show the reader that the actual results were due not to misfortune nor chance, but to deliberate calculation and concentrated effort in this direction.

As far back as 1899, the Government of India thus laid down the correct principles on which excise policy was to be based in future:—

- (i) that any extension of the habit of drinking was to be discouraged;
- (ii) that taxation was to be as high as was possible without encouraging illicit manufacture and vend,
- (iii) that subject to these considerations, a maximum revenue was to be raised from a minimum consumption of intoxicating liquors.

These principles were accepted by the then Secretary of State for India—Lord Cross. It is significant that no express principle of reducing consumption is laid down, whereas there can be no mistaking the importance given to increasing the taxation and revenue. At the very outset we find undue prominence given to, and an unfair suggestion made of, the fallacious principle that increased taxation must result in decreased consumption. As we proceed, we find that the vital principle, the

decrease of consumption, is left in the background and at last fades completely from our vision, and the policy degenerates into that of increasing the revenue.

We see this in the practical measures suggested for carrying out the above policy, which may be outlined as follows:—

- (i) the abolition of the outstill system where practicable;
- (ii) the gradual introduction of the central distillery system,
 - a. the imposition of as high a rate of duty as possible on country liquor, but the duty not to exceed the tax on imported liquor;
- (iv) the restriction of the number of shops.

These 'practical' measures are devised solely with a view to swell the liquor revenue. Taxation is difficult in outstill areas, it must therefore be abolished; taxation is easy in the central distillery areas, it must therefore be introduced; the income from country liquor forms half of the total excise revenue, the duties on it must be raised as high as possible. Of the four 'practical' measures, only the restriction of shops can be called preventive, the first three are designed solely for enhancing the liquor revenue. Moreover, as we have shown in our previous articles, these measures are so carried out in practice as totally to ignore the object aimed at, viz. the diminution of the drink evil. Even the Indian Excise Committee of 1905—06 bewailed the fact that subordinate excise officers were labouring under the mistaken impression that enhanced revenues would be the criterion of efficiency—they had no direct interest in the policy of restricting consumption. When excise officers are capable of misinterpreting—and perverting, though unknowingly perhaps,—the Government's excise policy, is it to be wondered at, that there should be increased sales of drugs and liquors every year? It is equally significant that, whilst the utility of these measures have a doubtful and uncertain value for the purpose of lessening consumption, they are, perhaps, the best that could be devised for enhancing the Government's revenue.

Even as it is stated, the policy presents a marked contrast to that of some of the western 'civilized' powers who, in this respect at least, have rightly set before them the goal of total prohibition. What is more, both the United States and Russia have achieved it. They have both gone 'dry' with the most beneficial results. Normally, India should have been the first country to set the great example of total prohibition to the world. Her people are naturally abstemious. They still lead lives of Spartan simplicity. The virus of industrialism, i.e. of smoke, soot and slums, has happily not yet had a grip upon her—and modern industrialism is the greatest ally of drink. We are thus happily spared the calamity of fighting the drink evil in its strongest form. The manifestations of it that we see in our industrial towns are limited to a few big cities, where a concentrated and powerful campaign can yet attain success at the first stroke, as happened at Ahmedabad.

* The previous articles of this series have appeared in our issues of April 13th and 27th, May 4th and 25th.

We have suggested that the drink evil has been foisted upon the people against their wishes and is totally unwarranted by the conditions in which they live. Under ordinary circumstances it would have died a natural death; now it flourishes under the fostering care of the excise department, and like a parasite it lives and thrives on the life of the nation. More than one bold apologist have condoned excise as a 'necessary' evil. Others have even pointed out that without it the Government will not be able to finance education. This is tantamount to saying that for the doubtful benefits of the education it gives, the Government is, and has been, inflicting on the people the undoubted evils of drink. It seems to us necessary that such a government should be superseded by one more moral, unless it shows, as has been so aptly stated, "a distinct change of heart." But it is imperative that such an immoral and dangerous experiment should be immediately ended.

The contention that excise is a necessary source of revenue will not hold water on examination, it betrays a narrow, short-sighted financial policy. We may even say that it is both false and hollow. The excise policy of the Government ignores the fiscal axiom that the patrimony of the State must in no case be impaired. An unsound financial policy must sooner or later impair it. A Government guided by a sound financial policy would try its utmost to prevent the nation from spending its money on objects that undermine both the health and the morals of the people—and liquor and drugs ruin both. It would likewise not only prevent the money from being spent on "unproductive" goods, it would also direct this along "productive" channels. Liquor is certainly an "unproductive" article. The money spent on it gives no return to the consumer, on the contrary it damages his working capacity, causes loss of efficiency, promotes ill-health and disease, encourages other forms of vice, and prevents the money from being utilized to the advantage of the consumer, and hence of the society and the nation. In short, as Mr. Minawber would say, it is a 'malignant growth.'

Supposing, however, that the drink evil is abolished, will not the Government be a sufferer to the tune of 17 crores (the present revenue from excise)? The answer is simple: it cannot ultimately suffer. By abolishing excise, the nation will have on its hands the money it now spends on drink. The Government derives a revenue of 17 crores, but the nation spends at least 50 crores on drink. The nation can either spend the money or save it. If it saves this huge amount annually, the Government will be able to tax the people accordingly. Every economist from Adam Smith to Marshall has laid down that prosperity is based on thrift, and the taxable capacity of the nation is in proportion to its prosperity. Suppose the nation, instead of saving this money, spends it say on cloth. It will mean more growing of cotton, more

manufacture of cloth, more employment and higher wages for the labour. Here again the nation will prosper. Why excise fails as a proper means of taxation is—not to speak of the sin of it—because it accelerates the increasing poverty and chronic starvation of the people. As a doctrine, it is fallacious and unsound, as a policy it is ruinous and immoral. If this evil takes permanent root among the people, the Government will soon learn to its cost, like the man in the fable, that it has killed the goose that laid the golden eggs.

Yet, the Government persists in this most foolish of all its foolish policies, in the face of strong public opposition. Usually indifferent on matters affecting our moral uplift, public opinion in this respect has been, to say the least, clamorous. The All India Temperance Conference, is sufficient proof of this. Various suggestions have been placed before the Government, the evils of the present excise policy have been brought to light and placed before them, but they have invariably suffered the common fate—docked in pigeon-holes to provide food for the moth and the worm. We shall enumerate some of the suggestions offered to the Government but ignored, which in our opinion, would have considerably decreased the consumption of both liquors and drugs.

- (i) Drastic curtailment of the hours of sale, by later opening and earlier closing hours being fixed for all licensed premises.
- (ii) Limitation of quantity supplied per person for consumption either on the premises or elsewhere.
- (iii) Abolition of the auction system, and its supersession by a system of fixed licence fees.
- (iv) Removal of the licensing function from the control of the Revenue Department.

There is a crying need of reform on the lines suggested above. The drink evil is increasing apace. The Indian Excise Committee, referred to above, came to the same conclusion—15 years have only increased and not lessened the evil. Says the Committee—

1. "The consumption of all classes of foreign liquor has largely increased.
2. The consumption of *tadi* unless properly controlled is liable to lead to much drunkenness.
3. "The consumption of country beers is causing much drunkenness in certain areas and the beers made are sometimes very deleterious.
4. "The disposal of privileges by auction is responsible for many defects in present arrangements.
5. The closing hour should be strictly enforced etc.

These were the conclusions arrived at 15 years ago by a committee of Government officials. In the light of such unbiased conclusions, a drastic reform on the lines suggested by us seems to be both urgent and imperative.

The Government has been pleaded with, petitioned, and prayed to revise its excise policy. To such protestations, it turned a deaf ear. Suggestions were offered by Temperance Societies, and workers in the cause of humanity. They have been ignored. Social

workers started propaganda work with some success. Government officials looked on their humane efforts with cold disapproval. Some have even been arrested on sorry and flimsy pretexts. One provincial Government has even printed a circular eulogising the value of drinking! Such acts of petty, misplaced tyranny and unbecoming zeal only confirm our worst fears that the Government's excise policy is directed solely to the purpose of increasing its revenues, that it is shameless enough to exploit the sins of the people. But, what, after all, is the remedy? We remember Mr. C. R. Das saying sometimes ago that 'Life was unbearable without Swaraj'—and that alone is the remedy.

B.

(Concluded from page 171)

subordinate to task for having a brother who was a pronounced non-co-operator. That reminds one of Captain Gases's advice to every sympathiser with Sinn Féin to clear out of the House of Commons, "for they would be hunted down." I have come across Government servants, and even servants of private industrial firms managed by Europeans, wearing under-vests made of Khadi with coats of Lacashire cloth to shield themselves from being regarded as sympathisers with Non-co-operation. Subordination can go no further. In the circumstances it is gratifying to note that the Postmasters' Conference at Trichinopoly passed a Resolution calling upon all postmen to learn and to practise, in their spare hours, small handicrafts such as hand-spinning and hand-weaving. I hope the postmen will spare no pains to translate the Resolution into practice. They will thereby set an example to members of many another department. Thousands and thousands of Government servants can thus effectively help in the introduction of the total of twenty-one lakh spinning-wheels in the country.

The fact is that the Recommendations of the Working Committee of the Congress are so conceived that in most respects Government servants may follow them, no less than private individuals. Government servants are forbidden no doubt to attend public meetings, but even so the non-co-operators are asked to do without meetings as far as they can, and to concentrate on the concrete items of the programme. No Government servant need therefore trouble to attend public meetings. But surely nothing prevents him from being a temperance worker, or introducing the spinning-wheel in his home, or making contributions earmarked for temperance work and the introduction of spinning-wheels.

In this connection it may be noted that many co-operators are sending contributions to Mr. Gandhi earmarked for the construction and distribution of spinning-wheels. It is quite open to those who subscribe only to this part of the Non-co-operation programme to do so. In the same way I think, co-operators, who now and again emphasise that they are quite in agreement with the constructive part of Mr. Gandhi's programme, may send contributions to help the different items.

It is interesting to see how the subordinate officers of Government are trying to carry out their avowed policy of "minimising temptation among those who do not drink and discouraging excesses among those who do." In Ahmedabad, the police and the excise officers are now engaged in a shameful conspiracy to defeat the attempts of the pickets who have considerably affected the sale of liquor in the city. In his weekly reports, Mr. Mavlankar, one of the secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committee, exposes some of the unauthorised acts of the liquor-sellers and the police. Liquor, he says, is being sold to persons prohibited under Section 78 of the license deed. In one instance a boy was caught red-handed carrying a liquor bottle purchased from a liquor shop. The police agreed to take notice of the boy, but an Inspector who happened to pass by, proceeded to take the volunteer to task for wrongfully confining the boy! In some cases, the shopkeepers adjust the hands of their clocks to open the shops earlier and to close them later than the authorised hour. The hirelings of the liquor-sellers, in contravention of the law, take bottles of liquor out of the shops to sell them wherever they like with impunity. In many cases the drinkers are actually dragged into the shops by these hirelings and the police take no notice of them. Mr. Tryambaklal Trivedi, M. A., who is one of the pickets in the city, in a long letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, narrates some of the misdeeds, which came to his notice. He says: "On 27-4-21 a servant of the Raipur liquor-shop threw about 15 stones at one volunteer who being off duty was going to a mill. The volunteer having taken refuge behind a tree was fortunately saved, but a ten years old daughter of a *Dhadh* who was passing by, is reported to have been hurt. On the 25th the same man was carrying about four bottles to deliver them somewhere near Bhushanker Nanabhai's Haveli in Raipur. The schools being closed, some students were going home. One of these students was a volunteer. Thinking that the volunteer was after him, the man broke two bottles against the wall of an adjoining house, caught hold of the student by the neck, abused him, took him to Raipur Chakla Choksi and lodged a complaint against the student that he had broken the bottles."

It is no use multiplying these instances. They should spur Non-co-operators to dogged effort.

A very fine example of the high state of efficiency to which organisation of the temperance campaign has reached in some parts is afforded by the action of shopkeepers in some places in Behar. It appears that the liquor-sellers expressed their willingness to close their shops provided some occupation was given them. The other shopkeepers willingly agreed to give up the sale of particular commodities like salt and kerosene oil and gave the monopoly to the liquor-dealers. This is one more striking proof of the fact that this movement is one of self-purification. The example of the shopkeepers in Behar is worthy of emulation by shopkeepers elsewhere.

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Notes.

The Need of the Hour.—It will be nothing short of a tragedy, if we do not fulfil the Bezwada programme before the end of the month. Seven days of the month will have gone before these notes are out. We have not a moment to spare. We have hardly collected twenty lacs of rupees as yet. To collect eighty lacs during the next three weeks may seem an impossibility. But the seeming impossibility can be easily turned into a possibility if we were ceaselessly to work for the collection. Twenty-one provinces, if they will respond according to their ability, can every furnish the balance. The Bezwada programme is the most concrete ever placed before the nation. If the people are with us and if we have enough workers, one crore of rupees is a mere nothing for thirty crores of people to find, for a cause so great as that of Swaraj, and for perpetuating a memory so great as that of the Lokamanya. If they choose, the women of India can give the money out of their jewellery, the liquor drinkers can give it out of their drinks. The mill-owners, who have derived the greatest benefit from the Swadeshi movement, can find the eighty lacs in a day. The Marwades can, without any strain on their resources, find the amount, and so could the Bhatias, the Memans, the Parsis or the Banias. They are all a prosperous community, and have before now more or less supported public movements. If they wish, the Sindhis can also find the amount. The labourers of India could pay the whole amount, if they sacrificed one twelfth of their yearly earnings. I have consulted many friends as to the amount that can be easily paid by the respective classes mentioned by me. The following may serve as a working basis.

- (1) Salaried men to pay one tenth of their monthly pay.
- (2) Lawyers, doctors, merchants and such others to pay one twelfth of their nett annual income as at the end of May last.
- (3) Propertied men to pay 2½ p. c. of the valuation of their property.
- (4) All the others to pay not less than four annas each.

If all were to pay according to this scale, there would be several crores of rupees. But one is aware that non-co-operators and sympathisers are drawn

from all classes. No single class is so wholly non-co-operationist as to feel the personal responsibility for payment. This question of payment is the acid test of our sincerity, earnestness and capacity. Let us hope that the 30th of this month will not find us wanting.

Questions have been persistently asked as to why this large sum is required. The answer is simple. It is a profitable investment, not for purely personal, but for public good. The amount will be devoted chiefly to distributing spinning-wheels and conducting national schools. We have, say six crore homes, if broken down families may deserve so sweet a name. We must provide these families with spinning wheels, and enable them to become real homes. One crore of rupees is surely the least amount required for establishing home-spinning on such a basis as to become self-propagating. Similarly, if we are to reconstruct our educational system, we shall need more than one crore of rupees for the purpose.

The second question that has been asked is—what security is there for honest accountancy? In the first place, we have in Messrs. Chhotani and Jamnani treasurers of unimpeachable integrity. Secondly, we have in Pandit Motilal Nehru a working secretary of great ability, experience and equally unimpeachable integrity. Thirdly, we have a vigilant working committee composed of fifteen representative Indians, who meet at least once a month in order to be able to exercise effective control over Congress affairs. So much for the All-India finance. The All-India Congress Committee is directly liable for the expenditure of one fourth of the fund. The remaining three fourths are to be retained by the Provincial Committees for local needs. Each Province is expected to keep efficient watch over its own finance. Finally, the whole income and expenditure, both provincial and central, is subject to be audited by auditors to be appointed by the All-India Congress Committee.

As with finance, so with the registration of members, and manufacture and introduction of spinning-wheels. These three are simple and effective tests of our constructive capacity.

I suggest to all Congress and Khilafat workers, that they should set apart the last ten days as special Congress days to be solely devoted by them to finishing the Bezwada programme. No speeches

are required, no meetings are necessary. Quiet house to house visits and personal canvassing are more effective than meetings, for the class of work before us.

Gujarat's Resolve—Gujarat has held its Provincial Conference and its Khilafat Conference at the historic town of Broach. The Conferences met on the banks of the beautiful Narmada. It had also a *khadi* and *charkha* exhibition. The great variety of *charkhas* showed that India's inventive genius was being profitably utilised. Let not the reader, however, imagine, that there was among these specimens, a *charkha* with more spindles yielding correspondingly larger outturn of yarn. Addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of the Conference, were both brief and to the point. The Chairman, Mr. Hari-bhai Amin took no more than fifteen minutes to read his simple address. The President, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel took no more than thirty minutes to read the whole of his address. I commend the latter to the reader for its simplicity, terseness, relevancy and courtesy. It has not one bitter word for the opponents of Non-co-operation. Its criticism of the Government is most restrained. The major part of it deals with the constructive part of Non-co-operation.

But the importance of the Conference lies in the resolution allocating to Gujarat its portion of the Bez-wada programme. It calls upon Gujarat to furnish more than three times its quota of subscription to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, i.e. ten lacs, its almost exact quota of members, i.e. three lacs, and one lac of *charkhas*, i.e. a little less than double its quota. I do not say, it will be a proud record if it is fulfilled. It will not be bad, if it is accomplished before the 30th June. The ten lacs of rupees have been further allocated to the respective districts so as to systematise the collection. The Congress Membership in Gujarat stands at 40,514. The Fund stands at Rs. 1,40,149, of which Rs. 35,000 have been forwarded to the All-India Congress Committee. The total number of spinning-wheels is 20,068.

Gujarat is perhaps the strongest in the matter of nationalising education, as it is the weakest, perhaps, of all the provinces in the suspension of practice by lawyers—not more than half a dozen having suspended practice. Its progress in national education, I must give in the words of the report before me.

"The total number of institutions imparting national education in Gujarat stands at 245, with 32,102 students attending them. The increase is partly due to the inclusion of the Municipal schools of Ahmedabad.

The number of candidates who appeared at the examinations conducted by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, was, 46 for the B. A., 4 for the B. Sc., 98 for the Intermediate Arts, 46 for the Intermediate Science, and 548 for the Matriculation Examination. The number of successful candidates was 39, 2, 65, 9 and 374 respectively."

The Punjab going ahead—I have just seen a copy of the report of Non-co-operation work in the Punjab, as submitted to the General Secretary All-India Congress Committee, from which I extract the following interesting figures. To the time of writing the report, i.e. the end of April, the total collections stood at Rs. 2,09,081, As. 13. I have already remarked on the business-like character of this collection. The Punjab deserves congratulations for heading the list among all the provinces. I am not aware that even to-day, any single province can boast of having collected over two lacs. But on the principle that more is always expected of those who give much, I hope that during this last month of privilege, the Punjab will make still greater effort, and if possible, even beat her own record and retain the first place. I say if possible, because, although Bombay has been practically asleep all this time, I cannot conceive the possibility of any province beating Bombay. But I know that the Punjab has the capacity, and if she adds to it the will, she can certainly come up a close second, if she is not easily first. Next to Pandit Malaviyaji, I know no one who is so efficient in begging as Lalaji. The Arya Samaj activity has used the middle class to contributing to political movements. The merchants of Amritsar can alone find the balance needed. There is certainly every reason for Amritsar to find the balance. But Jalandhar, Lyalpur, Rawalpindi, Multan, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Hafizabad are all places that can afford to pay handsomely. Lahore itself has many wealthy merchants, and, but for the unfortunate fact that we have no faith in ourselves, the Punjab can certainly share with Bombay the honour of making up the deficiency. At any rate let us hope that she will.

The Punjab's record in point of education is also not bad, though, seeing what the college students and the schoolboys had to go through in the Martial law days, her record might have been better. Over 350 students are reported to have left their colleges permanently. Of these, 85 being among the most brilliant students have joined the Indian National service. A board of national education has been established. The Guru Nanak Khalsa College, Gujranwala, has disaffiliated itself from the university. The Provincial Committee has opened a National college at Lahore. Eight old schools, some of them of high standing, have become nationalized, and fifteen new national schools have been started. I wish, Mr. Sanatanam, the secretary, had furnished the exact number of pupils studying in these national institutions. From what I know of some of these schools myself, the figure is not likely to be under five thousand. Nearly 25 teachers have left Government institutions. Forty one lawyers have suspended practice, of whom only thirteen are getting subsistence allowance from the Provincial Committee. Panchayats have been established in nearly 80 places. The Punjab had, at the end of April, 258 Congress Committees. The average membership is about 75. The Rohtak

district comes easily first with 47 Committees.

No part of India can beat the Punjab for spinning-wheels. The report states with pride, that there are very few Punjabi homes in which there is not a *charkha*. "Till recently they have remained idle, but during the last two months every one has come back to the habit of spinning". The sad fact, in spite of almost universal hand-spinning in the Punjab, remains that the Punjabis had taken to the tawdry, starched calico, so uncomfortable in the Indian weather for personal wear, in the place of the beautiful, soft, durable and absorbent *khaddar*. I read with pleasure, therefore, that "the habit of wearing *khaddar* clothes amongst the well-to-do classes is growing daily." The Punjab is experiencing difficulty in finding the number of weavers required. Most people do not know, that the weavers yielding to the temptations offered by unscrupulous recruiting agents, exchange the honourable calling of weaving for that of murdering. The Punjab, at one time, had probably the largest number of weavers in proportion to her population in all India. I hope, now that weaving is daily becoming more and more honourable and paying, the Punjabis will prefer it to the at the present moment at any rate dishonourable calling of so-called soldiering.

The Punjab, then, has no mean record in Non-co-operation.

The Assam Coolies—I have purposely refrained from dealing with this trouble, though I have remained in touch with Mr. Andrews and others, who are on the spot dealing with it. I refer to the trouble only to state, that I knew nothing of its coming. I should be sorry, if anybody used my name to lead the men to desert their employers. It is clear enough that it is purely a labour trouble. It is admitted that the employers reduced the wages. Both Mr. Das and Mr. Andrews report that the trouble is purely economic, and that the coolies have a substantial grievance. It is evident that the reformed Government has failed to cope with it. I observe that the *Times of India* has made the most illegitimate use of the trouble to impute enmity to English commercial interests in India. It has become the fashion to attribute hatred to Non-co-operators. I make bold to say that Non-co-operation has alone prevented racial feuds and disturbances, and directed the anger of the people in the proper channel. The aim of Non-co-operation is to hurt no interest whatsoever, by reason only of its belonging to a race. Its aim is to purge every interest of its injurious or impure character. Every English or Indian interest that is based on injustice or brute force, or is antagonistic to the growth of India as a whole, is undoubtedly in peril. No interest that is supported merely by brute force but not by people's goodwill, can possibly survive the fire of Non-co-operation. If the Assam planters are not sustained by the exploitation of Indian labour, they have nothing to fear. A time is certainly coming, when there will be no more unconscionable

dividends. The profits of big concerns must bear relation to the wages of the workers. I lay down these categorical propositions, because I know that Non-co-operation is beyond the reach of the bayonet. It has found an abiding place in the Indian heart. Workers like me will go when the hour has struck, but Non-co-operation will remain. I am aware, too, that the labouring class in India has not yet become enlightened enough to have the ability to regulate the relations between capital and labour on a just basis. But that time is coming soon,—faster than we may imagine. I am hoping that the capitalists, be they European or Indian, will appreciate the new awakening, and the new forces that are arising in our midst.

Unacceptable—Some newspapers, mistaking the apology of the Ali Brothers as of weak men seeking to avoid the discomfort of the prison life, have suggested that the Government should take similar undertakings from those undergoing imprisonment for political offences, and discharge them. No Non-co-operator worthy of his creed can possibly purchase his discharge by giving any undertaking to the Government. Every one of them has probably protested his innocence of violent intent. The Ali Brothers, had they been prosecuted, would still have made the statement now made. That would not have prevented their imprisonment. The makers of the unacceptable suggestion even know, that many have been sentenced for disaffection, or for refusing to give security that they will not speak. It is the duty of a Non-co-operator to press disaffection to the existing system of government, to prepare the country for civil disobedience, to refuse to give security of the kind just referred to. The Ali Brothers have given no undertaking to refrain from any of the first two things. If, therefore, the Government desire to punish only incitement to violence, almost all the men recently imprisoned are entitled to be discharged without any undertaking on their part. So far as Non-co-operators are concerned, they are or ought to be totally indifferent. Prison life must be the normal life of the majority of them. And it delights me to read the names of the people, who cheerfully prefer imprisonment to giving undertakings to buy their freedom. When every care is taken to avoid a breach of his own faith, a non-co-operator may not give any pledge of any kind whatsoever to anybody.

The Destructive Part—The *Leader* has blessed me with undeserved compliment for this programme, and laughed at me for having ever advised the country to adopt the destructive part of Non-co-operation. A correspondent of that journal appeals to me definitely to withdraw the rest of the programme. Let me hasten to inform the *Leader* and its correspondent, that it is not possible for me to do so even if I wished. The Congress and the Central Khilafat Committee are the only bodies that possess the power. And my faith is the destructive part being as green as ever, I personally
(Continued on page 180)

Young India.

Ahmadabad, Wednesday, 8th June, 1921.

THE VICEBOY SPEAKS.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

What the Viceroy said with reference to Mr. Shafi's speech, is perhaps equally true of his own. For His Excellency described Mr. Shafi's speech as post-prandial oratory. I have been, in my early days, a student more or less accurate of the so-called historic speeches delivered by various Prime-Ministers at the Mansion-house. They seemed to me to have always an air of unreality about them. And it grieves me, after having studied the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, to have to say that this one also has the same air of unreality about it. Not that Lord Reading had intended to clothe his speech with any such air. On the contrary there are in it evident traces of his having laboured to deliver a true message to an expectant India. But the speech has failed, in my humble opinion, in doing so, because of the many limitations that the office of a Viceroy carries with it. He could not, for instance, override the tradition of claiming infallibility for British rule. He laid it down as a proposition, "beyond the possibility of a doubt," that "here in India there can be no trace, and must be no trace of racial inequality." There is no more unreal proposition to the ear of the Indian than this, because his experience, be he ever so tall, believes it. Superiority of race is a passion, has become almost a religion with the average Englishman. Nor does he strive to conceal it from view. It obtrudes itself upon you in India as it does in the Colonies. It is written in the Statute-Book. One misses in the Viceroyal speech a frank recognition of the many failures of the past, and therefore a sincere desire for opening a new page.

If His Excellency, in my humble opinion, was hardly happy in his statement of the 'fundamental principle of British rule,' he was, I fear, even less so in his reference to Mahandas Shankar Ali and Mahomed Ali. I recognise that he has been exceedingly cautious in his speech. He has attempted not to wound susceptibilities. As a matter of fact there was no question of wounding susceptibilities. He need not have spared the Mahandas where they might have erred. The statement made by the brothers was instigated by me and me alone. It is an apology tendered to friends, and not to the Government. It is made not to evade prosecution, but to put them-elves right with their own conscience and with their friends. The assurance to them, therefore, that there would be no prosecution so long as they abided by their undertaking, was gratuitous, if not offensive. Lord Reading's Government is free to take up prosecution against the brothers at any moment they choose.

This campaign of Non-co-operation has no reference to diplomacy, secret or open. The only diplomacy it admits of is, the statement and persistence of truth at any cost. The Viceroy showed me the speeches.

I realised that some passages in them did not read well. They were capable of being interpreted as an incitement to violence, and I realised that prosecution or no prosecution, there was no doubt in my mind as to the advice I should tender to the brothers. I venture to suggest to His Excellency, that if he is anxious to disarm Non-co-operators, he will do so only by becoming undiplomatic and absolutely frank. The latter seek and need no shelter or protection, and I invite His Excellency to reciprocate by not shielding the offenders amongst the governing class.

Indeed, there is no room in the India of to-day and of tomorrow, for a governing class. His Excellency will therefore find out his mistake, if he clings to the belief that "Indians will respond whole-heartedly to the just rule which we [British] intend to carry on." I venture to prophesy, that it is not what the British intend that will count for the future destiny of India, but what the Indians themselves intend. And they are claiming more and more insistently to govern themselves, anyhow. Good government, they are coming to see, is no substitute for self-government.

The fear, then, is not about His Excellency's intentions, which I am convinced are good, but the fear is as to the ideal he is working for. He thinks of a high destiny which is in store for India at some indefinite period, whereas Non-co-operators at any rate are of opinion, that India's high destiny is even now being frustrated by the existing system, which appears to them to be devised for her prolonged, if not perpetual subjection. Sometimes a difference of degree itself constitutes a difference of ideals. And I hold it to be an ideal totally different from India's, when anybody considers that whilst the distant goal must be one of freedom for India, its present state must be that of tutelage. Swaraj is India's birthright, as the late Lokamanya Tilak truly said. And India throughout these long, long years, has been barked of her birth-right. No wonder that she has become impatient.

Lord Reading will, perhaps, now better appreciate the truth of the proposition he has read and heard, viz. that any action of the Government that falls short of the fullest reparation, however good it may appear in itself, will, by non-co-operators at least, be charged with a bad motive, that of prolonging India's agony in her slave-state. British rule, today, lies under a shadow. It is tainted with the blood of the innocent victims of Jalianwalla, and with treachery towards Islam. And even as the purest milk poured into a poison bowl will be counted by every sane man as poison, so will every act of the British Government be judged in the light of its immediate past. The unrest of India can only be cured by dealing with the causes which have brought it about, never by covering the bitterness thereof by sweets of office or other privileges, no matter how tempting they may be, if they are not capable of dealing effectively with the causes themselves.

TO THE MODERATES.

Dear friends,

It is a matter of no small grief to me, that I find myself estranged from you in ideas, although by training and association I have been brought up in the company of those who have been regarded as Moderates. Partly owing to circumstances, and partly owing to temperament, I have never belonged to any of the great parties in India. Nevertheless, my life has been influenced much more by men belonging to the Moderate party than the Extremist. Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopalakrishna, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta are all names to associate with. Their services to the country can never be forgotten. They have inspired the lives of many like myself throughout our country. I have enjoyed the pleasantest associations with many of the living amongst you. What is it that has flung me away from you and into the lap of the Nationalist party? Why do I find more in common with the Nationalists than with you? I am unable to see that you love your country less than the Nationalists. I refuse to believe that you are less willing to sacrifice yourselves for the country's good, than the Nationalists. Certainly the Moderate party can claim as much intelligence, integrity and ability as the Nationalists, if not more. The difference, therefore, lies in the ideals.

I will not weary you with a discussion of the different ideals. For the moment, I will simply invite your attention to some of the items in the constructive programme in the movement of Non-co-operation. You may not like the word itself. You may intensely dislike, as I know you do, many items in the programme. But if you concede to the Non-co-operators the same credit for love of the land that you will claim for yourselves, will you not view with favour those parts of the programme on which there cannot be two opinions? I refer to the drink evil. I ask you to accept my evidence, that the country as a whole is sick of the drink curse. Those unfortunate men, who have become slaves to the habit, require to be helped against themselves. Some of them even ask to be helped. I invite you to take advantage of the wave of feeling that has been roused against the drink traffic. The agitation arose spontaneously. Believe me, the deprivation to the Government of the drink revenue is of the least importance in the campaign. The country is simply impatient of the evil itself. In no country in the world, will it be possible to carry on this traffic in the face of the united and the enlightened opposition of a people, such as is now to be witnessed in India. Whatever the errors or excesses that were committed by the mob in Nagpur, the cause was just. The people were determined to do away with the drink curse that was sapping their vitality. You will not be deceived by the specious argument that India must not be made sober by compulsion, and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The State does not cater for the vices of its people. We do

not regulate or license houses of ill fame. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both? I ask you to join the country in sweeping out of existence the drink revenue and abolishing the liquor-shops. Many liquor-sellers would gladly close their shops, if the money paid by them were refunded.

'What about the education of the children?' may be the question asked. I venture to suggest to you, that it is a matter of deep humiliation for the country to find its children educated from the drink revenue. We shall deserve the curse of posterity, if we do not wisely decide to stop the drink evil, even though we may have to sacrifice the education of our children. But we need not. I know, many of you have laughed at the idea of making education self-supporting by introducing spinning in our schools and colleges. I assure you that it solves the problem of education as nothing else can. The country cannot bear fresh taxation. Even the existing taxation is unbearable. Not only must we do away with the opium and the drink revenue, but the other revenue has also to be very considerably reduced, if the ever-growing poverty of the masses is to be combated in the near future.

And that brings me to the existing system of government. The country is the poorer for the Reforms. The annual expenditure has grown. A deeper study of the system has convinced me that so tinkering with it will do. A complete revolution is the greatest need of the time. The word revolution displeases you. What I plead for, however, is not a bloody revolution, but a revolution in the thought-world, such as would compel a radical revision of the standard of life in the higher services of the country. I must frankly confess to you, that the ever increasing rate of salaries paid to the higher branches of the Civil Service fairly frightens me, as I hope it would frighten you. Is there any correspondence between the life of the governors and of the governed millions who are groaning under their heels? The bruised bodies of the latter are a standing testimony to the truth of my statement. You now belong to the governing class. Let it not be said that your heels are no softer than your predecessors' or your associates'. Must you also rule from Simla? Must you also follow the policy that only a year ago, you criticised adversely? It is under your regime, that a man has been sentenced to transportation for life for holding certain opinions. You may not plead that he was inciting to violence, for not very long ago you dismissed such pleas. The Ali Brothers have apologised for even a suspicion of violence in their speeches. You will be doing a cruel injustice to the country, if you allow yourselves to believe that any fear of prosecution has prompted the apology. A new spirit has been born in the country. The fear of the judge within is more terrible than that of the one without.

Do you know that during the past six months several high-souled youths, your countrymen, have gone to gaol, because they will not condescend to give security, which in their opinion was dishonourable for them to do? It is under your regime, that the patience of utterly innocent Moplas has been put to a severe test, and has as yet not been found wanting. I would gladly think as I really believe, that you are not responsible for the atrocities, that are at present being perpetrated in the name of peace and justice. But you will not let the public or me say, that you are helpless where you are not hoodwinked. That, however, would bring me to a discussion of our ideals, which I must not enter upon at the present moment. If the country can only get your assistance in stopping the drink traffic, you will certainly add to the many services that you have rendered it in the past, and, may be, that one step will open your eyes to many another possibility.

I remain,

Yours, as ever.

M. K. Gandhi.

SAVE THE COW.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Professor Vaswani has unfurled the banner of the cow's freedom. The danger has come sooner than I had expected. I had hoped that it would come when India could regard it with equanimity. In my humble opinion, Professor Vaswani might have started the movement under better auspices. Any movement started by Hindus for protecting the cow, without whole-hearted Mussalman co-operation, is doomed to failure.

The Hindus' participation in the Khilafat is the greatest and the best movement for cow protection. I have therefore called Khilafat our Kamadhuk.

The Mussalmans are striving their utmost to respect Hindu susceptibilities in this matter of life and death to the Hindu. The Muslim League under Hakimji Ajmal Khan's presidency, carried a cow protection resolution at Amritsar, two years ago. Maulana Abdul Bari has written upon it. The Ali Brothers, for the sake of their Hindu countrymen, have given up the use of beef in their house. Mian Chhotani saved hundreds of cows in Bombay alone during the last Bakr-Id. We could not accuse our Mussalman countrymen of apathy in the matter.

The surest way of defeating our object is to rush Mussalmans. I do not know that Mussalman honour has ever been found wanting. With them as with every one, prejudices die hard. We have got enlightened Mussalman opinion with us. It must take time for it to react upon the Mussalman masses. The Hindus must therefore be patient.

There is nothing strange about all the Shikarpur Hindus' having voted unanimously in favour of the prohibition of cow slaughter. Is there a Hindu who will not vote for it? The use of that unanimous opinion for bearing down Mussalman opposition is the way to stiffen it. The Hindu

members must have known, must have ascertained, Mussalman feeling. And they should have refrained from going to a division, so long as the Mussalman opinion was against them.

Let us recognise, that there is an interest actively working to keep us—Hindus and Mussalmans—divided. That very interest is quite capable of developing regard for Hindu susceptibilities in this respect. I should beware of it, and distrust it. I strongly advise the Shikarpur friends to wait for their Mussalman brethren.

Let them by all means abstain from all meat, so that their Mussalman brethren may have other meat cheaper than beef. Let them consider it a shame to have a single cow or her progeny in distress, or undergoing ill-treatment at the hands of Hindus themselves. Let them develop their *Goshala* so as to make it a model dairy farm as well as a home for aged and infirm cattle. Let them breed the finest cattle in their *Goshala*. They will do real service to *Gomata*. Let the Shikarpuris one and all become true non-co-operators, and hasten the redress of the Khilafat wrong. I promise, they will save the cow, when they have done their utmost to save the Khilafat.

It must be an article of faith for every Hindu, that the cow can only be saved by Mussalman friendship. Let us recognise frankly, that complete protection of the cow depends purely upon Mussalman goodwill. It is as impossible to bend the Mussalmans to our will, as it would be for them to bend us to theirs. We are evolving the doctrine of equal and free partnership. We are fighting Dyerism—the doctrine of frightfulness.

Cow protection is the dearest possession of the Hindu heart. It is the one concrete belief common to all Hindus. No one who does not believe in cow protection, can possibly be a Hindu. It is a noble belief. I endorse every word of what Professor Vaswani has said in praise of the cow. Cow worship means to me worship of innocence. For me, the cow is the personification of innocence. Cow protection means the protection of the weak and the helpless. As Professor Vaswani truly remarks, cow protection means brotherhood between man and beast. It is a noble sentiment that must grow by patient toil and *tapasya*. It cannot be imposed upon any one. To carry cow protection at the point of the sword, is a contradiction in terms. Rishis of old are said to have performed penance for the sake of the cow. Let us follow in the footsteps of the Rishis, and ourselves do penance, so that we may be pure enough to protect the cow and all that the doctrine means and implies.

TO SENDERS OF REPORTS.

Reports of work done are likely to receive earlier attention, if they are written legibly, concisely and without criticism.

The Provincial Congress Committee, Burma—reports having received, up to the 9th May last, Rs 18,702 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, and states that the collection is continuing.

We assume that the quota due to the All-India Congress Committee is regularly sent by each province.

(Concluded from page 179)

could not abandon it, even if the Congress and the Central Khilafat Committee did so. With them non-violence may not be, with one body it is not, the final creed. For me, I have nothing beyond non-violence as a remedy for all ills. Therefore I cannot be party to advising lawyers to return to their practice, or students to Government schools. Nor can I be party to lawyers and Government school and college boys becoming holders of office under the Congress, so long as it retains its non-co-operationist character.

The vocal propaganda of the destructive part in the first step in Non-co-operation is over. We know exactly where we are, regarding the titles, the law courts, the schools and the councils. I believe, non-co-operators are satisfied that these institutions have lost their former prestige. The opponents are entitled to comfort in the knowledge that the numerical response has not been large enough to be striking. Those that have responded to the call, constitute the most effective though silent propaganda in the direction. But one thing is clear. There can be no resumption of co-operation, till the three conditions laid down by the Congress are satisfied.

The Beawada programme, I admit, is not in itself enough to establish Swaraj. But I do hold that it is a very substantial step towards it. The fulfilment of the programme will inspire the nation with self-confidence, and enable it to take the other steps, if necessary. One crore electors—for to become congress members is to become electors for national representatives for various bodies—is to find the nucleus for a real electorate under Swaraj. To have twenty lacs of spinning-wheels in working order, is to know that India is determined to drive out poverty, to become self-reliant and to achieve her economic independence. The collection of one crore of rupees is a tangible token of the nation's determination to achieve her destiny.

We have so fed ourselves with the history of other nations, that we find it impossible to believe that we can attain our end without a repetition of thirty years' or a hundred years' war, and therefore without military training and huge armament. We do not care to read our own history and remember, that whilst kings have come and kings have gone, whilst dynasties have been formed and destroyed, India has remained unmoved and unaffected. We will not read the lesson of the late war, that it is not so much military preparation we want, as a change of our own outlook upon India's future. Habit has forced the conviction upon us, that we, the countless millions, are nothing before one hundred thousand Englishmen, not all of whom are even administrators. As soon as we have discarded the awe of the British rule, and ceased to consider ourselves as cheap as dirt, we shall be free. I know that it is possible to perform this revolution of thought during the year, and it is my hope that India will be ready for it during the time. Hitherto we have promised ourselves many things and fulfilled little. If we were to turn up even two years old resolutions of the Congress,

we shall find that we have failed even to send petitions we had resolved upon. Hitherto, we have looked up to the Government to do everything for us, and we have found it almost wholly irresponsible in everything that matters. We have therefore been filled with blank despair. We have ceased to believe in ourselves or the Government. The present movement is an attempt to change this winter of our despair into the summer of hope and confidence. When we begin to believe in ourselves, Englishmen will, I promise, begin to believe in us. Then, and not till then, is there any hope of co-operation between the Government and us. The existing system of Government, it will be found upon analysis, is based upon a scientific study of our weaknesses, which have rather been promoted by it than reduced. Non-co-operation is, therefore, as much a protest against our own weaknesses, as against the inherent corruption of the existing system. British and Indian, we become impure by belonging to it. The withdrawal from it of one party purifies both. I invite even the sceptics to follow the programme of Non-co-operation as a trial, and I promise that there will be Swaraj in India during the year, if the programme is carried out in its fulness.

Swaraj is Self-reliance.—An esteemed friend, referring to the Viceroyal interview, writes, "In my humble opinion, these interviews by Non-co-operation leaders, are in the present circumstances, a political mistake, and may react on the movement. Back of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs, is the question of Swaraj; and India's Swaraj means the death of the Empire. Such a death may, in happy circumstances, mean its re-birth as a commonwealth of Nations. But where is the statesman to-day, with a free and generous view of world politics to look beyond British interests to the deeper values of Humanity? Victory of the Swaraj movement, I conceive in terms of *self-reliance*, not of snatching some concessions from Lord Reading. As far as I can see, the hope for an escape from further confusion lies in escape from negotiations with the Government and becoming as a Nation, strong in the *will to suffer*. A crucified India will be an India emancipated."

Whilst I do not agree with the writer, that the interviews were a political mistake, the statement of our attitude is perfect. Our concern is not with what British statesmen will or will not do. Our business is always to endeavour to keep ourselves on the right track. Our aloofness must not be a sign of timidity or disinclination to explain our aims to our opponents. We must be prepared to approach the world, if we are firm in our own purpose. But I recognise, too, the force of the objection that there is danger in these interviews. Not being in the habit of having always a reserve of minimum on which there can be no surrender, we may easily

Who can be Congress Members?—A friend asks whether prostitutes can become members of the Congress, and whether those who do not accept the creed can become members by simply paying four annas. There is certainly nothing to prevent these unfortunate sisters from becoming members

if they otherwise conform to the constitution. Even thieves have a right to demand admission, on compliance with the terms of membership. One can only hope, that if the desire to join the Congress is stimulated among the wrecks of society, it is a sign of coming reformation. But we may not ask such people to become members, for the purpose of swelling the number. It is equally clear to me, that those who will not solemnly accept and sign the Congress creed, cannot become members. The test is simple but absolutely necessary.

- (1) Attainment of the age of twenty-one.
- (2) Desire and effort to obtain Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.
- (3) Payment of four annas per annum.

Any one, male or female, co-operator or non-co-operator, fulfilling this simple test is entitled to membership without further question.

M. K. G.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We receive so much correspondence making all kinds of inquiries, that we have found it more and more difficult to reply to individuals by post. We, therefore, purpose, in so far as is possible, to reply to the inquiries through this column.

K. S. Subbiah—To spin hundred counts requires great care and attention. If you are interested in the art, you must travel in the Ganjam district, and study the spinners at work. The *cholies* made of such fine yarn, we regret, are not yet available in such large quantities as to need special agents.

K. S. Venkat Raman—If you have succeeded in inventing a spinning-wheel to satisfy the conditions of Mr. Ravashankar Jhaveri's prize, you should write to the manager, Satyagrahashram, sending drawings and giving the output of yarn per hour.

Mahomed Anwar-ud-din, Panipat—The nut-outer cannot be traced. If you send us a copy of the receipt, if any, further inquiries will be made. We do not review such articles. Nor do we take advertisements.

SPINNING v. HANDWEAVING.

To
The Editor,
Young India.

I have read with great interest Dr. S. B. Mitra's letter and your comments thereon in the issue of May 11. You say "Hand-spinning includes all that the correspondent suggests, but it includes much more." Thus you imply that hand-spinning includes hand-weaving and some other things.

I am afraid that to most people spinning means spinning only, and as all your force has been laid on the *charkha* and spinning, and not on weaving and the handloom explicitly, the latter has faded into insignificance in the public imagination. We hear of spinning-wheel classes and competitions, but nowhere of the introduction of new looms, much less of making of thousands of looms, even of the most rudimentary type. For every ten new spinning-wheels introduced, there must be one

additional handloom—pit or improved or fly-shuttle—introduced at the same time and without any loss of time. Otherwise there will be a great pressure on the existing handlooms, and hundreds of Khadies of hand-spun yarn will be heaped upon the weaver, who naturally prefers the mill-made yarn, it being easier to weave. Up to last year, there was an equilibrium, so to speak, between the number of the handlooms in the country and the yarn—foreign or Indian mill-made—that remains in the country. By the production of hand-spun yarn in very large quantities in the country, this equilibrium is disturbed, and this state of things can be remedied only by a proportionate increase in the number of looms—ten wheels to one loom roughly. As a humble worker in the field of Khadi production in Kathiawad, I am bound to say that while thousands of new wheels are set to work, not even a few dozen new looms are being made. The result is that there is a keen competition between those who produce cloth from mill-made yarn and hand-spun yarn with consequent increase in the cost of weaving.

I take this opportunity of stating that a few months ago, I was a sceptic about the possibilities of the *charkha*. Being quite unacquainted with village economics, I doubted as many paper-economists still do, whether two annas or even three were enough for a single person's subsistence, and therefore whether hand-spinning was a practical proposition. Now when I see in every Khadi-producing centre scores of women being daily turned back, as I have to restrict my operations for want of weavers in the areas concerned, I see all the advantages you advocate as following from the introduction of hand-spinning on a large scale. But I wish you would lay some, if not equal, emphasis, on the importance of weaving, as you do on spinning by hand. The Loom is not less important than the wheel for clothing India, as for proving a supplementary industry for our semi-starved peasantry.

Amreli, Kathiawad.
20-5-21. *

A. V. THAKKAR.

[I do not think there is any danger of hand-weaving not keeping pace with hand-spinning. Moreover, the existing looms which are weaving foreign yarn have to be freed. The fact is that we have not as yet been able to reach the requisite strength in our handspun yarn. The problem now is to improve the quality of handspun yarn, so that it can be easily woven by the ordinary weavers. For the surplus yarn, I suggest its use for making ropes, tape, straps and countless other things that can be easily made. Hand-weaving is not so easily learnt by all as hand-spinning is. At the same time, I do not wish to be understood to imply that no special effort needs to be made for hand-weaving. My point is that it is going on as fast as possible. The weaver's wage has increased, because of the appreciation of Swadeshi. It ought to have increased. A weaver is any day equal say to a carpenter who gets more than the former, M. K. G.]

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{ PRIOR TWO ANNAS
{ PER COPY

Notes.

That Apology—The Ali Brothers' apology still continues to tax people's minds. I continue to receive letters expostulating with me for having gone to the Viceroy at all. Some consider that I have bungled the whole affair, others blame the Brothers for having for once weakened, and that in deference to me. I know, that in a short while the storm will blow over. For, in spite of all I have heard and read, I feel that I did the right thing in responding to the Viceroy's wish to know my views. It would have been wrong on my part to have waited for a formal written invitation from His Excellency, I feel, too, that I gave the best advice possible in the interests of Islam and India, when I asked the Brothers to make the statement issued by them. The Ali Brothers have showed humility and courage of a high order in making the statement. They have shown that they are capable of sacrificing their pride and their all for the sake of their faith and country. They have served the cause by making the statement, as they would have injured it by declining to make it.

A Remonstrance—In spite of all that conviction in me, I am not surprised at the remonstrances I am receiving. They but show that the methods now being pursued are new, that the country will not surrender a tittle of its just demands, and for their satisfaction, it wishes to rely purely upon its own strength.

I give below the relevant parts of the strongest argument in condemnation of my advice and its acceptance by the Brothers. The letter, moreover, is written by one of the greatest among the non-co-operators. It is not written for publication at all. But I know the writer will not mind my sharing it with the reader. For I have no doubt that he represents the sentiments of several thoughtful non-co-operators. It is my humble duty to discuss the issues arising from the incident, and the implications of non-co-operation. It is only by patient reasoning, that I hope to be able to demonstrate the truth, the beauty and the reasonableness of Non-co-operation. Here then are the extracts:—

"The statement of the Brothers, taken by itself and read without reference to what has preceded and followed it, is a manly enough document. If in the heat of the moment they have said things

which, they now find, may reasonably be taken to have a tendency to incite to violence, they have, in publishing their regret, taken the only honourable course open to public men of their position. I should also have been prepared to justify the undertaking they have given for the future, had that undertaking been addressed to those of their co-workers, who, unlike themselves, do not believe in the cult of violence in any circumstances whatever. But the general words 'public assurance and promise to all who may require it' cannot in the circumstances leave any one in doubt as to the particular party, who did require such 'assurance and promise' and at whose bidding it was given. The Viceroy's speech has now made it perfectly clear, and we have the indisputable fact that the leader of the N.-C.-O. movement has been treating with the Government, and has secured the suspension of the prosecution of the Brothers, by inducing them to give a public apology and an undertaking.

"In this view of the case,—and I fail to see what other view is possible—very serious questions affecting the whole movement arise for consideration. Indeed it seems to me that the whole principle of Non-co-operation has been given away.

"I am not one of those who fight shy of the very name of Government, nor of those who look upon an eventual settlement with the Government as the only means of obtaining redress of our wrongs and establishing Swaraj. I believe in what you have constantly taught, viz. that the achievement of Swaraj rests entirely and solely with us. At the same time, I do not, nor so far as I am aware do you, exclude the possibility of a settlement with the Government under proper conditions. Such settlement, however, can only relate to principles, and can have nothing to do with the convenience or safety of individuals. In a body of co-workers, you cannot make distinctions between man and man, and the humblest of them is entitled to the same protection at the hands of the leaders as the most prominent. Scores, if not hundreds, of our men have willingly gone to gaol for using language far less strong than that indulged in by the Brothers. Some at least of these could easily have been saved by giving a similar apology and undertaking, and yet it never occurred to any one to advise them to do so. On the contrary, their action was applauded by the leaders and the whole of the non-co-operationist press. The case, which more

forcibly than any other comes to my mind at the moment, is that of Hamid Ahmad, who has recently been sentenced at Allahabad to transportation for life and forfeiture of property. Is there any reason why this man should not be saved? I find Manana Mahomed Ali pays him a high tribute in his Bombay speech of the 30th May. What consolation this tribute will bring to Hamid Ahmad from a man similarly situated who has saved himself by an apology and an undertaking, I cannot say. Thus there are so many others rotting in gaol who have committed no offence, and a great many more already picked out for the same fate. Is it enough for us to send them our good wishes from the safe positions we ourselves enjoy?

"The Viceroy in his speech has made it clear, that the only definite result of the several interviews you had with him, is the apology and the undertaking from the Brothers. You have also made it quite clear in your subsequent speeches, that our campaign is to go on unabated. It seems that no point involving any principle has been settled, except what needed no negotiating on either side, viz. that there is to be no incitement to violence. I do not say that in this state of things there should have been no treating with the Government, though much can be said in support of that view. When it was found that the game had to be played out, it would have been quite legitimate for two such honourable adversaries as yourself and Lord Reading to agree to the rules of the game, so as to avoid foul play on either side. These rules would of course apply to all who took part in the game, and not to certain favoured individuals only. The most essential thing was to agree upon the weapons to be used. While certain local Governments profess to meet propaganda by propaganda, they are really using repression of the worst type. Many other similar points would, in my opinion, be proper subjects of discussion, even when no agreement could be arrived at on the main issue.

"I hope you will not misunderstand me. I yield to none in my admiration of the sacrifices made by the Brothers, and consider it a high privilege to have their personal friendship. What has been praying upon my mind for some time past is, that we, who are directly responsible for many of our workers going to gaol and suffering other hardships, are ourselves practically immune. For example, the Government could not possibly have devised any form of punishment, which would cause some of us more pain and mental suffering, than sending innocent boys to gaol for distributing leaflets, while the author remained free. I think the time has come, when the leaders should welcome the opportunity to suffer, and stoutly decline all offers of escape. It is in this view of the case that I have taken exception to the action of the All Brothers. Personally I love them.

Misapprehension.—The letter breathes nobility and courage. And those very qualities have led to

a misapprehension of the situation. The unfortunate utterance of the Viceroy is responsible for the mis- understanding.

The apology of the Brothers is not made to the Government. It is addressed and tendered to friends, who drew their attention to their speeches. It was certainly not given 'at the bidding of the Viceroy.' I betray no confidence, when I say that it was not even suggested by him. As soon as I saw the speeches, I stated, in order to prove the bona fides of the Brothers and the entirely non-violent character of the Movement, that I would invite them to make a statement. There was no question of bargaining for their freedom. Having had my attention drawn to their speeches, I could not possibly allow them to go to gaol (if I could prevent it) on the ground of proved incitement to violence. I have given the same advice to all the accused, and told them that if their speeches were violent, they should certainly express regret. A non-co-operator could not do otherwise. Had the Brothers been charged before a Court of Law, I would have advised them to apologise to the Court for some of the passages in their speeches, which, in my opinion, were capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence. It is not enough for a non-co-operator not to mean violence, it is necessary that his speech must not be capable of a contrary interpretation by reasonable men. We must be above suspicion. The success of the Movement depends upon its retaining its absolute purity. I therefore suggest to the writer and to those who may think like him, that the whole principle of Non-co-operation has not only not been given away as the writer contends, but its non-violent character has been completely vindicated by the Brothers' apology, and the case therefore greatly strengthened.

Who is free?—What, however, is galling to the writer, is that whilst the Brothers have remained free, the lesser lights are in prison for having spoken less strongly than they.

That very fact shows the real character of non-co-operation. A non-co-operator may not bargain for personal safety. It was open to me to bargain for the liberty of the others. Then I would have given away the whole case for non-co-operation. I did not bargain even for the Brothers' liberty. I stated in the clearest possible terms, that no matter what the Government did, it would be my duty on meeting the Brothers to advise them to make the statement to save their honour.

Unconditional Honesty.—We must 'play the game,' whether the Government reciprocate or not. Indeed, I for one do not expect the Government to play the game. It was, when I came to the conclusion that there was no honour about the Government, that I non-co-operated. Lord Reading may wish, does wish to do right and justice. But he will not be permitted to. If the Government were honourable, they would have set free all the prisoners, as soon as they decided not to prosecute the

Ali Brothers. If the Government were honourable, they would not have caught youths and put them in prison, whilst they left Pandit Motilal Nehru the arch-offender free. If the Government were honourable, they would not countenance bogus Leagues of Peace. If the Government were honourable they would have long ago repented for their heinous deeds, even as we have for every crime committed by our people in Amritsar, Kasur, Viramgam, Ahmedabad, and recently in Malegam. I entertain no false hopes or misgivings about the Government. If the Government were to-morrow to arrest the Ali Brothers, I would still justify the apology. They have acted in the square, and we must all do likewise. Indeed, in as much as the Government are still arresting people for disaffection, they are arresting the Ali Brothers.

The writer is, again, not taking a correct view of non-co-operation in thinking, that non-co-operators, who are in gaol, are less fortunate than we who are outside. For me, solitary confinement in a prison cell, without any breach on my part of the code of non-co-operation, or private or public morale, will be freedom. For me, the whole of India is a prison, even as the master's house is to his slave. A slave, to be free, must continuously rise against his slavery, and be locked up in his master's cell for his rebellion. The cell-door is the door to freedom. I feel no pity for those who are suffering hardships in the gaols of the Government. Innocence under an evil Government must ever rejoice on the scaffold. It was the easiest thing for the Brothers to have rejected my advice, and embraced the opportunity of joining their Comrades in the gaols. I may inform the reader, that when during the last stage of the South African struggle I was ~~in~~ed, my wife and all friends heaved a sigh of relief. It was in the prisons of South Africa, that I had leisure and peace from strife and struggle.

It is perhaps now clear, why the non-co-operation prisoners may not make any statement to *gain their freedom*.

[Disaffection a Virtue—To illustrate the dishonourable character of the existing system of Government, I have two telling instances before me. Principal Gidwani, the Vice-Chancellor of the ~~University~~ Vidyapith, has received a summons from ~~the Government~~ to answer the charge of disaffection, in connection with a speech delivered two months ago at Beawada. There is no question of incitement to violence, as the charge itself would show. The Section 124A, under which Mr. Gidwani is charged, runs: "Whoever.....attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be ~~punished~~..... No one preaches hatred or disaffection towards the King. The disaffection, which Mr. Gidwani must have preached, the Ali Brothers are preaching ceaselessly. No one, perhaps, excels me in harbouring and promoting disaffection towards

it. Indeed, I hold it to be the duty of every good man to be disaffected towards the existing Government, if he considers it, as non-co-operators consider it, to be evil. Having decided not to prosecute the Ali Brothers, the Government should have stopped all prosecutions except for violence. But under the existing system of Government, even an ex-Lord Chief Justice of England cannot prevent a divorce between profession and practice, unless he tears himself from his environment, and supercedes the corrupt traditions of a corrupt system.

Afflicted Sindh—A friend sends me the following graphic description of the realities of repression in Sindh:—

"The Commissioner in Sindh has issued a confidential circular asking the Mukhtarkars to start a counter-agitation against N.-C.-O. The Mukhtarkars in some places are taking strange steps to check N.-C.-O. Besides adopting the frank and open method of starting Anti-N.-C.-O. Committees, to which one may not take objection, they have at some places asked the people not to allow the Non-co-operation propagandists to lodge with them, and have asked the Panchayats to prevent people from attending lectures. Cases have actually ~~occurred~~ after they ~~had been asked~~ by the host to leave. At Khupro, in Thar Parkar district, a lecturer, while at some distance from the town, was assaulted by a masked man who did not touch his money, but pulled him down from the camel and struck him with a heavy stick. He took away his Swaraj banner and shawl, leaving the watch and money untouched. It is known all over the district that the assault was instigated by a well-known official, but owing to the terrorism of the police which prevails there, people do not come forward to give statements. Things are worse in the Sakkar district. About three weeks ago, the Sakkar District Conference was held at Ubauvro at a distance of 10 miles from the railway station. The deputy collector of the division told the gharriwalas not to give their carriages to the wearers of Gandhi caps. The gharriwalas dared not incur the displeasure of the deputy collector, and they consented to this through fear. When the President, Mr. Virumal Begraj, Mr. Mulchand, a non-co-operating ~~person~~ from Sakkar, no carriages were available. A bullock cart driver, who in the end agreed to take them, received a beating from a police Jowadar, and so he also declined to go. The President and others had to walk about a mile in the sun to reach a neighbouring village, where the Panchayat got them conveyances, which brought them to Ubauvro in the heat of the day. At Ubauvro, the people would not come to the Conference, as they had been told that in their absence their houses would be broken into. Arrangements were therefore made by the volunteers of the Conference to patrol the town while the people attended the Conference. During the

(Concluded on page 191)

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 16th June, 1921.

THE LESSON OF ASSAM.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

"My indictment of the Bengal Government, in the name of humanity, is this that they have oppressed the poor. Where pity was needed, they have employed violence; where tenderness was required, they have brought down their Gurkha soldiers; where human nature itself was calling aloud for sympathy and compassion, they have forfeited the good name of a humane Government. And what is an added injury, when this brutal outrage has been committed, they have called in their Director of Public Information to justify it to the public through the columns of the daily press.

"The issue before the whole of India to-day and not merely before Bengal is simply this. The Government not only of Bengal, but of India, by its actions, has come more and more to side with the vested interests, with the capitalists, with the rich, with the powerful, against the poor and the oppressed. That is the terrible indictment. That is why the poor, in their misery, have flocked to the banner of Mahatma Gandhi, who is himself the poorest of the poor, and who understands his own poor people. That is why they are even beginning to refuse such help as Government itself is still willing to offer. There was no more fateful sign of these critical days in which we live, than that which was told me by an eye-witness at Nalhati. These poor Assam-returned labourers were actually starving. The steaming cooked rice was put before them. But when they heard that Government had provided it, they refused to touch it. They were frightened that it was a plot to bring them back on to the plantations. But when the Sava Samiti workers brought them uncooked rice from the people, they were so ravenous that they began to eat the hard rice grains uncooked.

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT HAS BEGUN.

"This is a new and ominous event in the history of English rule in India. Those who are not in the midst of the revolution which is going on before our eyes, and who are seated amid their fires, will be prudent if they will take timely warning. The Day of Judgment has begun for all. There is now one supreme question which Government will have to face. 'Are you on the side of the rich, or are you on the side of the poor? Are you on the side of Mammon, or are you on the side of God?'"

The reader will recognise the foregoing passages, if he has read and wept over the considered written address of Mr. Andrews, delivered in Calcutta just after his return from the scene of the Assam tragedy, which is as yet by no means over. Mr. Andrews writes and says what he thinks. He does not hide the truth from himself or others. He wears himself out in ceaselessly serving humanity.

He is as ready to confess his errors as he is to bring charges against the highest. And just because he is true, staunch and God-fearing, some newspapers dismiss him with contempt when they do not abuse him. Yet his statements about Fiji, South Africa, East Africa, Ceylon, the Panjab, remain as true to-day as when they were made. Most of them have been admitted by the respective authorities, in every one of the cases, he has succeeded in helping the poor and the needy. He will survive many more attacks on his reputation.

But the purpose of writing these lines is not to defend Mr. Andrews. My object in referring to the Assam tragedy is to save my own conscience, and draw a moral from it. As soon as the coolies struck work, I received a wire asking me to go to the scene of what has developed into a national affliction. But I telegraphed and wrote to all I could think of, I had not the courage to leave the work in hand. No man dare leave the service to which he is called, however humble it may be, for answering a call to another, however high it may be, unless there is a clear way open to it. I found none. I could not leave the task in hand. The dumb labourers and God will forgive me, if I have erred. For I feel that I am fully serving the labourers, whilst I am occupied with the ceaseless prosecution of the Bazwada programme. My grief over my helplessness is all the greater, because somehow or other, the labourers have come to think that they will find me by their side, wherever and whenever they may be in trouble. I am humble enough to know, that in the vast majority of cases, I can send them nothing but my heartfelt prayers and sympathy. The spirit is indeed willing, but the flesh is incapable. I hear, I feel and fret over the hopeless incapacity to help.

Happily God is as powerful as man is weak. He works through an infinitude of agencies. He has Andrews's and Das's ever ready at his beck and call. I remain happy in the faith, that God leaves no misery uncared for. We can but do our allotted task in prayerful humility and with all possible watchfulness.

The Assam tragedy has enabled Mr. Andrews to draw up a terrible indictment against the Indian Government. The callous indifference, in the name of impartiality, shown to the immediate wants of the labourers, even assuming that they were in the wrong, the charge of the Gurkhas and the hackneyed defence of the necessity of using force against a perfectly helpless people; mark out the Government as barbarous and utterly unworthy of respect. Why were the Gurkhas let loose upon the coolies? Every one knows that the army contains some men amply trained to be brutal and inhuman. When the soldiery is sent in the midst of an unarmed civil population, people know what that means. Every one knows that the recruits for the army contain some of the worst specimens of humanity. They may be good for war, but to employ them for dealing with coolies is

to side with the rich and the powerful. In every vital matter the Reforms are hopelessly breaking down. There is no doubt that the next few months will witness, either a transformation in the system of Government so that the meanest will count as much as the loftiest, or a conflict with it such as the world has never seen before. The refusal to take the rice offered in name of the Government was a refusal to live by the hand that humbles. And when that spirit of quiet courage and resignation pervades India, the fate of the Government is sealed. We need to learn, not the art of doing violence but that of suffering violence, of dying. Success by methods of violence will replace one monster of Government by another, and the poor and the innocent will certainly continue to be ground down just as they are to-day.

Mr. Andrews deplored the sympathetic strike of the steamship employees. Whoever instigated it, did an ill service to the labourers. In India we want no political strikes. We are not yet instructed enough for them. Not to have political strikes, is to forward the cause of freedom. We do not need an atmosphere of unsettled unrest. It hampers our progress towards the final stages of our programme. A soldier who runs amok, is unfit to be in an army. We must gain control over all the unruly and disturbing elements, or isolate them even as we are isolating the Government. The only way, therefore, we can help strikers, is to give them help and relief, when they have struck for their own bona-fide grievances. We must sedulously prevent all other strikes. We seek not to destroy capital or capitalists, but to regulate the relations between capital and labour. We want to harness capital to our side. It would be folly to encourage sympathetic strikes.

Mr. Andrews has appealed for funds to repatriate our poor countrymen to their hamlets. The appeal tests our capacity for feeling for the hungry and the naked, I s. for Swara. I hope Calcutta has already over-subscribed the appeal of that Friend of the poor.

MAGISTERIAL HIGH-HANDEDNESS.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Magistrate prohibiting a meeting of the Lahore City Congress Committee. Under the Punjab laws, all public meetings are understood to be meetings, to which a member of the public can demand entrance on compliance with the rules of admission. All other meetings are private. The Lahore Committee meeting was advertised to be only for members of the Committee. But the Magistrate was not satisfied. He asked the Secretary to wait on him and give him satisfaction. Lala Amritchand naturally declined to dance attendance on the Magistrate, and politely informed him that the meeting was private and had a definite object. The Magistrate nevertheless prohibited the meeting. The Secretary protested that the order was illegal, but informed the Magistrate that he would for the time

be obey the order. It is quite evident that the officials are challenging and provoking non-co-operators to offer civil disobedience. A few more such orders, and I promise that the challenge will be heartily taken up. Hitherto, we have obeyed such orders out of our weakness. Now we are obeying out of strength which is daily growing. All over the country, wherever such orders are given, there is a keenness for civil disobedience. It is the only self-restraint and self-imposed discipline, which are keeping those who receive such orders from civilly disobeying them. The country will gain for having undergone still more discipline and exercised still more self-restraint. We shall need much more of both these qualities, before we can regard ourselves as fit for the privileged exercise of civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil excludes all bluster, all violence. It excludes lawlessness. A civil resister courts imprisonment. It is, therefore, wrong to demonstrate against his arrest. There must be real rejoicing, as there is when one has one's heart's desire fulfilled. There could be civil disobedience to-morrow, if we could ensure its restriction strictly to approved laws and orders, if we could be sure that the people would not resort to violence on the arrest of prominent leaders. Civility is to disobedience what non-violence is to non-co-operation. Disobedience is the acutest form of non-co-operation,—more so than non-payment of taxes. A civil resister becomes law unto himself. Courage and discrimination of a high order are needed for the practice of the virtue of civil disobedience. It is a total denial of the authority of the State, and is permissible only when the State has proved itself corrupt beyond redemption. I may be stupid, but I see not only no sign of repentance about this Government of ours, but I notice a determination on its part to provoke people to violence, and then to justify a repetition of Dyerism. The refusal to right the Punjab wrong in the only way possible, means that on the people going mad as in Amritsar, their sins will be visited upon the innocent and the guilty alike, and that, in the words of one of the Amritsar officers, the future generations must be made to pay for the sins of the present.

A forced imposition of the British yoke is intolerable and humiliating. A nation awakened to a sense of its self-respect will and must go through the fire of suffering, and bear all the hardships that may be entailed in throwing off the yoke. The English can remain in India, only as friends and equals, and if they serve, they must become real servants, scrupulously carrying out the wishes of their employers. There can be no exploitation of Indian labour, and no concessions to British capitalists. They must compete with the meanest of us on equal terms. Their organising talent, their industry, their resourcefulness must command a market which none can dispute. But the menace of their rifle and their whip must cease for ever. The refusal to redress the Punjab wrong, the refusal to placate Mussalman opinion means

that the menace is not to cease. On our part, there must be no compromise with that attitude. Weak or strong, we must fight it to the bitter end, cost what it may. As soon, therefore, as [we have secured a reasonably safe atmosphere for the working of civil disobedience, we must launch out into it. Meanwhile, let us submit even to the preposterous orders such as the Lahore District Magistrate's. The power of rightful disobedience will come to-morrow, from willing obedience to-day.

MR. PAL AGAIN.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Mr. Pal's letter to the *Englishman* reproduced in the Press, requires a full reply. Mr. Pal has evidently been misinformed about many things, and has therefore been tempted to make suggestions, which he would not have, if he had been better informed.

The Government communique, the Viceroy's speech and press reporters' imaginative descriptions of the Simla visit are responsible for the grave misapprehension that has taken place about the visit and the Ali Brothers.

When I went to Simla, I had no notion that I would wait on His Excellency. I knew, that both Pandit Malaviyaji and Mr. Andrews were anxious that I should meet Lord Reading. But I went to Simla only to meet Pandit Malaviyaji, who was too weak to overtake me in my journeyings. It was after hearing Panditji, that I decided to write to the secretary to the Viceroy, that if His Excellency wished to hear my views about the struggle, I would gladly wait on him. I waited on him, not for the sake of securing a reversal of the decision to arrest the Ali Brothers, but to tell the Viceroy why I had become a non-co-operator. The first and the longest interview did not turn upon the then impending prosecution of the Brothers at all. The question of the Ali Brothers came up quite in the natural course, and arose out of our discussion of non-violence and how far it was carried out in practice. When His Excellency showed me some of the extracts from the speeches, I recognised that they were capable of bearing the interpretation sought to be put upon them. I therefore told His Excellency, that as soon as I met them, I would advise the Brothers to make a clearing statement, irrespective of what the Government may do regarding their prosecution. The statement was not conditional upon a revision of the Government's decision. That the Government revised the decision on the strength of the statement, was a wise and natural act on their part. I admit that it has given me relief. But I do not believe with Mr. Pal that the arrest of the Brothers would necessarily have led to bloodshed. The Brothers, like me, continue wilfully to break the law of sedition, and therefore court arrest. Sooner or later, and that during this year if we can carry the country with us, we must bring about a crisis in which the Government must arrest us or grant the people's demands. The Brothers' statement avoids arrest on a false issue, an issue that cannot be defended.

Whilst, therefore, I was anxious to avoid the prosecution of the Brothers on the ground of incitement to violence, I would welcome a pro-

secution of them and myself for promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law. We all felt that, having known what was taking place, not to make the statement would be to wrong the cause, and to play into the hands of the enemy.

Mr. Pal is right in thinking, that I expect a settlement by discussion and compromise in matters not of vital interest. But I did not discuss the terms of settlement with the Viceroy. It is for the accredited representatives of the people to do so. There is no fear, I assure Mr. Pal, of my arriving at any settlement over the heads of the people. Nor will there be any countenance when, if ever, the terms of a settlement are discussed. Confidence there must be, when two strangers meet for a friendly intercourse and wish to know each other. We only met to know each other. I wish, however, at once to ease the mind of the reader by telling him, that as an outcome of the interview he need not expect any settlement at an early date, if only because the people have not yet sufficiently prepared themselves for it; and the Viceroy appears to me to be anxious to reconcile the irreconcilable. He cannot pour new wines into old bottles. He cannot keep the Khilafat and the Panjab scores open, and still make India happy and contented.

Mr. Pal is quite right, when he says that if the Panjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed, I should leave it to the other leaders to carry on the agitation about Swaraj for the simple reason that when India has made her power sufficiently felt in connection with the two great questions, she can have Swaraj for the asking. Swaraj is not for me something apart from the people's power to right every wrong, to prevent Dwyerism and Lloyd Georgism. The cult of Sir Michael O'Dwyer stands for terrorism, and that of Mr. Lloyd George for treachery. When we have dealt with these two demons, I suggest to Mr. Pal that we are ready to govern ourselves. If my followers in Bengal do not resent my interview with the Viceroy, they know that for me, there is no settlement without a settlement of the two wrongs, they know that time for discussing Swaraj schemes will come, only after the two obstacles to any scheme of settlement are removed. Without their removal, there is nothing for India save complete independence. The Bengalis, who attended the Barisal conference, resented Mr. Pal's discussion because as I apprehend, they considered it to be premature and calculated to interfere with the evolution of the proper Swaraj spirit. Mr. Pal's performance was like that of a mason trying to tackle the top-most storey before the foundation was solidly laid. I would humbly urge Mr. Pal not to land the country in an untimely discussion of Swaraj schemes, and ask him to accept my assurance, that so far as I am concerned, I would not do a single thing about any Swaraj scheme without an open consultation with the representatives of the people. There is no question of consultation about the Khilafat and the Panjab, because the minimum terms are fairly well understood.

(Concluded from page 187)

Conference, a Mahomedan backed up by the C. I. D. officials insisted on speaking, but would not say on what resolution. When after all allowed to speak, he attacked one of the workers present in offensive language, but people bore with him patiently. After a short time, another, without any provocation, fell upon two volunteers, and belaboured them and two neighbours with blows and shoes. The persons assaulted did not retaliate. Throughout the Conference, the organisers were living in constant apprehension of an outbreak of violence, but in spite of the persistent efforts of the agents of the officials, their incitement to violence proved futile. The gharriwallas refused to take the Conference delegates even on the return journey. At Mirpur Mathelo, where the party got down on the way, Moulvi Taj Mahomed was openly insulted by some of the officials present at the meeting, but he and the audience bore these insults without retaliating by word or deed. Things are daily growing worse in the district since the Conference. The Mukhtarkars that side have been holding meetings of Mahomedans and telling them that the Hindus were beguiling them and deceiving them. The Mahomedans have therefore been openly telling the Hindus that if they lodge the non-co-operators with them, they (Mahomedans) would commit thefts in the houses of Hindus. In one village, the Congress party got down at the local temple. Soon after, about 30 Mahomedans armed with lathis surrounded the temple, saying that they were waiting to beat the lecturers. In the end, the temple-keeper persuaded the party to leave by another door. At Guotki, Mr. Obotiram Valecha, the young Secretary of the Sakkar Congress Committee, was surrounded by about 30 or 40 Mahomedans armed with lathis. He stood calmly, prepared to receive the beating. At this, a number of young Hindus came up to Mr. Valecha and sat down quietly by him. The local Hindu Panchayat, becoming aware of the situation, sent men for Mr. Valecha and the two or three other Congress volunteers accompanying him. When they went to the Panchayat, the 30 or 40 armed Mahomedans followed them and sat in the Panchayat meeting. They said that they wanted to beat Mr. Valecha. The Panchayat appealed to Mr. Valecha to leave the town. He replied that he would leave the town, when he had finished his work there, and not before. The Panchayat seeing him firm, asked the Mahomedans to leave, so that it might proceed with its work. The Mahomedans only laughed in return, refusing to leave the meeting. After fruitlessly waiting for one hour, the Panchayat saw no alternative but to persuade Mr. Valecha to leave the town accompanied by about 40 Hindus, who saw him off at the station. No step has been taken by the higher officials, so far as we know, against any one of those who have adopted these methods of threatening, coercion, actual violence and threats of violence to prevent the message of the Congress being carried to the villages. Are these the methods, with which Lord

Reading or Sir George Lloyd wishes to fight the Movement?

The last sentence is evidently a friendly hit at me. It is to remind me, that I have said some complimentary things about Lord Reading and Sir George Lloyd. My compliments stand notwithstanding these revelations. They prove the essence of my charge against the system, that it makes the best of administrators powerless for good. Sir George, probably, has as much influence over the Commissioner of Sindh, as he has over a street urchin. He has to fear the former, and can, if he wishes, even frighten the latter. The great feat of Lord Reading's is to invite Mr. Thompson of the Punjab fame to accept a higher post, and succeed in inducing him to condescend to do so. Sir George Lloyd, where he can personally supervise, shows himself to be tactful and yielding as a rule. Lord Reading can procure palliatives, as in the case just mentioned. But Sir George will not reign, because the Commissioner of Sindh says he is as good as Governor Lloyd. Nor would Lord Reading reign, because the officials in the plains laugh at his intentions to do justice. Both honestly believe, that without them, things might at least have been worse. Non-co-operation has stepped in, to show to all who care, that they may not flirt with evil and hope to do good. When the basis is evil, a superstructure of good adds strength to evil. It would be wrong to blame such administrators, because they fail, for they fail in spite of themselves. Our non-co-operation will open the eyes to the depth of the evil that is in the system. It will discriminate between the system, and its administrators, all of whom certainly are not bad.

But all this academic discussion about the merits and demerits of administrators, can bring little comfort to the Sindhi sufferers. I tender my congratulations to them for their courage and patience under very trying circumstances. If they continue to suffer patiently and bravely, the end will be brought nearer by this unbridled and unscrupulous repression. We must try, by patient endurance, to win over to us our misguided countrymen, who become easy tools in the hands of unprincipled officials. Gradually, as in other parts of India, so in Sindh, the villagers will shed the fear of the officials, and welcome Congress and Khilafat men as their real friends and saviours. If we have faith, presently it will become impossible to play the Mahomedans against the Hindus and vice versa.

Khadi in Temples—Foreign cloth has made such encroachments upon our life, that we use it even for sacred purposes. Thus I noticed the use of foreign cloth for the decoration of idols in Paris and Ayodhya, and indeed in almost all the temples I have visited. Even the sacred thread is not always hand-made. It refreshes me, therefore, to find a correspondent from Sindh sending the news, that Acharya Gidwani of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth was the first, when he recently visited Sindh, to present a *khadi* cover for the Granth Sahib instead of foreign one which is usually presented. I hope, the good example will be followed by all devotees and foreign cloth replaced in all temples by *khadi*.

A Parent's Duty—"This year, my third son aged 21 years has passed his B. A. with honours at an enormous expense. He does not wish to enter Government service. He wants to take up national service only. My family consists of twelve members. I have still to educate five boys. I had an estate, which has been sold to pay a debt of Rs. 2000. In educating my three sons, I have spent all my earnings and all this in the hope, that my third son would secure the highest degree in the University, and then try to retrieve the position I have almost lost. I had expected him to be able to take up the whole burden of my family. But now I am almost led to think that I must give my family up to ruin. There is a conflict of duties on the one hand and motives on the other. I seek your careful consideration and advice."

This is a typical letter. And it is the universality, almost, of the attitude, that set me against the present system of education years ago, and made me change the course of the education of all my boys and others with (in my opinion) excellent results. The hunt after position and status has ruined many a family, and has made many depart from the path of rectitude. Who does not know, what questionable things fathers of families in need of money for their children's education have considered it their duty to do. I am convinced that we are in for far worse times, unless we change the whole system of our education. We have only touched the fringe of an ocean of children. The vast mass of them remain without education, not for want of will but of ability and knowledge on the part of the parents. There is something radically wrong, especially for a nation so poor as ours, when parents have to support so many grown-up children, and give them a highly expensive education without the children making any immediate return. I can see nothing wrong in the children, from the very threshold of their education, paying for it in work. The simplest handicraft suitable for all, required for the whole of India, is undoubtedly spinning along with the previous processes. If we introduced this in our educational institutions, we should fulfil three purposes, make education self-supporting, train the bodies of the children as well as their minds, and pave the way for a complete boycott of foreign yarn and cloth. Moreover, the children thus equipped will become self-reliant and independent. I would suggest to the correspondent that he should invite all the members of his family to contribute to its upkeep by spinning or weaving. Under my scheme, no child is entitled to education, who does not spin a minimum quantity of yarn. Such families will acquire a prestige for self-respect and independence not hitherto dreamt of. This scheme does not exclude a liberal education, but on the contrary brings it within the easy reach of every boy or girl, and restores literary training to its original dignity by making it primarily a means of mental and moral culture, and only secondarily and indirectly a means of livelihood.

M. K. G.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

O. P. (Hindi)

(1) *Congress Membership*—Total 82,362. [Trying to reach 3 lacs before 30th June]

Jabalpur 21,112, Sagar 6,782, Hoshangabad 2,838, Damoh 2,650, Drug 2,622, Balaghat 2,000, Narsinhpur 990, Seoni 400. The remaining districts have not yet reported.

(2) *Suspension of practice*—Total 87.

Sagar 9, Chhindwada 5, Damoh 4, Drug 3, Seoni 2, Jabalpur 2, Vilsapur 2, Nimad 2, Narsinhpur 2, Betul 2, Native States 2, Balaghat 1, Raipur 1.

(3) *Surrender of honours*—Total 19.

Rao Bahadur 1, Rai(s) Bahad 1, Khan Bahad 1. Hon. Magistracies and Darbaridoms 14.

(4) *Education*—50 Students appeared at the various Examinations of Gujarat and Maratha Vidyapithas. There have been established 10 National schools:—Jabalpur, 202 students, Katni 190, Seoni 197, Sagar (3 schools) 600, Rehti 150, Khurai 100, Narsinhpur 100, Balaghat 60.

(5) *Arbitration*—Regular arbitration court at Chhindwada. Panchayat Courts at Itarsi, Ichhapur, Jalandar, Deodi Khand, 125 village Panchayats in Balaghat dist. Sagar and Drug merchants refer disputes to a court of their own.

(6) *Spinning-wheels*—Total 1,840 [To have 75,000 before 30th June.]

Sagar 1,000, Hoshangabad 800, Damoh 210, Seoni 200, Balaghat 100, Khandwa 30. Others have not reported.

(7) *Talak Swaraj Fund*—Total Rs. 24,784 [Must collect 3 lacs before 30th June]

Jabalpur 20,000, Sagar 2,500, Damoh 1,300, Seoni 1,000, Hoshangabad 484.

(8) *Total Abstinence*—

Castes given to drinking passed resolutions. Many have given up even bidis. In Seoni, sales have fallen by 80 p. c. At Sagar licences fetched 21,000 as against 48,000 last year. At Drug no bidders at all. In Behar 5 shops as against 55 last year.

The foregoing results have been summarised from the report received by us.

NOTE.—Enumerators of spinning-wheels are requested to see that they consider for census purposes, only such of them as are being worked at least four hours a day. The rest should be rigorously decounted. In Ahmedabad, we have the misfortune every day to see a numerous brood of what we may call still-born *Rentis*, whose activity ceased with their birth as it were. We are afraid, the same is more or less the case in many places. Perhaps the best thing would be, not to consider the number of wheels, but only the amount of yarn they yield and the amount of cloth produced from that yarn. It should be our aim to flood the country with hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

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AHMEDABAD WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1, 1921
[Samvat 1977, Jyeshtha Vadi 2]

{ PRICE TWO ANNAS
PER COPY.

Notes.

An Ounce of Action.—Remarks in the *Servant of India* on the apology of the Ali Brothers, show me more forcibly than anything else the truth of the statement, that an ounce of action is worth more than tons of speeches. I cannot conceive the possibility of the *Servant of India* willfully misunderstanding or misinterpreting the apology. Yet it has devoted to the apology, three paragraphs which betray a hopeless misunderstanding of it. For me it was, and even in the light of the fierce controversy that has raged round it, it remains an object-lesson in the practice of non-co-operation. It is the one act, which will stand as a guiding-star to the straying non-co-operators. They must continually purify themselves even in front of their opponents, and at the risk of their action being mistaken for weakness. In the process of putting themselves in the right, they must not count the cost. That is the implication of following truth for truth's sake. The immediate prospect may appear ever so black, a seeker must relentlessly pursue what he knows to be truth. The Prophet would have lost his hold many a time, had he not thus treated truth as his absolute and final chest-anchor. Assuming that I gave my advice to the Ali Brothers out of my strength, and they understood and accepted it in their strength, the apology will be found to have done, as I know it has done, good to the cause of Islam and the country. If, therefore, the last issue of *Young India* has not answered all doubts, I must leave it to time to answer them.

Poverty of Expression.—Similar but less important misunderstanding has arisen regarding my letter to the Moderates. I am amazed at the poverty of expression I betray so often. I am not by any means an indifferent writer. I take great pains to be accurate and plain. And yet I have succeeded in leaving the impression in 'a critic' in the *Servant of India*, that I expect the Moderates to join the non-co-operators in picketing. I do nothing of the kind. Picketing might appear to the co-operators to be too clumsy and too incomplete to commend itself to them. But I thought, that they would help the temperance cause in their own way, i. e. by immediately abolishing the drink shops. It is the least they owe to the

country. Daily, as the heat of the picketing is increasing, the pickets come in for the attentions of the keepers of liquor shops, and of their customers. I understand, that two pickets were struck by some ruffians and had their bones broken in Ahmedabad. These brave men now only appear at their post with bandaged heads. A volunteer was slapped in the presence of a crowd in Bombay, and he stood his ground firmly but did not retaliate. Such instances must multiply, as the effect of picketing is felt by the sellers of spirituous liquors. It is impossible to stop this reform, even though pickets lose their lives in the performance of their duty. The work must continue, as long as there are enough young men and women found ready to take up picketing, and as long as they are ready to risk their lives without retreating. It was because I was aware of the danger, that I appealed to the patrioters of the Moderates with a view to abolishing at a stroke all drink-shops, and thus saving young men and young women from injury to limb or life. It grieves me, therefore, to find that I failed in my letter to carry the point home. I am aware, that at some future date temperance reform will come. It is small comfort to a man whose house is on fire, that appliances are in course of preparation to deal with such fires.

British vs. Other Governments.—"Observer" in the *Times of India* asks me some questions pertaining to the movement. I am sorry, I have not been able to answer them earlier. They would have escaped me, had not a friend sent me the cutting. "Observer" asks, whether the British is not a better Government than the Mogul and the Maratha. I must dare to say, that the Mogul and the Maratha Governments were better than the British, in that the nation as a whole was not so emaciated or so impoverished as it is to-day. We were not the Pariahs of the Mogul or the Maratha Empire. We are Pariahs of the British Empire.

What should Parsis do?—"Observer" next asks—

"Are the Parsis to ask their children to leave Government and aided schools, when no provision is made for National Schools adapted to meet the special requirements of the Parsis? Are the Parsi lawyers to boycott law courts, and starve their families? Are the Parsis to give up their lucrative vocations, and devote themselves to spinning

yarn, for three annas a day! The three annas per day will not suffice to pay their daily bill for soda water, let alone whisky and soda. Or, should the Parsis give up their present dress, which is more European than Asiatic, and go back to the days of their ancestors, who used to put on turbans with legs wide enough to carry a dozen rats. Is it possible, thus, to set back the hand of time? Will Mr. Gandhi be so good as to give a convincing reply to these queries?"

Parsis are the pioneers in matters educational. They need not withdraw a single child from the present schools. They need only to rid themselves of the infatuation for degrees, and they can to-day disaffiliate all their schools. They have money enough to pay for their special education. Parsi lawyers, if they boycott law courts, are, I know, resourceful enough to turn their attention to commerce, which is a specialty with the Parsis, if indeed they will not care to join the national service. They and the nation will be the better for the able Parsi lawyers' renunciation. No one, certainly no *larti* is expected to give up any lucrative calling not calculated to uphold the prestige of this Government, and to take up spinning instead. But every Parsi with leisure is expected to devote his or her leisure hours to spinning for the sake of the nation. Thus, there is no question of the Parsis giving up their soda. But those who take intoxicating drinks, will benefit themselves and the nation by total abstinence. Parsis need not give up their present style of dress, so long as the cloth is handspun and handwoven. But they will lose nothing by reverting to the ancient simplicity of their forefathers. The old Parsi dress was designed to fit the Indian climate. The European style is ugly and utterly unsuitable for Indian conditions. Only their insularity and unimaginativeness have made the English retain their English style in India, even though they admit that it is most uncomfortable for this climate. I venture to think, that thoughtless imitation is no sign of progress. Nor is every reversion to old habits tantamount to 'setting back the hand of time.' Retracing a hasty or erroneous step is surely a sign of progress. And it is contended, that during the past hundred years, we have taken many a faulty step. Before, therefore, we can move forward, we must go many steps back to find ourselves on the right track. We lost the way, and I invite 'Observer', and all other Parsis to hasten back to the point, where we strayed from the right path.

M. K. G.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager, Young India,
Elephant Road, Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully

BURKE ON NON-CO-OPERATION.

THE DANGERS OF AGITATION.

I am not of the opinion of those gentlemen, who are against disturbing the public repose; I like a clamour whenever there is an abuse. The fire-bell at midnight disturbs your sleep, but it keeps you from being burnt in your bed. The hue and cry alarms the country, but preserves all the property of the province.

BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS.

My experience is worth nothing, if it has not made it clear to me as the sun, that in affairs like these, a feeble opposition is the greatest service which can be done to ministry: and surely, if there is a state of decided disgrace, it is to add to the power of your enemies by every step you take to distress them.

In declining for some time my usual strict attendance, I do not in the least condemn the spirit of those gentlemen, who with a just confidence in their abilities, were of opinion that their exertions in this desperate case might be of some service. They thought, that by contrasting the spheres of its application, they might lessen the malignity of an evil principle. Perhaps they were in the right. But when my opinion was so very clearly to the contrary, I am sure my attendance would have been ridiculous.

I must add in further explanation of my conduct, that far from softening the features of such a principle, and thereby removing any part of the popular odium or natural terrors attending it, I should be sorry that anything framed in contradiction to the spirit of our constitution did not instantly produce, in fact, the grossest of the evils with which it was pregnant in its nature. It is by lying dormant a long time, or being at first very rarely exercised, that arbitrary power steals upon a people. On the next unconstitutional act, all the fashionable world will be ready to say—your prophecies are ridiculous, your fears are vain, you know little of the mischiefs which you formerly foreboded are come to pass. Thus, by degrees, that artful softening of all arbitrary power, the alleged infrequency or narrow extent of its operation, will be received as a sort of aphorism,—and Mr. Hume will not be singular in telling us that the felicity of mankind is no more disturbed by it, than by earthquakes or thunder, or the other more unusual accidents of nature.

DESPOTISM

It is a contradiction in terms, it is blasphemy in religion, it is wickedness in politics to say that any man can have arbitrary power. Those who give and those who receive it are alike criminal, and there is no man but is bound to resist it to the best of his power, wherever it all show its face to the world. It is a crime to bear it, when it can be rationally shaken off. Nothing but brute impotence can justify man in not resist-

A MODEL NON-CO-OPERATION VILLAGE.

I had heard much about Sisodra, a village near Navsari in the Sarat District, but had never visited it. Mr. Gandhi's visit to the village and his association with the work there whetted my curiosity, and an opportunity having offered itself, I have been able at last to satisfy that curiosity.

In more respects than one Sisodra is what may be called a show-village. One of the distinguished workers in the village, was a police Patel who resigned his service not in Non-co-operation days, but two years ago, having signed the Satyagraha pledge. The people were not long in profiting by his noble example, and it is said that the people were to a man then ready to withhold payment of taxes if the call had come. The call, fortunately or unfortunately, did not come then. But as the ground was thus already prepared, the Non-co-operation movement did not come on the people as a surprise. The village was thus the first in the District to respond to Mr. Gandhi's call for Swadeshi, and the ex-police Patel lost no time in inducing the villagers to take up the spinning-wheels that were lying idle and dilapidated in the village. His example was catching, and he could persuade a rich Marwadi in the village to invest some money in the construction of more spinning-wheels and the installation of a few handlooms. The result was, that when Mr. Gandhi visited the place a month and a half ago, he found a pleasant surprise awaiting him in the shape of a mountain of scores of mounds of yarn waiting to be put to the loom. The workers could not first persuade the local weavers to take up handspun yarn for weaving. It was difficult to use it for warping. The enterprising Marwadi gentleman went in search of weavers to Marwad, where handspun weaving is still going on, and got ten such weavers to accompany him and settle in Sisodra. As a result five looms are working today in the village producing about 90 yards of Khadi daily out of pure handspun yarn. I was taken to many a home in the village, where I found pounds of yarn stored up and wheels working for the outturn of more yarn. Mr. Manibhai Patel assures me that before long, not one out of the five hundred homes in the village will be without a wheel. I found in the villagers an intelligent appreciation of the economics of the spinning-wheel, and it is a village where I have found more Khadi being actually used by the people than anywhere else.

The village was also quick in nationalising its school. The old school is now breathing its last and the national school has on its rolls about 125 boys and girls.

The village has also headed the list in contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. A purse of Rs. 2030 was presented to Mr. Gandhi on the occasion of his visit, and the women gave up ornaments of the value of over Rs. 1000. For a village with a population of about 2000, this contribution works out at the rate of Rs. 1-8-0 per head. This is especially praiseworthy in view of the fact that a majority of the population are *Kunbi Patidars* who are not expected to take any interest in public movements.

The work of enrolling members is going off apace, and it is hoped, that not one adult in the village will remain unenrolled.

While the different communities are being persuaded to eschew liquor, anything in the nature of a temperance campaign is not yet started in the village. I was told, that this work will not be taken up, until the other items are thoroughly worked out. I take this as a proof of the workers' anxiety to limit themselves to the tasks in hand. And no one did his work perfectly, who did not know how to limit himself thus.

Here then is a village which has largely qualified itself for Swaraj and has set an example for others to follow. I say largely; for the village has yet to purge itself of the sin of untouchability. I was told that there are some untouchables on the Congress register, and I found a Dhedh boy in the National school. But I also saw that the boy was not seated in the midst of the other boys, but was given a corner apart. I was pained to see this. This appeared to me to be no more than an apology for somehow having an untouchable boy on the roll. I asked the boys why they would not have the untouchable brother in their midst. They said they would not do it, unless he had abjured meat and drink. The boy instantly retorted that he had already done so. And there was no answer. The workers were listening to the explanation complacently. It is no unimportant matter. If the untouchable has to be reformed, you must first embrace him and then proceed to reform him. I hope that the villagers, who have otherwise distinguished themselves, will lose no time in completing their purification. 6-6-21.

M. H. D.

THE CURSE OF BETTING

The Editor, *Young India*.

Sir,

I am glad, *Young India* and its Editor have taken up the question of the evils of betting. I feel, however, that a casual article in *Young India* is not enough to root out this evil, imported from the West. The evil has spread from the idle rich to the commercial communities, the middle classes, the labourers working in factories, and the schoolboys. Over and above thousands of people regularly going to the Races week after week, there are thousands more, to whom temptation to gamble comes in the shape of bucket-shops, openly plying their trade in the heart of the city. The Government have appointed a committee to consider the question of closing down these shops, and they will have some legislation at the next sessions. But that is not enough. Public opinion must be created, and it must be definitely shown that race-going and betting is as bad as drinking and prostitution. For this, a strong agitation is required, and I hope, readers of *Young India* will respond to it.

Bombay,
21-5-21.

Yours etc.,
Satya.

[As I have already said, unfortunately the races and gambling in connection therewith are fashionable. They do not excite the same feeling of shame that drinking does. Race-going, therefore, is more difficult to deal with than drinking. Satya knows the evils of race-going in a special manner. I invite him to come out in the open, and personally tackle the vice which is slowly but surely undermining the morals of Society.—M. K. Q.]

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 22nd June, 1921.

THE TILAK MEMORIAL FUND.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

To reverence the memory of a person, is to achieve his life's purpose. Truly to reverence the memory of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whom India delighted and still delights to call Lokamanya, must be to establish Swaraj, and thus for ever to perpetuate his memory. How fine, how noble, if we could establish Swaraj on the anniversary of his death! Nor is it impossible to do so, during the forty days that remain at our disposal. But my sanguine temperament cannot visualise Swaraj by the first of August next. By strenuous work, it is certainly possible to establish Swaraj on the first day of October next. It must be death to the Congress if Swaraj cannot be established on or before the 31st December next. But it cannot be, if we do not carry out our Bezwada undertaking to raise one crore of rupees. These lines will be published on the 22nd inst. The reader has therefore to think how to complete the crore in eight days.

Let us know how we stand. If all goes well, it may safely be assumed, that forty lacs will have been collected by that date outside Bombay. That means, let me further state, at least three lacs in Bengal, four in the Punjab, three in Sindh, three in Andhra, three in the C. P., four in Bihar and ten in Gujarat. That makes thirty lacs. Ten lacs for the remaining provinces is not an extravagant estimate. Let us assume, that all the Provinces but Bombay succeed in collecting all together forty lacs.

How to collect sixty lacs in and through Bombay, that is the question. If we are to reach the total of one crore before the 30th June, the amount must be raised chiefly from the available rich men of Bombay and Calcutta, i.e. those who feel for the Movement and believe in it.

There should be not only no bother about collecting the crore, but there should be certainty of Swaraj in a month, if all the rich men of India could realise that their safety lies, not in fearing the existing Government, but in fearlessly helping the Movement. To-day, if they are making millions, they are sending billions out of the country, i.e. they are taking the millions and assisting to take the billions out of the mouths of their poor, and in many cases starving countrymen. To-day, they, more than the other classes, are supporting a top-heavy administration, which is keeping up a ruinous military expenditure in order to be able to hold India in the last resort by Dyerism and O'Dwyerism.

But we must take the facts as they are. The richest men are afraid to incur the displeasure of collectors and commissioners. Some of them honestly fear the success of non-co-operation. They believe that its success means chaos and destruction of life and property at least for the time being. We must win these over by patiently persevering

to permeate the atmosphere with the spirit of non-violence in thought, word and deed.

Meanwhile, let us realise that the few rich men and the many well-to-do men and women we have with us, have to sacrifice more than they are ordinarily used to, if we are to make up the deficiency. A happy beginning has already been made in Bombay. Earnest workers, themselves endowed with riches, are working night and day to make large collections. They are meeting with ups and downs. But they are dauntlessly pursuing their even course.

We must get rid of the habit of waiting to be coaxed. Why should not the moneyed men of Bombay volunteer their assistance and send their gifts? Why should they wait till some one else has begun?

And what of those who cannot give lacs or thousands each? They can still do much to reduce the burden of the few rich. Let them not wait for a summons from any society. Let each group, each caste, each trade-guild automatically set about collecting and sending to the provincial centre. The remaining days must be utilised for that purpose and no other by those who have any ability for collection.

It is a shame that the total possible collection of the provinces cannot be more than forty lacs. There is still time to wipe out the reproach, by each province producing selfless workers for the Week of Grace and Privilege, who would concentrate their energies on collections.

Seeing that so many of the moneyed men are abstaining, and seeing that we have not succeeded in organising collections among the masses, it follows that some must give their all. I know four Gujaratis, themselves workers of standing and ability, who have given their all. One has died leaving over Rs. 25,000, the whole of his savings to the Swaraj Fund. I hope the example of the four workers will prove infectious. One loses nothing by giving in the cause of Freedom.

If we are to achieve Swaraj during this year, the least we can do is to complete the Bezwada programme by the time fixed. The collection of the crore will be a most visible token of its fulfilment.

Membership and the Charkha are no less important. I suggest two meetings, one on Sunday the 26th and the other on the 30th June at every possible village or centre, merely for the purpose of explaining the Congress creed, and inviting all of the age of twenty-one and over, men and women, to become members of any one original Congress Committee. At these meetings, no other work should be done, save that of enrolling members and collecting subscriptions for membership. Forms can also be deposited during these days at all places, where responsible men will undertake the work of canvassing.

Though we have no census of Charkhas, from all the accounts I have received, the spinning-wheel has so far penetrated the masses, that it is likely that there are already twenty lacs of spinning-wheels working more or less indifferently throughout India.

DR. POLLEN ON THE WARPATH

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

I have received Dr. John Pollen's open letter. I do not print it here, as it has already appeared in the Press. It is quite like him. He has hardly taken the trouble of studying the non-co-operation movement. Yet he has seen no harm in condemning what he does not know. He asks me to rely upon his own *ipse dixit* in preference to my own experience. The pity of it is, that Dr. Pollen's letter represents the average English attitude—laziness to study the other side, and arrogation of omniscience and consequent self-satisfaction. With a people so constituted, either non-co-operation or violence is the only thing that answers. If you murder, they are shocked into action, if you cease to speak to them, they are moved to inquire. The shock produced by murder provokes action, but rarely enlightenment. It creates bad blood, not excluding terrorism. The relief is partial and often proves more dangerous than the disease itself. Whereas, the refusal to speak, to participate in the evil, to assist one's own degradation, to co-operate with the wrong-doer, gives strength to oneself, and awakens and purifies the wrong-doer. India, I hope, has chosen the better way for a

... Dr. Pollen is too lazy to see, that non-co-operation being an insurance against violence, necessarily involves the possibility of violence. It is an attempt to suppress violence. The least that non-co-operation has done is to postpone violence, and if it is tried long enough, it will give such strength to the people as would enable them to see that violence is totally unnecessary. Non-co-operation is a septic treatment. It heals without killing.

Dr. Pollen should have known, that I remain just as opposed to boycott of *British goods* as ever. I have always advocated, as I advocate to-day, boycott of *all foreign cloth for all time*, and boycott of such other foreign goods as India can profitably manufacture. The Swadeshi that I have conceived, excludes the idea of punishment or revenge. It means self-help and recognition of the natural law, that the best service to humanity is to help that part of it, which is nearest to you. An India self-dependent will help the whole world, an India helpless and clothed by Manchester and Japan, harms both herself and the latter.

Dr. Pollen is wrong in his dates. I did not write to the Viceroy after non-co-operation as he suggests, but long before. I did then have faith in the British Government. I began the denunciation of the British administration, two years after the open letter to the Viceroy.

Let me further inform Dr. Pollen, that whilst I am a determined enemy of the system of government, to which in my ignorance I was once friendly, I still count myself a friend of the British people. My religion forbids me to have friends and foes. I therefore assure him, that I shall forever be actuated by the same feelings towards the British people as towards brothers, and am

now acting towards them as I have acted towards my blood-brothers.

I must adhere to the adjectives, I have felt it my duty to use regarding the system, and my business is, whilst calling an evil thing evil, to restrain an outburst of evil passions against wrong-doers. It would be foolish to ignore or hide a disease for fear of the patient running amok in panic. He must be warned of the disease, and provided with a tolerably safe remedy.

Dr Pollen's ignorant preface is followed by an unsupported denial of all the propositions that I believe in, in common with the rest of India, viz.

(1) The Indian administration is the most expensive in the world.

(2) India is poorer to-day than it ever has been.

(3) The drink evil has been never so bad as it is to-day. (Nobody has contended, that there was no drink evil in India before the advent of the British.)

(4) India is held in the last resort by a system of terrorism.

Not only does Dr. Pollen deny these truths known to us all, but he asserts that the administration is cheaper than elsewhere, and forgets that the Indian Civil Service is the most highly paid service in the world, and that more than a third of the revenue is absorbed by the military service. Imagine the state of a family, which has to devote a third of its income for paying its doorkeepers!

Dr. Pollen asserts, that India is 'really a marvelously rich country inhibited for the most part by a comparatively poor and reckless peasantry'. He then asks me to multiply the average annual income of Rs. 27 by five, and argues that Rs. 135 a year for a family of five will suffice for its support. I suggest to him that Rs. 2-4-0 per head per month will not feed, clothe and house the poorest among the poor, and that I should still further reduce the average for the masses of poor men, because it is reached by including the millions of millionaires. The average income of the poor, therefore, is an incontestable proof, not only of the poverty, but of the semi-starvation of India.

Dr. Pollen has the effrontery to suggest in the face of an ever growing drunk revenue, that the present administration discourages excessive drinking.

Lastly, Dr. Pollen not only denies the existence of terrorism, but contends, that 'in all respects in India, they (we) are as free as the Scots, the Welsh, the people of the Dominions, and as the English themselves.

Only non-co-operation will dispel such hopeless ignorance.

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OUR SHORTCOMINGS.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Whilst Dr. Pollen's criticism, by reason of its ignorance and arrogant assumptions, irritates without helping, an Englishman in Madras, who signs himself 'John Bull', sends the following very helpful and candid criticism:—

Permit an Englishman to send you a few words of appreciation of your work and career, and a few words of explanation. I am moved to do this by your remarks in "Young India" on Lord Reading's speech. You have, it seems to me, the most valuable capacity of seeing and stating the simple truth, in greater measure than any other living politician. You see the root of the trouble in India in the fact that the European in India looks down upon the Indian as an inferior. So do I. But what I want you to consider is; first, "Whose fault is that?" And second, "How can it be mended?"

Can the Englishman in India help regarding Indians in the mass, as inferior to his own people? Those of us who try to see things as they are, what do we see? We find that the Indian is inferior to the Englishman as a servant or employe. He is less conscientious, he takes more holidays, he requires to be watched. We find, he is inferior to the Englishman as a master or employer, he has less justice and less generosity. We find him inferior as an animal, he succumbs to disease, he (if of higher class) usually shirks exercise, and is very frequently a worn out old man, when he ought to be in his prime. His children die in swarms. Here in Madras, the deaths of children under five frequently are half as numerous as the births. He is inferior as a citizen, very seldom does he resist any pressure towards bribe-giving. He boasts of his humanity, because he will not kill animals, but he lets even cows starve to death, and nowhere in any civilised land, are horses and oxen so ill-treated as in India. In order to maintain purity of married life, he has built up the institutions of pre-puberty marriage and perpetual widowhood, and yet venereal disease is even more rampant in India than in England, and in the name of religion little girls are trained up to prostitution. What record can India show of lives devoted to non-Indian humanity like all those British men and women who (to take one example only) are at work now, in what were once our colonies in the war? If India had obtained complete Swaraj, and were in danger, would five million men out of every forty-five millions of population voluntarily enlist in her armies?

Out of her vast population, how few are the great men India has produced—three living, Tagore, Bose and Gandhi—an extraordinarily rich crop for India! The population of England in the time of Queen Elizabeth was no greater than that of Mysore to day.

All this may seem a very one-sided and mistaken view to you. Probably it is. But how can an Englishman help seeing the comparison between English and Indian in some such light as that?

If so, the remedy is in Indian hands, and not in ours. You are already pointing the way. I do not like your term "Non-co-operation," and it does not seem to me to express your meaning. I should prefer "Independent action." Let Indians abolish untouchability; let them exercise restraint in marital relations, and not procreate millions of children doomed to early death, let Brahmins

learn at school to spin and weave and cease to despise manual labour, let India have one common language spoken and understood from Kashmir to Comorin, whatever local vernaculars are permitted to survive. When there is something to be done, let Indians put their hands to the plough, and not merely say, "The Government must....." These things you have preached, and if all the people who shout "Gandhiji-ki Jai" will do them, Englishmen will speedily entertain much more respect for Indians than they feel at present. When these things are done, there are plenty more to do. Most important of all, perhaps, is to rebel against the tyranny of ancient custom, when it is no longer felt to be right or necessary. You will no doubt be able to point out one task after another. Meanwhile, we wait and see. Will that crore of rupees be paid up? Will the twenty lakhs of charkhas be obtained, and if so, will they be used? Will non-co-operators learn to maintain self-discipline and abstain from riot? Will Gandhi cease calling a Government consisting of men who, on the average, are more ready to make sacrifices for the service of India than the average Indian is—satanic? Will the temperance crusade lead to any better result than unbridled illicit drinking?

If we find these questions answered in the affirmative—if—but shall we?

The English are ready to give respect, when it is earned. Do not complain that English do not respect Indians: complain instead that Indians have not commanded respect.

For my own part, I believe you are accomplishing and will accomplish great things. "Man lives by admiration, hope, and love." On these, great nations are built up. May India be one.

'John Bull's' letter shows, that the writer has attempted to understand the movement. Much of his criticism is not wholly undeserved. 'John Bull' has given the experience of the average Englishman. His generalisations in my opinion cannot be sustained. His experience is confined to a microscopic minority of Indians, drawn to the cantonments from ambitious motives, and by no means representing the mass of the people. In my opinion, based upon an extensive experience of both the races, man for man the Indian is in no way inferior, in all that matters, to any other race in the world. That as animals we are inferior to Englishmen, must be admitted. But that is due more largely to the climate than to anything else. The charge of indifference to the welfare of our animals can also, I think, be easily sustained. I do not believe, that except in large towns, we suffer more from venereal diseases than the other races. Dedication of girls to prostitution is certainly a serious blot on our culture.—If Indians were trained in the same manner as Englishmen, and if India was similarly situated as England, she would give quite a good account of herself. But we have a different culture, which I hope we will retain to the end of time. India's temperament is not warlike. She would refuse to see any greatness in sending her millions to the trenches for the purpose of killing fellow-men, even though the latter might be in error. India including her Mussalman population, is in my opinion more fitted for self-suffering than for inflicting

suffering upon others. It is in this belief, that I have ventured to offer to her non-co-operation as a remedy for her many ills. Whether she will really respond or not, remains to be seen. If it has been taken up purely from revengeful motives, it will fail. If it has been taken up, as I believe it has been, for the purpose of self-purification and self-sacrifice, it is bound to succeed. That Indians are not a nation of cowards, is proved by the personal bravery and daring of her martial races, whether Hindu, Mussalman, Shikh or Gurkha. My point is, that the spirit of fighting is foreign to India's soil, and that probably she has a higher part to play in the evolution of the world. Time alone can show what is to be her destiny.

But 'John Bull' is entitled to treat all I have said in answer as so much special pleading. I would far rather, that we took such criticism as a friendly warning, and that we began to rid ourselves of all our impurities. I agree with 'John Bull', that it is better to command respect, than to grumble about the want of it. And that is exactly the reason, why India has taken up non-co-operation. The writer does not like the word. I would reject it to-day, if I could find a better. But it is the only word that meets the case. We have co-operated long enough in our own degradation. It is our duty to refuse to do so any longer. One need not even apportion the blame. The fact stands, as 'John Bull' has properly admitted, that the average Englishman has little respect for us. We must therefore stand aside, till we and they feel as equals.

But there is the other side to 'John Bull's' argument. His attitude betrays race-repugnance. Assuming the shortcomings to exist, just as they are described by the writer, is that a reason for looking down upon Indians as inferior beings? Or, does not the doctrine of equality require mutual regard, irrespective of the possession of the same qualities? Does not 'John Bull' commit the same error, that many Hindus do regarding the 'untouchables'? If I am right in calling the spirit of untouchability satanic, am I less right in calling the cult of English superiority also by the same name? Do Englishmen behave towards their less fortunate brethren, in the same way as they behave towards Indians? Do they not consider themselves to be born to rule, and Indians born to obey, even as Hinduism is said to have consigned the 'untouchables' to perpetual subjection? My whole soul has risen against the existing system of Government, because I believe that there is no real freedom for India under the British connection, if Englishmen cannot give up the fetish of their pre-destined superiority. This attitude of Englishmen has deprived the tallest Indian of any chance of rising to his full height, and therefore, in spite of all the good intentions of individual English administrators, we have really lost in our own estimation, so much so that many of us have come to be so sure that we require a 'Juggernaut' of iron and steel under the English, whereas it is a

violation that we are to-day quite fit to govern ourselves, and therefore we must resolutely refuse to co-operate with them in the administration of reforms that fall short of full self-government. We will no doubt make mistakes, more perhaps than now. We shall learn through our mistakes, never by being forcibly prevented from making them.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. SHARMA.—The families of N.-O.-O. prisoners are being looked after by local workers, wherever the need has arisen.

L. N. DAS.—Prize charkhas may be sent to Satyagrahasbaram, Sabarmati, at sender's cost. The prize of Rs. 5,000 is payable to the inventor of a charkha, that spins at least three pounds of even and well-twisted yarn in eight hours. The charkha must be made of parts capable of being manufactured in India, and must not cost more than Rs. 50.

D. NARAYANA.—If lawyers, who have suspended practice, do not fulfil the other obligations of non-co-operation or have no faith in the movement, they cannot be regarded as non-co-operators by the mere fact of suspension of practice. It is conceivable, that a lawyer may suspend practice for devoting his time to destroying the movement. Motive decides the merit of an act.

V. V. SATHE.—It is unnecessary to publish your letter. Even those, who may be opposing N.-O.-O. from ignorance, ill-will or want of faith, must be won over by knowledge, love and faith respectively.

T. M.—The idea of raising a loan for national purposes is not bad. But you are missing the chief object of the Fund, which is to perpetuate the memory of the late Lokamanya. We must fulfil our own undertaking. If we need more money, we may think of a loan. A loan cannot take the place of the memorial fund, which must be a free gift.

R. C. MATHUR.—When untouchability has disappeared altogether, it is not feared that Bhangians will refuse to do sanitary work, if they are properly paid and well treated. Sanitary work is done well enough, if not better, in other parts of the world. But assuming that the Bhangians, on the bar sinister being removed, refuse to do our scavenging, we must be prepared to do it ourselves. The removal of untouchability implies, that there is no sin or shame in cleaning for other people, even as it is no sin for a mother to clean her baby or for a paid nurse to clean her or his patient.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

KARNATAK (Up to the end of April)

(1) Surrender of honours—Total 6.

1 Rao Bahadur, 1 Rao Sahab, 3 Honorary Magistracies, 1 Government Pleadership.

(2) Suspension of practice—Total 48.

Belgaum 20, Dharmawadi 11, Bijapur 8, Shimoga 1, North Kanara 1.

and a total of 12.

1. *National Schools* 22, pupils 1,960.

Dharwad (12 schools) 1, 260. Bijapur (4) 250.
Belgam (4) 250. S. Canada (1) 100.
Bellary (1) 100.

A Swara, Ashram has been started at Belgam to train students for propaganda. A hundred students in all are busy organising village committees, of which there are already more than 200.

(5) *Arbitration Courts*—have been started, and much litigation is settled privately.

(6) *Anti-drink propaganda*—is proceeding vigorously.

The Burma Provincial Congress Committee reports the collection of Rs. 42,750 for the Swaraj Fund up to 9th June.

NON CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS *

This is a most timely and useful publication. The get-up also is quite good. Madras deserves to be congratulated upon its political publishers. It is necessary, however, to warn these estimable gentlemen against any desire to exploit the awakening of the nation for purely selfish purposes. The present volume contains less than a hundred pages. Yet it is priced at Rs. 1/8, which is really exorbitant, and almost takes our breath away.

One of the most interesting questions regarding the new principles of civil disobedience, passive resistance, non-force, non-violent non-co-operation, etc., etc., introduced into our political life mainly by †Gandhi, is whether there is any precedent for these things in the past history of our own country. Gandhi indeed often invokes the immortal shades of Sitaji in Ashoka-vana, of Bhakta Prahlad, and of several others. But when he proceeded to search an adequate Gujarati expression for his idea, no old word could serve him, and he had to coin the new term, 'Satyagraha.' We wish, some student of our history could show us past parallels to the conduct of Gandhi, and indeed of many another modern national leader. We yield to none in our anxiety to find the root of everything good in our past, but we are almost driven to the conclusion, that in this respect, the inspiration comes from the much-maligned West. Gandhi puts on dress, which is not only of Indian manufacture, but is also in a perfectly Indian style. Tilak used to do it. Balakrishna and Ashutosh Mukherji do the same. Paranjpye with his Kaiser moustache is dressed like a civilized man, but even he apparently thinks it necessary to retain a relic of his native barbarism in his loincloth. Again, consider Gandhi's protest against the usurpation in our country of the pride of place by English, and remember his Hindi speech at the War Conference in Delhi. Will

any one point out parallels to this conduct in our past history? 'Na vaded yavanish bhasham pranath kantaagatairapi'—this solitary line mournfully muttered by some pious Brahman in the privacy and the safety of his sanctum, is perhaps the sole piece of evidence showing that the spirit of resistance is inherent in man, and was not absolutely non-existent even in non-violent India. Did any one rise at the court of Akbar, asking him to learn Hindi and to make it the official language of the land in place of Persian? On the other hand, let us advert to the incidents from the history of Hungary narrated in this book. In 1833, the Emperor of Austria was forced to call the Hungarian 'Diet', as he could not otherwise levy troops in Hungary. The opening of the Assembly was marked by an incident which set the feelings of the nation aflame. Count Szechenyi, a rich young nobleman, dared to address the Diet in the Hungarian language. Denationalised friends remonstrated with him; but on the next occasion he coolly repeated the offence! 'For a moment the young Noble stood silent in the centre of the House. Then, fixing his eyes on the Leader of his advisers, he opened his mouth, and let out of it slowly rolled Hungarian Periods. As the astonished and deceived nobles sat spell-bound, his voice rose and rang and swelled with passion and triumph and exultation through the Chamber, chanting in the despised tongue of the nation, the story of Hungary's woe, and foretelling her resurrection. When he ceased, the old men sat dazed, but many of the younger nobles, stirred in their hearts, stricken in their consciences, sent up a shout of applause.' (Griffith.) Gandhi is probably an infinitely greater man than Szechenyi, but we are afraid, Indians do not deserve Gandhi to anything like the extent the Hungarians deserved Szechenyi. When Gandhi addressed the War Conference in Hindi, how many of the Indians present were stirred in their hearts or stricken in their consciences, or sent up a shout of applause? And has even Gandhi with his herculean endeavour, set our feelings aflame? After a time Hungary won official recognition of her language. Again, we read, that the Hungarian Deputies to Parliament went there in 1861 dressed in the national costume of Hungary. When the Emperor of Austria visited Hungary in 1857, the Empress wore a Hungarian hat and had only Hungarian dances danced before her. The emperor went to the Academy, and expressed his admiration of the Hungarian language. In 1885, when Francis Joseph opened the Parliament, he wore a Hungarian costume and spoke in the Hungarian language. Let us hope that when the Prince of Wales opens our first Parliament under Swaraj, he will put on shuddha-swarshi dress and speak in Hindi.

(to be continued.)

*One should not speak the language of barbarians, even when there is imminent danger to life.

* By A. Fenner Brockway. Published by Tagore and Co., Madras, 1931.

† Mr. is dropped, as a mark of respect. As for Mahatma, the reviewer positively hates the word for its numerous questionable antecedents.

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{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

Notes.

Officers and Officials—The Viceroy's reply to the Ahmadiyya community shows, that he has passed into the hands of a bureaucracy, that is clever, noited and utterly unscrupulous. His defence of officers and officials supplies the meaning of racial equality. The Viceroy sees no inequality in the impunity with which Europeans may commit crimes against Indian humanity. I recall the extraordinary judgment of a Punjab magistrate, who considers that justice is satisfied, when he draws upon his imagination for extenuating causes, and fines a young Irish soldier fifty rupees for interfering with the liberty of an innocent Indian woman.

His Excellency does not care to study the daily press, which is replete with instances of insults hurled against Indians by Europeans. He seems to be unaware of the fact, that British officers will not tolerate the presence of Indian judges in their railway compartment. The Viceroy says, 'there is no foundation, I verily believe, for any suggestion that the British official is anxious to assert racial superiority over the Indian with whom he comes in contact.' I assure Lord Reading, that his observation is so contrary to the everyday experience of the average Indian, that it must prejudice the people against the soundness of his judgment or even the honesty of his purpose. They will see in his certificates of character to officials and officers, a studied refusal to see the truth and do justice. They will not give him the benefit of the doubt, and think, as I do, that the Viceroy is not wilfully blind but is not permitted to see things, except so much as the bureaucracy is prepared to let him see.

From the Five-Hundredth Floor—The fact is, that it is impossible for any Viceroy to see the truth, living as he does on the mountain tops seven months in the year, and in complete isolation even when he lives on the plains. Imagine a businessman in Bombay, conducting his business from top-floor, with only lifts and 'phones between him and his clerks and salesmen. The people of Bombay are hardly satisfied with the condition, wherein at least there is an unbroken chain of inhabited floors between the top and the ground floors. But with the big business house in Simla and the groaning millions on the plains, there is solid dead

rock, and even the piercing cry of the feeble millions is broken into nothingness, as it heaves up to the mountain-top from the plains. Prince Siddhartha was kept in such isolation, that he did not know what misery, want and death were. He was an honest lad. But for an accident, he would have been lost to the world. Well, he was living not much above his people. He had the same coloured pigment as his father's subjects. Whilst Siddhartha was living hardly thirty feet above the people, the Viceroy lives seven thousand five hundred feet above them. It would be no fault in him, if he did not willingly cut himself from the people, that he could not understand the people's hopes and fears. So long as he lives both physically and mentally in Simla, so long will he be kept in ignorance of the truth, even as Siddhartha was. But there is an accident in store for him, as there was for the renowned young prince, whom the world worships as Buddha the enlightened. Non-co-operation is the accident. And if Lord Reading has open eyes and open ears, it will not be long before he sees and hears the truth.

The Savarkar Brothers—"Ditcher" of the *Capital* has thrown mud at these brave brothers. He has charged one of them with having, during imprisonment, abused the wireless and plotted with the enemy. He has entered into details, as if the writer had been officially prompted to write the paragraph. If the charge is true, the Government should publish the facts. As it is, it stands, and must have discredited the brothers in the eyes of the public. They are, I understand, not non-co-operators. They claim to be absolutely innocent, and have a clear cause of action against the newspaper concerned. Be that however as it may, Dr. Savarkar informs me, that one of them, Mr. Ganesh, has already served, if we count the remissions, fourteen years and two months, and that therefore under the law he is entitled to discharge. Section 55 of the Indian Penal Code runs:

"In every case in which sentence of transportation for life shall have been passed, the Government of India or the Government of the place within which the offender shall have been sentenced may, without the consent of the offender, commute the punishment for imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding fourteen years."

It is clear under this section, that Mr. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar should have been discharged

two months ago. The brothers having been removed from the Andamans, the section I have quoted must operate in their favour, and they may not be detained for a period exceeding fourteen years. All remissions already granted must count in reduction of fourteen years. This instance brought to light by the assiduity of an affectionate brother, is probably not the only one of its kind. The world will never know, how many illegalities have been perpetrated in the name of law. I am loath to imagine that Mr. Savarkar is being wilfully and wickedly detained. But that is poor comfort to the injured.

The Gateway of Freedom—There are still people even in advanced circles, who doubt the efficacy of imprisonment for securing India's freedom. They think, that imprisonment deprives the people of the services of brave men. It is as much as to say, that the bravest soldiers should not run any risk for fear of their guidance being lost to the cause they espouse. Such sceptics forget, that the Lokamanya owed his immense popularity and influence to his having suffered imprisonment. Jesus' death on Calvary was his crowning achievement. The passion of Imam Hasan on the field of Karbala made Islam a power in the world. Harishchandra is remembered for his endless sufferings. India cannot attain freedom, until lacs upon lacs have become fearless and are ready to seek imprisonment in their innocence. And if lacs are not ready, thousands must be actually imprisoned before India attains freedom. Non-co-operation is intended to evoke the truest bravery of the nation. We must be prepared to defy sufferings even unto death, if we will be free. He who saves himself, shall perish.

May we defend?—If it is true that we must fill the jails of India for the sake of legitimately opposing the will of this Government, it follows that we cannot defend ourselves before a British Court of law, much less can we engage counsel. I know, it is possible to imagine hard cases as, say, of the Savarkar brothers. If I knew them to be convinced non-co-operators, I would have no hesitation in advising them to waive any action for damages against their persecutors, even though they may be wholly in the right. Though the abstention in such cases will be due more to the resolution of the boycott of British courts, it will be equally necessary in terms of the law of suffering.

The Apology again—Nothing has caused so much waste of time as the Simla interview and the Apology. From among the many letters before me, I wish to deal with only one. A respected friend, who is jealous of my reputation for honesty and fair play, tells me that the talk in Simla is, that I have been unfair to the Viceroy, that I have almost accused him of breach of honour and that I have possibly and unconsciously swerved from the truth in saying that the apology is not made to the Government. I still hold that the apology was not tendered to the Government. If it was, I would not have hesitated

to make it clear in the wording itself. It was meant not to be ambiguous. There was no occasion for concealing anything for saving the face of the Ali Brothers. I hasten to assure every one, not excluding His Excellency, that if I find that I have strayed from truth by a hair's breadth, I shall apologise to him and to the world. I hold truth above my influence in my country or anywhere else. I am not conscious of having accused Lord Reading of breach of honour. A rapid conversation is a mental cinematograph. The mind takes in the word pictures as fast as they come, but it does not retain them all fully or in their exact order in memory. It is possible that we both have carried different impressions of the various interviews. I have given mine with the utmost accuracy, and as much as I could, without being guilty of a breach of confidence. But I see quite clearly, that the public is befogged. It will not be satisfied without a fairly full report of the interviews. I am anxious to satisfy its curiosity. To that end, I have already entered into correspondence with H. E. the Viceroy, and asked that either an agreed version may be published, or I may be absolved from the promise of confidence. So far as I am concerned, I have no confidence to be respected. But I recognise, that the position of a Viceroy is totally different from that of a public worker like myself. I must ask those who are eager to know the whole story, to be a little patient. Meanwhile I wish to acknowledge one serious mistake, I see, I have made. I ought to have asked to be shown the communiqué that was to be issued. I was anxious not to go back to Simla and further interrupt my tour, and I was so certain that everything would pass off nicely and creditably to both parties. With all experience of honest misunderstandings and worse, I should have done better. But that was not to be. I am, however, quite certain, that although it is unfortunate that a great deal of bitterness has been generated by the controversy, the country's cause will be found to have gained rather than suffered. Meanwhile I must accept the verdict of the good Maulana Abdul Bari, that the harm in the shape of the drooping of the spirits of non-co-operators is apparent, the gain is in the womb of the future. Let us watch and wait.

Parsi Generosity—Mr. Godrej of the safe fame has eclipsed all donations to the Tilak Swaraj Fund with his announcement of three lacs of rupees. His donations to public purposes have been hitherto quite unknown. But he was induced to appreciate the necessity this time of a public announcement. I tender my congratulations to Mr. Godrej and the whole Parsi Community. I wish also to testify, that during the collection week in Bombay, not a day has passed without Parsi donations. Parsi ladies and gentlemen are also making door to door collections. Parsis are also working as pickets. Among the newspapers, too, not all the Parsi papers are hostile to the Movement. But Mr. Godrej's generosity puts the Parsis easily first in all India. Parsi Rustamji's 52,000 would in any case have put the

Parsi in a respectable position, Mr. Godrej has secured the first place.

Danger ahead—The liquor-shop picketing has an intimate relation to Parsis. We will have to exercise great forbearance towards our Parsi countrymen. While we cannot stop picketing altogether, we must meet the liquor-dealers in conference, understand their difficulties and explain our own. Mr. Godrej has earmarked his donation for liquor prohibition and the uplift of the suppressed classes. Let us not, therefore, think that all Parsis are necessarily hostile to the great temperance movement. At the present movement, an outbreak of violence is the most to be feared from the temperance campaign, unless the Moderate ministers take their courage in both hands, refund all auction bids and close liquor-shops. I assure them, that the movement can only be regulated, it cannot be checked. The people are bent on ending liquor-shops, and treating as a crime all liquor-selling except as a medicine by chemists. It is a matter that brooks no delay.

How it purifies—Every one knows Mr. Abbas Tyabji. Ever since his labours on the Congress Committee's Punjab Report, Mr. Abbas has been doing some service or other to the country, but non-co-operation has revolutionised his life, as it has many other lives. Mr. Abbas, though old, is now working night and day in Kheda, in order to finish its part of the Bezvada programme. He is not used to the strenuous life of the peasant. And yet he is at the present moment engaged in mixing with the simple farmers of Kheda on their own terms. Young friends working with him tell me, that he is beating every one of them in energy and application. I am sure, the reader will appreciate the following from a letter, which he wrote to me in reply to mine betraying anxiety about his health. This is what he says:

"I assure you, you need have not the slightest anxiety about my health. I have not been healthier for many years. In fact, the Khaddar adopted at Bezvada has simply made me twenty years younger. What an experience I am having? Everywhere I am received most cordially and affectionately even by the women of the villages. Most of the places visited by me have subscribed twice or thrice their quota. It is only the big towns like Anand and Nadiad that lag behind. But Nadiad, where I have already spent four days, is coming up, and I feel that it will make up its quota, if indeed it does not even go beyond it. To-day I am going to Kapadvanj, and I shall continue to pass my nights at Nadiad; otherwise the good friends will go to sleep!

"Some of our workers are lacking in 'go'. I suppose, they represent the very respectable class to which I have ceased to belong. God! what an experience! I have so much love and affection from the common folk to whom it is now an honour to belong! It is this fakir's dress that has broken

down all barriers. And now men and women meet me as I would have them meet. If one had only known years ago, how the 'fenta,' the 'saya,' the 'angarakha,' boots and stockings separated one from one's poorer brethren! How, so dressed, it was impossible to get them to confide in one, is what I realize only now. How much I have missed in life, is just dawning on me.

"How much the movement has affected the course of my life, is only dimly perceptible to me. Still I do perceive it, which is what counts. To realize what pleasure there is in giving is also a fresh experience."

In Praise of the Charkha—A Christian lady writes: "I shall do my very best in working for winning Swaraj by the spinning-wheel. Just before I left, I succeeded in getting good wheels made. *Bathinams* we call them in Tamil. And the poor women came, and asked me to give them a wheel and to teach them to spin so as to earn a little for their living. I then remembered the word of Christ, 'I was naked and you clothed me not,' 'I was hungry and you gave me not to eat.' I hope that my Master will not say that hard word to me on the Day of Judgment. India is naked and starving. Her poor women whose children are crying for bread, have been tempted to sell their honour in order to feed them. And the more is the pity, as India has enough of natural riches within her own borders. She is like a naked starving woman sitting by the roadside in the midst of cotton, rice and wheat fields. Why are the women of India sitting idle, while foreigners grow fat on her produce? Because they take away the work, the women of India ought to be doing. The spinning-wheel will give India work, and give the little ones the morsel of food they are crying for. And to the music of the spinning wheel the women will sing their beautiful songs, tell their stories of old, and the beauty and the contentment of simple home-life will be renewed. If I had the gift of a poet, I would sing the song of the spinning-wheel, of its beauty and its usefulness, of its poetry and its religious value. I would sing a song of praise to God for helping us in our hour of need. I should ask all my sisters in India to take to the spinning-wheel keeping the wolf of hunger and starvation and dishonour from their door.....But I am not gifted. The song is singing only in my own soul. What can I do then, but let the spinning-wheel sing its own song, while I am working it and teaching others to do likewise."

This lady has already become a fairly accomplished spinner, and is about to devote her resources to opening a school for girls where spinning will be a special feature.

The True Spirit—The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee has finished its election of members on the All India Congress Committee. I give the (to be concluded on page 206)

Young India.

Ahmadabad, Wednesday, 23th June, 1921.

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

If we mean really well by our Mussalman brethren, we must sympathize with them over the movement going on in Europe to destroy Turkish nationalism. It is a thousand pities, that the British Government is secretly or openly leading the movement. Let Hindus not be frightened by Pan-Islamism. It is not—it need not be—anti-Indian or anti-Hindu. Mussalmans must wish well to every Mussalman state, and even assist any such state, if it is undeservedly in peril. And Hindus, if they are true friends of Mussalmans, cannot but share the latter's feelings. We must therefore co-operate with our Mussalman brethren in their attempt to save the Turkish empire in Europe from extinction.

Hindus may not then be agitated, when Mussalmans become alarmed at the slightest hint that the British Government might openly join the Greeks against the Turkish Government in Angora. If Britain should go so mad, India cannot possibly help the British Government in any such design upon Turkey. It would be tantamount to a war with Islam.

England has her choice. She can no longer hold the awakened Hindus and Mussalmans as slaves. If India is to remain equal partner with every other member of the Empire, India's voting strength must be infinitely superior to that of any other member. In a free commonwealth, every partner has as much right to retire if the rest go wrong, as it is his duty to remain so long as the rest are faithful to certain common principles. If India votes wrong, England can retire from partnership, as every other partner can. Thus, the centre of equilibrium must shift to India rather than remain in England, when India has come into her own. That is my meaning of Swaraj within the Empire. Brute force must be ruled out of account in all deliberations. Reference must be had always to Reason and never to the sword.

And as with England, so with India. The latter, too, has her choice. To-day, we are striving for Swaraj within the Empire in the hope that England will in the end prove true, and for independence if she fails. But when it is incontestably proved that Britain seeks to destroy Turkey, India's only choice must be independence. For Mussalmans, when Turkey's existence, such as it is, is threatened, there is no looking back. They would draw the sword if they could, and perish or rise victorious with the brave Turks. But if, as is certain, thanks to the policy of the Government of India, they cannot declare war against the British Government, they can at least forswear allegiance to a government which wickedly goes to war against Turkey. The duty of the Hindus is no less clear. If we still fear and distrust the Mussalmans, we

must side with the British and prolong our slavery. If we are brave and religious enough not to fear the Mussalmans, our countrymen, and if we have the wisdom to trust them, we must make common cause with the Mussalmans in every peaceful and truthful method to secure Indian independence. For a Hindu, as I conceive Hinduism to be, whether for independence or for Swaraj within the Empire, there is no road but non-violent non-co-operation. India can have dominion or independent status to-day, if India learns and assumes as her secret and the invincible power of non-violence. When she has learnt that lesson, she is ready to take up all the stages of non-co-operation including non-payment of taxes. India is not ready to-day, but if we would be prepared to frustrate every plot that may be hatched for the destruction of Turkey or for prolonging our subjection, we must secure an atmosphere of enlightened non-violence as fast as possible, not the non-violence of the weak but the non-violence of the strong, who would disdain to kill but would gladly die for the vindication of truth.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE AND ITS FUNCTION.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The resolutions of the Working Committee have come in for some hostile criticism. Its ruling questioning the propriety of non-co-operating lawyers attending law-courts and non-co-operating defendants entering upon their defence in law-courts, has been seriously called in question, and it has even been suggested, that its rulings may be disregarded. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the function of the Working Committee. And before we can understand this, we must understand the Congress Constitution.

The goal of the Congress is attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. The Congress must be worked, so as to hasten India's progress towards her destined goal. The Constitution is so devised as to tax and prove the nation's capacity for self-government. It undoubtedly sets up a system of voluntary government, in which the only force available is public opinion and the good-will of the people. And seeing that the Congress is to-day engaged in opposing, and if need be, destroying the existing system, it follows that the greater the authority of the Congress, the less must be that of the Government. When the Congress commands complete confidence and willing obedience to its instructions, there is full Swaraj. For, then the Government must respect popular opinion expressed through the Congress, or it must commit suicide. The Congress must, therefore, become the most united, the strongest in character and the largest organisation in the land. The Congress policy, therefore, must command the readiest acceptance.

The Congress meets in session only once a year. It lays down policies. The All India Congress Committee is designed to carry out the Congress

policy as embodied in its resolutions. It must interpret all resolutions, and attend to all new matters, with the same authority as the Congress. The members may debate upon different propositions and interpretations as much as they choose, but except on matters of vital principle, the dissenters must conform to, and faithfully carry out, the resolutions of the majority. The discussions in the Committee are not open for rediscussion in public. In order to make the All-India Congress Committee an efficient body, the Constitution has provided for a Working Committee of fifteen, which must meet often and must be able to deal with all the matters delegated to it by the All-India Congress Committee. It is designed to exercise all the functions of the All-India Congress Committee, when the latter is not sitting. It must watch and guide public opinion, it must interpret it, it must keep all the subsidiary organisations in working order, it must attend to all-India finance, it must distribute it, and whenever decision on matters of grave importance has to be taken, it must summon a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for direction. The Working Committee is to the Congress, what a Cabinet is to a Parliament. Its decisions must command respect, if we are to evolve constitutional government during this year. Naturally, therefore, its members must be those, who command the greatest respect of the All-India Congress Committee and of the nation. It dare not take any hasty decisions, and it must be a homogeneous body. It cannot have two poles or two parties within itself. Whilst the Congress represents the whole nation, and may therefore have every type and all parties, the Working Committee must consist of men representing the policy and the party, that have the confidence of the majority of the delegates. Its decisions have largely to be unanimous. When a member cannot pull on with the rest, he can resign, but he may not obstruct or affect the deliberations of the Committee by an open discussion of its deliberations in the press. Whilst, therefore, the decisions of the Working Committee should be carried out by Congressmen, it is not an irresponsible body. It can be dismissed by the All India Congress Committee by a vote of no confidence. Its decisions are subject to be reviewed by the All India Congress Committee, and even set aside for grave reasons. In my humble opinion, unless the Working Committee carries weight with people, it is hardly possible to attain Swaraj during this year. Every one of us must, therefore, work to make the Congress an irresistible body by its resolutions being carried out in every little detail. What the Government does in the last resort by force of arms, the Congress expects to do by force of affection. The Government has rendered itself irresistible by striking terror in the hearts of the people, the Congress must make itself felt by securing the free-will acceptance of its doctrines and policies. Non-violence thus runs through everything connected with the people's programme. But each organisation expects to

succeed by reason of people's co-operation. Loyalty to the Congress decisions is a *sine qua non* of success of the Nagpur determination to achieve Swaraj during the year.

THE MESSAGE OF THE CHARKHA.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The *Indian Social Reformer* has published a note from a correspondent in praise of the spinning-wheel. The correspondent in the course of his remarks hopes, that the movement will be so organised that the spinners may not weary of it. Mr. Amritlal Thakkar in his valuable note (published in the *Servant of India*) on the experiment which he is conducting in Kathiawad, says that the charkha has been taken up by the peasant women. They are not likely to weary, for to them it is a source of livelihood to which they were used before. It had dried up, because there was no demand for their yarn. Townspeople who have taken to spinning may weary, if they have done so as a craze or a fashion. Those only will be faithful, who consider it their duty to devote their spare hours to doing what is to-day the most useful work for the country. The third class of spinners are the school-going children. I expect the greatest results from the experiment of introducing the charkha in the National Schools. If it is conducted on scientific lines by teachers who believe in the charkha as the most efficient means of making education available to the seven and a half lacs of villages in India, there is not only no danger of weariness, but every prospect of the nation being able to solve the problem of financing mass education without any extra taxation and without having to fall back upon immoral sources of revenue.

The writer in the *Indian Social Reformer* suggests, that an attempt should be made to produce finer counts on the spinning-wheel. I may assure him that the process has already begun, but it will be some time before we arrive at the finish of the Dacca muslin or even twenty counts. Seeing that hand-spinning was only revived last September, and India began to believe in it somewhat only in December, the progress it has made may be regarded as phenomenal.

The writer's complaint that hand-spun yarn is not being woven as fast as it is spun, is partly true. But the remedy is not so much to increase the number of looms, as to persuade the existing weavers to use hand-spun yarn. Weaving is a much more complex process than spinning. It is not, like spinning, only a supplementary industry, but a complete means of livelihood. It therefore never died out. There are enough weavers and enough looms in India to replace the whole of the foreign import of cloth. It should be understood that our coons—thousands of them in Madras, Maharashtra and Bengal—are engaged in weaving the fine yarn imported from Japan and Manchester. We must utilize these for weaving hand-spun yarn. And for that purpose, the nation has to revise its taste

for the thin tawdry and useless muslins. I see no art in weaving muslins, that do not cover but only expose the body. Our ideas of art must undergo a change. But even if the universal weaving of thin fabric be considered desirable in normal conditions, at the present moment whilst we are making a mighty effort to become free and self-supporting, we must be content to wear the cloth that our hand-spun yarn may yield. We have therefore to ask the fashionable on the one hand to be satisfied with coarser garments; we must educate the spinners on the other hand to spin finer and more even yarn.

The writer pleads for a reduction in the prices charged by millowners for their manufactures. When lovers of Swadeshi begin to consider it their duty to wear Khaddar, when the required number of spinning-wheels are working and the weavers are weaving handspun yarn, the millowners will be bound to reduce prices. It seems almost hopeless merely to appeal to the patriotism of those whose chief aim is to increase their own profits.

Incongruities pointed out by the writer such as the wearing of Khaddar on public occasions and at other times of the most fashionable English suits, and the smoking of most expensive cigars by wearers of Khaddar, must disappear in course of time, as the new fashion gains strength. It is my claim that as soon as we have completed the boycott of foreign cloth, we shall have evolved so far that we shall necessarily give up the present absurdities and remodel national life in keeping with the ideal of simplicity and domesticity implanted in the bosom of the masses. We will not then be dragged into an imperialism, which is built upon exploitation of the weaker races of the earth, and the acceptance of a giddy materialistic civilization protected by naval and air forces that have made peaceful living almost impossible. On the contrary, we shall then refine that imperialism into a commonwealth of nations which will combine, if they do, for the purpose of giving their best to the world and of protecting, not by brute force but by self-suffering, the weaker nations or races of the earth. Non-co-operation aims at nothing less than this revolution in the thought-world. Such a transformation can come only after the complete success of the spinning-wheel. India can become fit for delivering such a message, when she has become proof against temptation and therefore attacks from outside, by becoming self-contained regarding two of her chief needs—food and clothing.

(concluded from page 205)

names in the order, in which the members were elected, Abbas Tyabji, Imam A. K. Bawazair, S. F. Edrus, Anasuyabehn Sarabhai, M. K. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel, Mahadev Desai, Indulal K. Yagnik, Dr. Dikshit, Dr. Chandulal Dasai, Mohanlal Pandya and Vamanrao Mukadam. The election naturally took place by proportional representation. I would not have troubled the reader with the names, but for the lesson the election carries with it. The reader will observe, that there are three Mussalmans

elected, and they are first on the list, showing that the electors were determined to ensure their election. Numerically, not more than two need have been elected, but the electors wisely decided to elect all the Mussalman candidates. They next wanted to ensure the election of at least one lady, and so Shrimati Anasuyabai comes next. The most noteworthy feature of the election, however, is, that whilst all good workers have been elected, many equally good and able workers have simply stood aside. They did not stand for election. I commend this spirit of self-effacement to all whom it may concern. There should be no rivalry among workers for offices of honour. All must aim at becoming the most efficient workers. But all cannot possibly be elected to offices of honour, if they also carry heavy responsibility with it. The best way is for every one to be ready to stand aside, and let the others be elected. Thus is it possible to avoid bitterness, unhealthy rivalry and heart-burnings. The best service is certainly possible, even though one may never hold any office. Indeed, the best workers all the world over are generally the most silent.

Muslim Representation—Several complaints have been received regarding the advisory resolution of the Working Committee, about the Lucknow compact. The only section of the new Constitution bearing on Muslim representation, is the one regarding the rights of minorities. As it was brought to the notice of the Working Committee, that Mussalmans were getting nervous about their representation and desired observance of the Lucknow compact in the Congress, it was thought advisable to give the guidance in that direction. Attempts are certainly being made to divide us. Mussalmans have only now begun to come in. And it is the duty of the Hindus to hold out every lawful inducement to them to join the Congress. It must be the common meeting ground for all races and religions. Where Mussalmans do not come forward at all in spite of entreaty, the seats can be left vacant for want of candidates, or filled in by others pending the appearance of suitable Muslim candidates. Some friends urge, that we should just now think not of special claims, but only of efficiency. Efficiency is undoubtedly admirable, but we can easily make of it a fetish as our English friends have done. Unity is more important than efficiency. Unity for us is efficiency. The only thing we may not sacrifice to unity, is principle or conscience, or which is the same thing, truth.

Cow Protection—Apropos of Hindu Muslim unity, I would once more revert to cow protection. No Hindu has this more at heart than I have, but I refuse to be impatient. We will never succeed in stamping out our Mussalman countrymen into stopping cow slaughter. They cannot feel for the cow in the same sense and measure as we Hindus do. We can only put them on their honour by being honourable ourselves. Bihar still continues to be the storm centre. I would urge both Hindu and Mussalman leaders to take time by

the forelock and nip the evil in the bud. Nor must the Hindus of Bihar mix up vegetarianism with cow-killing. The two stand on a different footing. Cow protection is the creed of twenty million Hindus, vegetarianism is confined to a small minority. The latter cannot be permitted to force its views upon others.

The All India Congress Committee—The enlarged and newly elected All India Congress Committee is to meet on the 22nd July at Lucknow. It will be a momentous meeting. It has to evolve a programme, that would ensure the establishment of Swaraj and redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the year. It has either to elect a new Working Committee, or else confirm the old if all are re-elected members of the new All India Congress Committee. It will probably be called upon to rediscuss some of the decisions of the Working Committee. Its deliberations will largely decide the question of attainment of Swaraj within the year. One is entitled, therefore, to hope, that there will be a full house to deliberate upon the vast issues that will be raised before that body.

After June—Some people seem to be under the impression, that after the 30th June, no further effort need be made regarding the Bezwada programme. This is an absurd superstition. Even if we have made our quota members and twenty lacs of charkhas, we must increase both. We may stop the Tilak Swaraj Fund, when we have reached the minimum, but no harm can come if we collect more. As it is, many provinces will be found far short of their quota on the 30th June. They will, therefore, be certainly expected to continue their collections, at least up to the time of the meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

M. K. Q.

A PLANTER'S LETTER.

To Mr. Gandhi and others connected with the non-co-operation movement.

Gentlemen,

Have you ever stopped to consider where your non-co-operation movement is going to lead India to. I speak, if permitted to do so, for Assam. Non-co-operation is not the remedy, or I might say, is not the cure for the evident evils you are trying to remedy, but Legislation. Legislation and compulsory Education are the things required in the order named. Coolies in Assam are very well looked after by all Europeans on European-controlled tea gardens, but even on such gardens, I regret to say that the desire on the part of your own countrymen to extort money by unfair means from the poor coolie, is more prevalent than it should be. The wages on tea gardens are distinctly good. My coolies earn on an average for men Rs. 10-3-8, for women Rs. 6-12-8, for children Rs. 4-15-0. (Sept. 1920 Government Return.) In addition to these wages, free fuel, free medicine, free medical attendance, free housing accommodation, free grazing ground, free khet-land, rice supplied at much below Bazar

rates, when there is a famine on,—these are the comforts bestowed on all the tea garden coolies of Assam, and I feel sure you will agree with me, that "you can take a horse to the water, but you cannot make him drink", and you can take a coolie to the work, but you cannot make him work, and in every trade in the world a man must work. Piece-work is given on tea gardens, and a coolie can easily earn 8 to 10 annas daily, and a woman 4 to 6 annas, i.e. in the busy season. If they work with all the comforts above named, can you non-co-operators truthfully say, the tea planter is not doing his duty towards the coolie. No. Your countrymen are beginning to realize, that the poor coolie is not quite such a fool as he used to be, and not quite so much can be extorted out of him now-a-days, and as the money must come from somewhere, you are endeavouring to take it through the coolie by telling him, that he is underpaid, sweated labour, ill-treated and a host of other lies. Where are your reformed councils and where is your Legislating? At the rate you people are travelling, you will be looking for your rent shortly.

What then is required? In Assam, the pay of the Indian staff should be increased 100 per cent. This would stop the present dissatisfaction amongst the Baboo clerks, who in most cases have to support huge families on salaries which are inadequate, and to live they are compelled to get the money from somewhere; hence they extort from the weak, being unable to from the strong. My staff consists of one head and two junior clerks, all disgracefully paid. They do not steal, they can't, because I am too cute for them. I am exceedingly sorry for them, but as I am struggling to live, I cannot help them from my salary. Why should I? My employers do not permit me to pay them more, but it is bound to come sooner or later by agitation and co-operation, not by non-co-operation. The present methods of your followers have a Bolshevik tendency by turning a land now flowing with milk and honey into a chaos, and causing complete disorganization. Agitate, agitate, agitate. Co-operate. co-operate, co-operate. Legislate, legislate, legislate. I ask you to banish non-co-operate from your mind, it is useless.

I want to see in Assam,

1. Free Labour, Liberty is wealth.
2. That every Indian can travel to any part of India from famine area to plenty without any restriction.
3. Legislation, the same for the poor and the rich, the same for the Indian and the European.
4. Legislation for the protection of Indian women and their Eurasian children.
5. The Panchayat as a legal power on every tea garden, of which the manager must be president, and if the Indian can be tried by Panchayat, so can the European. (My coolies have permission to try me.)
6. Payment of sick allowance to coolies compulsory.

7. Restriction of coolie marriages abolished.

8. Confinement allowance to pregnant women compulsory for six months.

You will admit, all these suggestions are for legislators, not for non-co-operators, therefore agitate, co-operate, legislate, and Love "Mohini" Dayal "Mia" Beeshur.

What are your members of Council doing? Make them work, make them pass suitable laws, make them listen to the voice of the people. My strength is the love of my people (coolies); their strength is the love of their people, Indians, non-co-operators, co-operators, agitators, Legislators, or it should be a house that is divided against itself and cannot stand, therefore co-operate, I co-operate with all Indians that I meet or have dealings with, from the Chamar to the Brahman, from the coolie to the Rajah. All are God's own, all are human, all I regard as my brothers. Where I can help I help, where I can alleviate trouble I do so, where I can teach I teach. Let brotherly love continue, it is not obtained by non-co-operation, but brotherly love is co-operation.

I am glad to be able to tell you, that I am the manager of the most contented and the best paid labour force in tea, and I can truthfully say, that I have always, ever since I have been in India, made a point of alleviating the sufferings of my coolies, though of course one cannot please all. This has been done by co-operation and no strike has or will take place on the garden under my control. I speak with confidence. So I ask you, Mr. Gandhi, to stay your hand and the hand of your sympathisers, and stop this mad exodus from Assam. Think of the thousands of deaths being caused by this stampede. Two wrongs will never make one right.

I personally am very much against the methods employed in tea on every garden except my own and a few others. They are, I admit, a disgrace to the tea industry, i. e. gardens worked through the Baboos. But what is required is co-operation, agitation, Legislation, and not your methods, namely Bolshevism with a non-co-operation tendency. The truth hurts no one.

Apologizing for the tone of my letter, which only speaks my mind,

I remain,

"Chai tace confessee."

"He who keeps silent, confesses."

[I publish this letter without an alteration. The writer has sent me his name, but wishes to remain anonymous. I have seen, both in Natal and Champaran, the writer's prototypes. He means well, but does not know that he is no more than a kind cattle-keeper. Once admit that men may be treated like cattle, many a European manager would earn a certificate of merit from a Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Society. I know from experience, that free medicine, free medical attendance, free housing accommodation and free

grazing-ground are so many tricks of the trade, designed to keep the 'coolie' a serf for ever. He would be a freer man for being paid full wages and charged for housing and medicine. Free grazing ground is to him, almost like breathing, indispensable. Eurasian children tell on every estate the story of man's and woman's shame. If I had the power, I would stop all the estates, where the crime against Indian womanhood is proved by the presence of Eurasian children. I know, the problem is difficult. But, if the Europeans learnt to respect the chastity of the Indian woman as his sister's, there would be no Eurasian children born out of wedlock. I am no believer in 'free' intercourse. The subject is too painful, the chastity of man and woman too sacred for me, to enable me to write with restraint on what I have seen on such estates, and heard. I do not for one moment wish to suggest, that Indian managers would not commit the same crimes that European managers do. I know, that their colour hides the shame in the faces of their crimes' creation. But I do maintain that the European manager does with impunity, what the Indian dare not. But I must close this chapter here. The disingenuous suggestion that the manager should be the President of Panchayats, gives away the planters' case. The correspondent's advice regarding non-co-operation proceeds from ignorance. I can assure him, that I never advised a single coolie in Assam to strike. I do not profess to know the problem of labour there. He should, moreover, know, that there is no non-co-operation going on with capital or capitalists. Non-co-operation is going on with the existing Government as a system. But there is bound to be non-co-operation, wherever there is evil, oppression and injustice, whether anybody wishes it or not. The people having found the remedy, will resort to it. If they do so stupidly or unjustifiably, they alone will be the real losers. I do not believe, that legislation or debates in the Councils can do much good. Not until employers begin to look upon labourers as members of their own family, or until the latter are educated to understand their own rights and know the method of securing them, will labourers be able to better their position. Legislation in advance of public opinion, is often worse than useless. Non-co-operation is the quickest method of creating public opinion, in the present case a change of manners, or as I have often put it, of heart.

M. K. G.]

Up to 25th June, Karnatak had registered 56,000 members, collected Rs. 80,000 and introduced 13,500 wheels.

Harishanker Morari Vyas, President of Jaspur (Kathiswad) Congress Committee passed away at Betul (C. P.) on 1st June, leaving all his property of the value of Rs. 25,447 to the National Fund.

YOUNG INDIA

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AHMEDABAD, WEDNESDAY, JULY 6th, 1921.

{ PRIOR TWO ANKAS

Notes.

The Beginning of Responsibility The unexampled response given by India to the Tilak Swaraj Fund shows the trust she has in her non-co-operation leaders. Will they prove worthy of the trust? Many have given liberally, and all have asked, how will the funds be administered? I have unhesitatingly replied, that the officers of the Provincial Congress Committees are responsible and tried men. If we do not account properly for every pie we receive and do not make a judicious use of the funds, we shall deserve to be blotted out of public life. Let us remember that the poorest people have given of their best. Many have given their all. Washermen, carpenters, blacksmiths, Christians, Jews, Parsis, Sikhs, Jains, Mussalmans and Hindus have paid their mite. On the 16th of June, when the collection commenced in Bombay, the whole amount collected throughout India stood at thirty lacs, if even at that. I had full faith, that forty lacs would be collected by the end of June by the provinces other than Bombay. All India therefore, subscribed at the rate of more than five lacs per day during the fourteen days of concentrated effort. The provinces outside Bombay had subscribed up to the 30th June during the same period as Bombay thirty-eight lacs—not a bad record. How shall we retain this confidence? We must keep accurate accounts, which even a child can see and understand. The funds ought not to be used outside the purpose of non-co-operation, nor generally for any purpose outside (1) the spread of the *Charkha* and *Khadi*, (2) the removal of untouchability, and hence the elevation of the suppressed classes, (3) the conduct of national schools, where spinning and weaving are a part of the training and (4) the advance of the liquor prohibition campaign.

These objects necessarily include the upkeep of the national service. It will be through the instrumentality of that service, that we shall be able to achieve the objects above-named. And to achieve the objects above-named, is to demonstrate our fitness and ability for attaining Swaraj.

I would warn the different Committees against living on the interest of the funds. To invest the money at interest and to use only the interest, is to betray want of faith in the nation and in ourselves. The nation's trust must be our capital, and

its response from time to time must constitute our interest. If we claim to represent the nation, we must rely upon it to finance yearly institutions established and conducted for it. Living on interest tends to make us irresponsible. The hoards raised in the name of religion in the various parts of India have made many of these religious institutions a sham, where they have not become hotbeds of corruption. If, therefore, we would profit by our past experience, we would spend almost the whole amount collected by us during the remaining six months. When I placed the financial programme before the All India Congress Committee in Bezwada, I did so, because I knew that we had honest and able men enough to deal with national and provincial finance, and because we needed that amount for use during the year. We cannot achieve boycott of foreign cloth, unless we spend liberally in buying spinning-wheels, handspun yarn and *Khadi*. We must conduct the Swadeshi propaganda, till the spinning-wheel has been placed on a commercial footing and has found a lasting place in every home. Distributed over a large area, the error is not much to spend all the end of the year. I would suggest every province framing at the end of the month its own considered budget and spending not less nor more. I have suggested a month, for the provinces would hardly have made up their accounts and collected the promised subscriptions before then. Moreover, we must wait for the All India Congress Committee to give us a definite lead for the months to follow. If we succeed in fulfilling the programme in an orderly manner, we cannot fail to establish Swaraj before December, if not by the end of September.

Bombay's Decision—The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has come to a decision on the question of the management of the big collection made by it in a most businesslike and becoming manner. I quote from memory the effective part of its resolution. 'Whereas the All India Tilak Memorial Fund collections made during the month of June were made, not to meet provincial needs merely but in order to fulfil the obligation incurred at Bezwada and in order to meet the requirements of provinces in need of help, in the opinion of the Committee it is desirable to entrust a special Committee with the control and management of the collections. Messrs. Raghavji Purushottam, Velji Lakshmanji Napu, Ravashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri.

Umar Sobani, Jammalal Bajaj, Ardesbar Barjorji Godrej, Shankar Lal Banker and Lakshmidas Terei be appointed a Committee to control and manage the said funds, subject to the following conditions.

(1) The non-co-operation expenses of the Provincial Congress Committee to be a first charge on the fund

(2) The other provinces to be helped on the advice of the All India Congress Committee in respect of the spread of the *Charkha* and *Khadda*, alleviation of suppressed classes, national schools, famine relief and prohibition of liquor.

It is an act of self-denial, for which the Bombay Committee deserves the warm congratulations of the country. The one intention running through the resolution is to put the administration of the large funds beyond suspicion and on a sound footing.

Resigning for a Muslim Brother—Another instance of self-effacement is also furnished by Bombay. The advice of the Working Committee regarding Muslim representation was given after the voting-papers had been issued. The election results showed, that only one Mussalman was elected, and that was Mr. Umar Sobani who could hardly be claimed specially to represent the Mussalman interest. He is too well known as a public worker to be classed purely as a Mussalman representative. Moreover, in Bombay it was necessary to have at least two Muslim members elected to the All India Congress Committee. Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani has therefore vacated his seat for a Mussalman representative. It is instances of such brotherly and public spirit, which make me feel that Swaraj is hastening to us. The only danger is that of our running away from it. In my opinion, the incident proves the wisdom of the Working Committee's advice. It came just in time to put us on our guard and honour. The Working Committee warns us that we may not neglect special and tender interests, and that wherever there is the least suspicion of Mussalman coolness, it is up to the Hindus to see that they do not give the slightest reason for Mussalman coolness or indifference or suspicion. And what applies to Hindus and Mussalmans applies also to questions regarding and between the other races. The weaker the interest, the greater must be the regard of the stronger party for that interest. Then we need never have any racial differences.

Is it a Breach?—Friends have suspected me of having committed a breach of the Congress resolution, in that I have appealed to the Moderates to co-operate with us in the liquor campaign and especially in that I have actually invited them to agitate for prohibition. A friend asks, 'Why should we seek the help of the councils which we have boycotted? Does it not mean a modification of your previous attitude?' I venture to say that it does not. There is all the difference between a challenge and a petition. If I had appealed out of our helplessness, it would have been a breach of the Congress resolution and a modification of my own attitude. But, in my opinion, I strengthen our position, when I invite the Moderates in gentle language to

do their duty, and prove their claim to be popular representatives. I see nothing wrong in inviting the Moderates and the Government to co-operate with us in all we are doing. I see nothing wrong in appealing to the Moderates or even to the Government through their authorised channels, to help us in the Khilafat and the Punjab matters, or to shut up all the liquor-shops, or to dot every one of their schools with spinning-wheels or to recognise the force of public opinion and to prohibit by legislation the import of foreign cloth. For, if they succeed in doing these things, I would cease to think evil of the institution they adore or administer. In making my appeal, I have shown them a way to partial reinstatement in public estimation, and have furnished myself and the country with a further effective cause, in the event of the failure of the appeal, to demonstrate the wooden nature of the system. I have appealed, not as myself a part of the system, but as an outsider.

Of Picketing—The *Indian Social Reformer* contests the utility of picketing in its own vigorous style. Without entering upon any examination of its argument, I would perhaps take up less space if I simply state my view and experience. Picketing in its nature must be temporary, but it is like what a stimulant is in medicine. Drink is more a disease than a vice. I know scores of men who would gladly leave off drink if they could. I know some who have asked that the temptation might be put away from them. In spite of the temptation having been put away at their instance, I have known them to steal drink. I do not, therefore, think, that it was wrong to have removed the temptation. Diseased persons have got to be helped against themselves. If I have a son who is addicted (say) to gambling, and a gambling company imposes itself on me to tempt my boy, I have either violently to knock the company down or to post watches at its offices, in order, if possible, to shame my son into not going there. It is true, that there are other gambling companies some distance from my place. Still I take it, I would be held in the right in having posted a watch at the company's door. I must make it difficult for my son to gamble. If the *Reformer* accepts the doctrine of state prohibition, it must accept the corollary of picketing, so long as the state is a tyranny being perpetrated in the face of public opinion. What, for instance, should the public do, if the state were to build palaces in every street for women of ill fame, and issue to them licenses to ply their trade? Will it not be its duty, unless it destroy these palaces inhabited by vice, to quarantine them and warn the public of the danger of falling an easy prey to the temptation forced on it? I recognise the necessity of using only men and women of character as pickets and of guarding against violence being offered to those who insist on drinking in the face of public opinion. Picketing is a duty a citizen must discharge, when he is not helped by the state. What is a police patrol, if it

is not picketing against thieves? The police use the gun, when the thief betrays an inclination to break into another's house. A picket uses the pressure of shame, i.e. love, when he warns a weak brother against the dangers of the drink evil. The *Reformer* has attributed to picketing claims never put forth on its behalf.

Violence in Dharwad—If the Congress Committee's telegram to the *Chronicle* may be relied upon, there is little doubt that some unauthorised police officer has been panic-stricken and given the order to fire on an unarmed crowd. The persistent keeping open of liquor-shops as if it was a right of the public to have liquor served to it by the state, is an open and immoral defiance of public opinion. I can only congratulate the families of those who have died. I can deplore the slightest show of force that may have been betrayed by the crowd, but I respectfully warn the Indian ministers in charge of transferred departments, that they will betray the traditions of the great party to which they belong, if they do not courageously face the grave crisis that is overtaking the country, and summarily close every liquor-shop and refund the money paid in advance by the poor licence-holders. They may not dread the loss of revenue immorally derived from the twice cursed traffic. It cannot stand in the face of an awakened and enraged public conscience. As it is, an education supported by a revenue derived from an immoral source is bad enough. Presently, it will stink in our nostrils when it is tainted with innocent blood. I do beseech the ministers to be warned before it is too late. Let it not be said of them, that for the sake of revenue they remained callously indifferent to the signs of the times. They dare not wait for hours, much less for weeks. It will be wrong to wait for devising methods of tapping other sources of revenue before giving up the revenue from drink. It will be very like a man refusing to vacate a plague-infected house until another is ready for him. Most people in such circumstances will first vacate, and then search for another and uninfected shelter.

A Brave Sikh—Sardar Shardulsinh has always appeared to me to be one of the bravest of non-co-operators. He is a man of fine culture, scrupulously honourable. He has a reasoned faith in non-violent non-co-operation. He is a staunch nationalist. He holds the Sikh doctrine dear as life, but loves nationalism equally well. Non-violence is not his final creed in everything. But it is like that of the Ali Brothers, his present creed for India's salvation. He abides by it as honourably as the Ali Brothers, which is saying a great deal. But this state has no use for him except transportation for five years. He is too brave, too honest and therefore too influential for the Government of the Punjab, and therefore he has been put away. It is my conviction, that his services to the country are all the greater for his incarceration. It is a wonderful manifestation of bravery and self-restraint shown all over India, that so many gladly face imprison-

ment, and the people remain quiet and dignified without being cowed down. I hope, that the imprisonment of Sardar Shardulsinh will spur the Sikhs and the other Panjabis to greater effort in behalf of non-co-operation. I tender my congratulations to Sardar Shardulsinh and all the others who are suffering for the sake of the motherland.

The Prince's proposed Visit—It is a great pity, that the talk of the Prince's visit has been revived and a provisional date fixed. India will refuse to welcome a representative of a system of which she is sick unto death. And if his visit is forced upon an unwilling India, there must be the same effective *hartal* on the day of His Royal Highness's visit that there was on the Duke's visit. I repeat once more, that non-co-operators have nothing against the Prince as a man. But he cannot be divested of the office he holds. Whilst it is true that the King and his heirs do not actively meddle in the affairs of state (which is a convenience for the state), he is as effective a representative of the existing system of Government as the most meddling Prime Minister or Viceroy. I am disposed to think, that as a supporter of the institution, he is more effective by reason of his isolation. If the Prince comes, he will not come to bless the non-co-operators or the cause, but to sing the song of praise for a Government which is responsible for the dishonour of the Punjab, for breach of faith with the Mussalmans, for forging the drink traffic on India, for impoverishing her and for so emasculating her that she almost thinks she must remain in slavery for an unthinkable time. In my humble opinion, the projected visit will be an insult added to injury. And it will be the duty of every non-co-operator, respectfully but firmly and in no unmistakable manner, to express his strong disapproval of all such efforts to bolster up a system which is tottering to its fall. M. K. G.

SWADESHI IN MAHARASHTRA.

The Swadeshi movement originated during the eighties of the last century in the powerful mind of Mr Joshi of Poona, popularly known as Sarvajauik Kaka. He preached to the people that the salvation of India lay in Swadeshi. In conformity with the orthodox fashion of the day, he had to wear a turban of a required length. He was too good a patriot to use foreign cloth, and too good a citizen to discard or disregard the fashion of orthodox society. He therefore carried on his head a huge Paghadi with the dignity of a patriarch. It is related that some people, to ridicule him, carried about their neck a copper bucket full of water with a sinking bowl floating in it. When asked why they did so, they would say it was a Swadeshi watch of the Joshi pattern. Mr. Joshi braved it all with fortitude, and made himself heard. Poona boasts of a physician who, it is said, would wear *dhotis* woven out of yarn spun by himself. It should not be difficult for Poona and Maharashtra whose capital it is, to popularize the spinning-wheel with such noble traditions behind it.

A MARATHA,

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 6th July, 1921.

BOMBAY THE BEAUTIFUL

Bombay is beautiful, not for its big buildings for most of them hide squalid poverty and dirt, not for its wealth for most of it is derived from the blood of the masses, but for its world-renowned generosity. The Parais set the tone, and Bombay has ever lived up to her reputation. Bombay's charity has covered a multitude of her sins. In respect of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay has beaten her past records. Between the sixteenth and the thirtieth June, she subscribed at the rate of two lacs and a half per day. She enabled India to keep her promise. And I have no doubt, Chittaranjan Das will allow Bombay's claim to the honour of having infected Bengal and let her become the rescuer. For, if Bengal had not leapt from three lacs to twenty five, in spite of the herculean labours of Bombay's choicest workers India would have failed to raise the crore. Bombay, then, is beautiful because of her charities.

The figures are not to hand, of the number of members, nor of the wheels at work. But the subscription was the most visible token of India's resolve.

India has honoured the late Lokamanya, as she has not honoured any other son before. But the crore is but the foundation of the monument that we are raising to the memory of the deceased patriot; Swaraj is the crown. No monument less than Swaraj can revere a memory so great.

Let us however not deceive ourselves. To be true to the spirit of the memorial resolution, each province and each district should have subscribed at least its numerical proportion. Two pice per head was not a contribution beyond the means of the average man or woman. And I hope, that every province will strive to make up its quota as early as possible.

The subscription is but a mile-stone on the journey. The crore cannot give us Swaraj, not the riches of the whole world can give it. Before we can be wholly free, we must be economically independent. A man who is forced to starve, cannot be expected to pray to God. A starving man will sell his soul. He has no soul to keep. Before, therefore, India can think of freedom, she must feel economically independent. And this she cannot do, so long as she is almost wholly dependent upon the foreign market for her cloth. One who owes his oxygen to the pump, is a dying man. Is it any wonder that India is in a dying condition? If, then, we want to achieve Swaraj during this year, we cannot do so till we have brought about by self-renunciation a complete boycott of foreign cloth. We must, therefore, utilise the money we have, for manufacturing as much *Khadi* as possible through handlooms from hand-spun yarn. It must be the chief activity in each province. We must examine the manufactures of our mills, and persuade the millowners to regulate

their manufacture and their profits in accordance with the requirements of the nation. The mill manufactures must be reserved for the poorest among the poor whom we cannot reach for the moment.

The ensuing meeting of the All India Congress Committee must concentrate on this matter, and formulate a programme that should bring about the desired boycott.

But after all, the burden of boycott has to be principally borne by Bombay, as she has borne the largest part of the financial obligation. Bombay controls the cloth market of India, Bombay imports from Lancashire and Japan. Heavy, therefore, is the responsibility of Bombay importers of yarn and piece-goods. If a successful boycott is to be brought about, they must be prepared to undergo heavy sacrifices for the sake of the country. Millowners, too, have a duty to perform. They have made enormous profits. It is the easiest for them to help the boycott movement in a most effective manner. It means a revision of their outlook upon national life. The mill-hands, too, have a duty by the country. Hitherto they have interested themselves only in their own wages. They should now learn to appreciate public welfare. Lastly comes the unfortunate public, which has no say in fixing prices, and has to pay at the bidding of the millowner and the middleman. Surely, even apart from the question of boycott, this is a most unsatisfactory state of things. Famine threatens the land. It is high time that each one of us thought about the good of all, rather than individual aggrandisement irrespective of national welfare. Bombay the Beautiful has a golden opportunity. She must add to her beauty, or be prepared to lose what she has.

M. K. GANDHI.

HOW TO BOYCOTT FOREIGN CLOTH.

It is needless to say at this time of the day, that the proposed boycott of foreign cloth is not a vindictive measure, but is as necessary for national existence as breath is for life. The quicker, therefore, it can be brought about, the better for the country. Without it Swaraj cannot be established or retained after establishment. It is of the highest importance to know how it can be brought about even before the first day of August next.

To arrive at the boycott quickly, it is necessary (1) for the mill-owners to regulate their profits and to manufacture principally for the Indian market, (2) for importers to cease to buy foreign goods. A beginning has already been made by three principal merchants, (3) for the consumers to refuse to buy any foreign cloth and to buy *Khadi* wherever possible, (4) for the consumers to wear only *Khadi* cloth, mill cloth being retained for the poor who do not know the distinction between *Swadeshi* and *Pardeshi*, (5) for the consumers to use, till Swaraj is established and *Khadi* manufacture increased, *Khadi* just enough for covering the body, (6) for the

consumers to destroy Pardeshi cloth, as they would destroy intoxicating liquors on taking the vow of abstinence, or to sell it for use abroad, or to wear it out for all dirty work or during private hours.

It is to be hoped that all the parties referred to in the foregoing clauses will respond well and simultaneously. But in the end success depends upon the persistent determination of the consumer. He has simply to decline to wear the badge of his slavery.

M. K. GANDHI.

Our Burden—It is not enough that we have secured the crore. We should know how to make a good use of it. We should know to keep clear and complete accounts. We are not going to put the crore out at interest. We have collected it for our immediate needs. We have to elevate national life by means of it. We must boycott foreign cloth. We must introduce a system of national education. We must ameliorate the wretched condition of the suppressed classes. We must free the nation from the clutches of drink. We must banish for ever the spectre of famine from our country. The crore could be used up for all these things. For this, we need honest workers. Our accounts should be open for inspection even to a child. All hopes for assistance in the future, must naturally depend upon a proper administration of the present trust. We have got in our collections the priceless ornaments of sinless sisters. Many girls have given up all such jewellery as was so dear to them. I know the names of some, but I do not care to publish them. They have not cared for publicity. I think them to be so holy, that I would not like to take their names in vain. They have given only for the joy of giving. One widowed sister gave me all the pearls and rubies that still remained with her. My heart wept within me, as I accepted them. Are we fit recipients of gifts like these? A widow never likes to part with her ornaments, she holds them with all the greater tenacity. I put this sister on her guard, I asked her to have them back, if there was the least hesitation or bashfulness in the act of giving. She did not withdraw, she was already fully determined on the step she took. What, if we use money thus obtained negligently, foolishly or dishonestly? We should not only be disappointed in our hope of Swaraj. We should become the ever hopeless denizens of the darkest hell. I trust that the purity of these sisters—their religious fervour—will keep us on the straight path, will not allow our honour to be tarnished, and will lead to the fulfilment of all our desires and aspirations.

M. K. Gandhi.

(Navajivan)

SUBSCRIPTIONS

for *Young India* should be sent strictly in advance by money order. The paper is not sent by V. P.

THE CHARKHA IN ISLAM.

[These notes have been sent by a Mussalman friend.]

The following is related in *Da-sm-ul-Islam* Vol. II by Kazi Noman ben Mahomed, the Chief Justice of Cairo during the time of the Fatimide Khalifs of Egypt in about the third quarter of the 10th century A. C. He was one of the greatest scholars of the time, and has left a number of books on religion, laws, history, philosophy etc.

"The holy prophet, divine peace be on him, said that the best occupation for a believing woman is the Charkha".

The following commentary on the above occurs in *Kitabun Najah* by Shaikh Ebrahim Sa'fee, who lived nearly 250 years ago.

This shows that the prophet has praised the woman who keeps herself engaged with the Charkha, and similarly he has spoken highly of the occupation of spinning, because there are two excellences in the Charkha. One is, that it is an indoor occupation, and the second is, that it is a means of earning something. How excellent is the occupation, which combines both livelihood in this world and merit in the next!

It is said that the inventor of the Charkha has made the instrument a replica of the physical world. It represents the world in miniature. It consists of two parts, one higher and the other lower, showing heaven and earth. The rotundity of the wheel represents that of the heavens. Its revolutions indicate the revolutions of the planets. It consists of 12 spokes representing 12 constellations. It has two legs upon which it is supported, these represent the two poles north and south. It has a handle, which indicates the responsive quality of the heavens to man's work. It has got an axis, which represents the relation between the powers of the poles and their support of each other. It has a spindle on which the yarn is wound. This represents the earth, which produces all things. There is a thread which connects the spokes with the spindle and rotates it, whereby the cotton is spun. That thread represents the medium, through which pass the influences of the heavenly bodies over the earth. Cotton represents the four elements, out of which all things are produced, and the yarn represents the three products, i.e. mineral, plant and animal. The two hands of the spinner represent the angels who arrange the creation of the creatures. The right hand indicates the angels of heaven, and the left hand those of the earth. Lastly the spinner represents God the Creator. There is no God but He."

[The foregoing description may be too fanciful for the modern reader. It is reproduced to show, if the dates given are right, what value was attached to the spinning-wheel by Mussalman writers two-hundred and fifty years ago. Ed. Y. I.]

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF HATRED

Race hatred is the cheapest and basest of all national passions, and it is the nature of hatred, as it is the nature of love, to change us into the likeness of that which we contemplate. We grow nobly like what we adore, and ignobly like what we hate, and no people in Ireland became so anglicised in intellect and temperament, and even in the manner of expression, as those who hated our neighbours most. All hatreds long persisted in bring us to every baseness for which we hated others. The only laws which we cannot break with impunity are divine laws, and no law is more eternally sure in its workings than that which condemns us to be even as that we condemned. Hate is the high commander of so many armies that an inquiry into the origin of this passion is at least as needful as histories of other contemporary rotatories. Not emperors or parliaments alone raise armies, but this passion also. It will sustain nations in defeat. When everything seems lost, this wild captain will appear and the scattered forces are reunited. They will be as oblivious of danger as if they were divinely inspired, but if they win their battle, it is to become like the conquered foe. All great wars in history, all conquests, all national antagonisms, result in an exchange of characteristics. It is because I wish Ireland to be itself, to act from its own will and its own centre, that I deprecate hatred as a force in national life. It is always possible to win a cause without the aid of this base helper, who betrays us ever in the hour of victory.

When a man finds the feeling of hate for another rising vehemently in himself, he should take it as a warning that conscience is battling in his own being with that very thing he loathes. Nations hate other nations for the evil which is in themselves; but they are as little given to self-analysis as individuals, and while they are right to overcome evil, they should first try to understand the genesis of the passion in their own nature. If we understand this, many of the ironies of history will be intelligible. We will understand why it was that our countrymen in Ulster and our countrymen in the rest of Ireland, who have denounced each other so vehemently, should at last appear to have exchanged characteristics: why in the North, having passionately protested against physical force movements, no-rent manifestos, and contempt for Imperial Parliament, they should have come themselves at last to organise a physical force movement, should threaten to pay no taxes, and should refuse obedience to an Act of Parliament. We will understand why it was their opponents came themselves to address to Ulster all arguments and denunciations Ulster had addressed to them. I do not point this out with intent to annoy, but to illustrate by late history a law in national as well as human psychology. If this unpopular psychology I have explained was adopted everywhere as true, we would never hear expressions of

hate. People would realise they were first revealing and then stabbing their own characters before the world.

A. E.

(*The National Being*.)

UNTOUCHABLE RESPECTABILITY.

The wind of heaven bloweth where it listeth, touching all and cleansing all, and thus proving the unity of humanity. Only the gods in the upper worlds and the dead bodies in tombs refuse its contact, and as a penalty for this sin, are un-touchable. God desires the earth to remain an earth—of course a beautiful earth, but still an earth. But some people, in the zeal of their one-sided thought, conspire to establish here a heaven or a hell. The carcass decomposes because there is no life in it, it stinks. We loath to touch it. It but cumbereth the ground. It has therefore to be burnt or buried. The gods, on the other hand, refuse to touch us. They, therefore, cannot walk on this earth. When they wish to sojourn on the earth, they assume the human form and live and move amongst men as men. When they refuse to do so, they have to agree to remain as sticks and stones locked up within the temple doors.

Hindu society presents us with a similar spectacle of two classes of untouchables, the depressed and the holiest of the holy. The Dhedhs and the Shankaracharyas are alike untouchable. We do not take food with either of them. We always maintain a respectable distance from either of them. Both are equally debarred from the privilege of Vedic rites. Both are outside the pale of Hindu social organisation. As they are, they cannot move in society without endangering public safety. They must be purged of this their untouchability if they are to live amongst us. If we keep the Dhedhs and others in society as untouchables, they will but augment social impurity. We can avoid this in two ways only. Either we see that the untouchables cease to exist in Hindu society or we must regard them as touchables. The Shankaracharyas, too, as the highest representatives of Brahmanical culture, should freely mix in society, think of social well-being and serve society by religious reform, or like dumb idols be content with what worship they get from orthodox society. We know of certain Maharajas who are too great and too noble for any affair of the world. Protection of the people, overcoming a foe, controlling the ministers, framing and administering laws, punishing wrong-doers—all these things are below their dignity. The Prime Minister must look to them. The Maharaja simply condescends to exist. Heaven knows what use the people have for such a Maharaja. Whatever the dignity of the Maharaja, he is from the point of view of society a meaningless, useless, costly non-entity, because he is untouchable. Vedic lore also suffers from untouchability. The Vedas are too holy to be interpreted. They are to be revered not read. The

Sanskrit tongue is the *patra* of the gods. How can mortals dare desecrate it by use? Oh for some champion of these respectable untouchables! When the head and feet prove themselves unfit for social service, is it any wonder that the body-pontic has to crawl on its belly?

If society is to stand on its legs, the untouchable Shankaracharyas and Maharas must leave their untouchability. The Dhedhs and Chamars must also be released from the bonds of untouchability, and all must mix in society as brothers and equals. Then alone can spiritual darkness vanish. Then only can the stain on the bright scutcheon of Hinduism be washed off. Carrying lighted torches by day will not meet the situation.

(*Navajivan.*)

TO TEACHERS OF NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Our schools should become national in the full sense of the term and that at the earliest possible date. A sudden change of text-books is not sufficient for this purpose. The following are offered as points to be borne in mind in this connection.

(1) The vernacular must be the medium of national communication. Hence every educated man should acquire a good command over his own language, and it is impossible for teachers to pay too much attention to the vernacular. Boys should not only be able to write a simple and idiomatic style, but they should be made to drink deep of literature, ancient as well as modern. In the higher classes, facilities should be provided to the boys for extensive reading outside the curriculum. It is desirable that good teachers should read fine literature to the students during extra periods. But this, in order to be really fruitful, must be left to the enthusiasm of individual teachers.

(2) Accounts, diaries, registers, circulars, signatures—everything should be in the vernacular. Except in the English class, the conversation with and the orders to the boys should also be in the vernacular.

(3) Arrangements for teaching Hindustani should be made at the earliest convenience. At least in cities, the Urdu script should also be taught. We wish to create a national Hindustani, in which there should not be an undue importance attached either to the Sanskrit or to the Persian element. Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali words may find a natural place in its vocabulary. But we should guard against forcing them in, in opposition to the genius of the language. Every school should have a Hind. section in its library; a list for this purpose may be had from the Vidyapitha office. It would be advisable to get some current newspaper or monthly, in order to become familiar with current modes of language. The *Balasakha* (Indian Press, A. I. A. B. A.) is very suitable for students.

(4) Schools should have an ideal of simplicity in all matters, insisting at the same time upon a high standard of cleanliness. In point of cleanliness, it would be well always to think of the Muslim mosque, and let the teachers and the students work for it themselves, instead of merely depending upon servants, that will be a liberal education in itself.

(5) National education depends upon Swaraj, and Swaraj in its turn depends upon Swadeshim. Schools, therefore, should try to spread Swadeshi by example as well as precept, steering clear of compulsion or violence. *Khadi* should have a place of honour in the school. The greater our present enthusiasm for spinning, the earlier shall we attain Swaraj; our high hopes about national education will also be fulfilled in the same proportion. The spinning-wheel is the working-capital, as it were, of national education, and no effort must be spared to popularise it.

(6) As the village gets its water from a tank or well, it should receive from the school a new spirit, fresh ideas and a knowledge of novel directions in work. The work of teaching is so all-absorbing for teachers, that it is desirable that so far as may be, they should not directly associate with any other activity. But the conduct of the teachers and the atmosphere of the school should be such, that they might influence the village like fragrant flowers. The teacher should certainly be interested in all manner of things and activities.

(7) It is a great pity that some teachers, having no conception of their duty, consider smoking and similar vices as harmless, and do not stop give them up. Some teachers cannot even now see that abusing students is barbarism pure and simple. If this state of things continues any longer, the students will non-co-operate with them, and the Vidyapitha will be compelled to adopt strict measures.

(8) In this great Swaraj movement, it is a duty laid upon every one of us and the more so upon teachers, to see that peace is kept everywhere. The popular mind should be purged of the tendency to violence. Inflicting corporal punishment upon boys is something that is at least not helpful in this direction.

Gujarat Vidyapitha, }
1977, Vaishakha } NARAYAN DEBARADAS PARIKH.
Vadi 8.

(*Navajivan.*)

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager, Young India,

Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

THE POTENCY OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL

No amount of human ingenuity can manage to distribute water over the whole land, as a shower of rain can. No irrigation department, no rules of precedence, no inspection and no water-cess. Every thing is done with an ease and a gentleness that by their very perfection evade notice. The spinning-wheel, too, has got the same power of distributing work and wealth in millions of houses in the simplest way imaginable. Those of us who do not know what it is to earn a livelihood by the sweat of one's brow, may consider the three annas a day as a pittance beneath the consideration of any man. They do not know that even in these days of high prices, there are districts in India where even three annas a day would be a boon to the poor. But we must not consider the question of the spinning-wheel merely from the point of individual earnings. The spinning-wheel is a force in national regeneration. If we wish for real Swaraj, we must achieve economic independence. Boycott of foreign cloth is its negative aspect. For this we must produce cloth sufficient to clothe the country. This can only be done by hand-spinning. All the mills that we have got, will not be able together to cope with the situation. If all rush for the thin mill-made cloth, it will rise in price beyond the capacity of the poor, and the experience of 1907-08 will be repeated. Moreover, the cloth best suited for the three seasons of India is *Khadi*. Those who have used *Khadi* during this summer, have come to realise, that after the soft clean touch of *Khadi* it is impossible to use sticky Malmal or twills. *Khadi* can enable its wearer to withstand the cold of an average winter as even wool cannot. The climate of India demands that clothes be washed as often as possible. Only *Khadi* can stand this constant wash. *Khadi* was once the dress of the nation at large. One must see to believe how venerable the old Patels and Deshmukhs looked when dressed in home-spun *Khadi*. There are instances of whole villages taking a legitimate pride in the fact that they had to import nothing but salt in the whole round of the six seasons. With such conditions, there could be no drain, no exploitation and therefore no Para-raj. A little village could make terms with the rulers of the land consistent with its self-respect, dignity and independence. Is our love of luxury so inveterate, that we cannot control it even for the sake of Swaraj?

Your laws are violated, yet your mouths remain closed! Woe—woe to the Nation which raises no protest when its rights are outraged! It contributes to its own slavery by its silence. The Nation which submits to injustice and oppression without protest is doomed.

DEAK.

PROGRESS OF NON CO-OPERATION.

ANDHRADESHA (up to 21st May.)

1. Lawyers who suspended practice	...	108
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ARROWS OF FIRE.

THE BARBARIANS.

"Barbarian"—the name by which each nation calls the others—and rightly, for all deserve the name.

We call barbarians the weaker nations when we wish to attack them, and the stronger when they attack us.

When Asia tries to attain to the barbarism of Europe, they say she is becoming civilized.

"Civilization"—a very refined barbarism.

Nations measure their civilization by their power to harm others.

Perhaps bacilli, too, when they invade a body, pretend it is for the progress of the soul.

"Peace"—a truce between the great to enable them to make war on the small.

When the coloured races fight for us they are heroes; when against us, fanatics.

"Colour prejudice"—a kind of skin disease especially malignant among the white peoples.

Savages are those against whom there is no need for a declaration of war.

THE VANQUISHED.

You have said to your enemy: "Cursed be you for having waged war on the strong;" but you an hundredfold more shall be cursed for having waged war on the weak.

PAUL RICHARD.

YOUNG INDIA

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PRICE TWO ANNAS

Notes.

Frontier Friends—Mr. Mahomed Nawazkhan, B. A., LL. B., of Raana writes a long letter on my appeal to the Frontier Friends. I propose to give a brief summary of it instead of reproducing the whole letter, which is too discursive for the columns of *Young India*. He thinks that the tribesmen who learn the message will gladly respond. He traces the history of the annexation of the territory of the tribesmen, and proves that before these territories were annexed, there were practically no raids. Moreover, all were equally armed, and therefore the raided parties were well able to take care of themselves. But after annexation, the tribesmen who were wantonly robbed of their lands treated both the Hindu and the Mussalman inhabitants of the annexed territories as their enemies, the more so as the latter helped the Government in subduing the tribesmen. The writer who claims an intimate acquaintance with the situation, is of opinion, that the tribesmen have been no respecters of religions, and have subjected to their depredations the Hindus and the Mussalmans alike, and that Mussalmans have never been known to assist the Hindus against the raiders. In proof of impartiality, the writer instances the cordial treatment meted out to the Hindus in the independent territory of the Frontier tribes. He states, that the Hindus living there have greater freedom of worship than even in the British territory. Their social status is any day better than under the British Government, and the Mahiks are ever ready with all their might to defend their Hindu friends living within their jurisdiction. The writer gives it as his judgment, that the British Government in the Frontier Province has sinfully abdicated its function of protecting the inhabitants, who have unfortunately come under the so-called protecting wings of the British Empire. He winds up his letter by saying, that the Frontier regulations are worth studying, the procedure there is most arbitrary, and the life and property of the people are at the mercy of military officers who are incapable of giving judicial decisions. Extra Assistant Commissioners, he says, in effect disgrace their commissions and become instruments of injustice and oppression. No man's honour is safe in the hands of these administrators. They have the power to put under lock-up any respectable man upon the slightest suspicion.

An Indian Republic?—An esteemed correspondent writes.

"Your attention must have been drawn to statements made by Maulana Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, that if no settlement is arrived at before Christmas regarding our campaign, an Indian republic will be declared at the Ahmedabad session of the Congress. Special importance attaches to this statement, as it is not made by any irresponsible person but by responsible leaders like the Maulanas. It is felt, however, that the statement is both unfortunate and premature, and is likely to come in the way of the programme laid down for the country by the Congress. The country as a whole has responded magnificently to the appeal of the Congress, and is prepared, excepting certain sections, to work for the attainment of Swaraj. I would ask you to give your views regarding the Maulanas' statement, and to assure the public that no departure from the policy of non-violent non-co-operation accepted by the Congress, will be made."

I am sorry to have to confess, that I have not seen the Maulanas' declaration, but I have no hesitation in giving the assurance, that no stone will be left unturned by me to prevent a departure even by a hair's breadth from the policy of non-violent non-co-operation that has been deliberately adopted by the country. Nor do I entertain the slightest fear of any departure from that policy on the part of the Brothers. I have however no difficulty about understanding the Maulanas' mind. They are quite capable of saying, that if India does not get the relief she demands in the matters of the Punjab and the Khilafat, she will at the next session of the Congress make a declaration of independence. Swaraj within the Empire is a possibility, only if England washes her hands clean of the taint of the Khilafat breach and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. The Congress creed has been purposely made elastic enough to admit of a demand for independence. To go no further, the Maulanas have, after all, if they have, but reiterated the opinion pronounced by Mr. Andrews, who, unlike me, considers that there is no room in the British Empire for a self-respecting and self-governing India, and who expects that some day, I shall myself be driven to that position. I am differently constituted. I never give up hope so long as there is the least chance, and I have faith enough in the

British people to feel, that whilst they will test our determination and strength to the uttermost, they will not carry it to the breaking point. They are too self-conscious to part with an India awakened and strong, for the sake of shielding Dyerism and O'Dwyerism and of the questionable advantage of Greek friendship. The Non-conformist conscience which is ignorantly hostile to the just aspirations of the brave Turks, will prove yielding under the Indian strain which is daily gathering force. Long before the Congress meets, if India proves true to herself, I look forward not to a Declaration of Independence, but to an honourable settlement, that will satisfy the just demand of India as the Punjab and the Khilafat, and that will assure to her full immediate Swaraj in accordance with the wishes of her chosen representatives. Let the reader, however, not run away with the idea, that my forecast is based upon any knowledge of what is going on in Simla or Whitehall. I base it upon my profound belief in the ability of India during the next three months to assert herself, i. e. in the ability of India to carry out an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth, and by still greater self-restraint to prove her ability to adopt civil disobedience of a very stern character.

Difficulties in the Way—I am not however blind to the difficulties that beset our path. The news from Aligarh is disquieting. I have seen the official version and the other in the *Independent*. I shall apologise to the people of Aligarh if I find that I am in the wrong, but the *Independent* correspondent's version is evasive and attempts to prove too much. It does not deny incendiarism on the part of the mob, and seeks entirely to exculpate the latter. I shall require overwhelmingly strong evidence to prove that the authorities in Aligarh acted wantonly and maliciously without the slightest provocation. I am quite prepared to find, that the police wanted to prevent an aggressive demonstration on the part of the mob, and that in so doing they lost self-restraint and opened fire. My point, however, is that there should be no aggressiveness on our part at all. Non-co-operators must not bully or threaten. We are developing quite an irresistible courage which comes only from waiting upon God, in other words, from absolute faith in the righteousness of our cause. If we want to finish our programme successfully, and during this year, we have no time for bluster or a show of force. We must be scrupulously truthful to our pledge. We can succeed beyond all expectation, only if we remain non-violent in thought, word and deed. It need not be our final creed, but it must be our present creed for the attainment of our goal. There need be no difficulty in our not thinking or speaking ill of our adversary, as we have found it easy enough on the whole to restrain ourselves from doing ill to him. We must not use the pledge of non-violence and truth to cover violence and exaggeration, if not untruth. Nor must we be afraid to let our best comrades go to jail. I adhere to the belief so often expressed by me, that Pandit Sunderlal and

now Pandit Makhanlal are serving the community better being in jail for the sake of conscience, than they would have being free. Those who think otherwise, in my opinion, do not understand the dynamics of non-co-operation. The dynamic force behind this great movement is not vocal propaganda, but the silent propaganda carried on by the sufferings of the innocent victims of a mad Government.

A Sufferer's Letter—A few days before Pandit Sunderlal was arrested, he wrote to me a long letter. I give below a free translation of the relevant part of it. The whole of it appeared to me to be natural and frank. Needless to say, it was written purely for my own edification.

"I have become a firm believer in non-violence for regaining Swaraj. My intellect has fully grasped the principle. I have come to regard it not merely as a weapon of the weak, but equally as a weapon of the strong. I wish, however, to confess, that for many years I have held the opposite and false doctrine of violence. I am therefore assiduously remodelling my life in accordance with the new conception. If I have a feeling of uneasiness over my imprisonment which is said to be pending, it is about the work that I have started in the Central Provinces. I shall be sorry, if that work suffers because of a single incautious utterance of mine. But the joy and the satisfaction that possess me at the moment consist in the thought, that possibly my life will be better built by the hard discipline of a British jail. To die in jail or to be hammered into shape (after the new style) for the service of humanity is equally pleasing to me. I am therefore fully prepared for the impending arrest."

I am sure that hundreds of non-co-operators, who are suffering imprisonment, are fired by the same spirit as has actuated Pandit Sunderlal. The Aligarh people should have joyously allowed their comrade to be imprisoned, and stepped into his place and taken up his work. All we need do is to fill up the places that may be left vacant by our co-workers. We have a clear-cut programme. To prosecute it to the end is to secure all we want.

Threat against the 'Zamindar'—The *Zamindar* of Lahore edited by Mr. Jafar Ali Khan up to the time of his incarceration and now edited by his son, is, I understand, threatened with prosecution. The Editor has been asked to tender an untruthful apology, if he wishes to avoid a prosecution. He has been asked to withdraw certain statements made by him which he himself believes. One of them is the reported bombardment of Najaf. He has copied the information from other papers. Thousands of Mussalmans believe in the bombardment. He has assured the Government, that if responsible independent Mussalmans went to the spot and investigated the matter and denied the truth of the bombardment, he would be prepared to withdraw the statement. One would imagine, that the offer was perfectly honourable. He has published a spirited poem, some of whose lines can be interpreted as

incitement to violence. He has offered as a non-co-operator to apologise for those lines, not because he fears prosecution, but because he does not want to place himself in a false position regarding his creed of non-violence. The third statement objected to by the Government has reference to the report of and commentary upon a case in Bengal, wherein a European is reported to have killed a Khansama and to have been fined Rs. 300 by the court. The comment objected to is, that the British courts give licence to Europeans to kill Indians for Rs. 300 as a fine. The comment is no doubt severe, but there is certainly no incitement to violence in it, and it is not unjustified by the several miscarriages of justice recently reported in the Press. The Government have no notion how deep the belief has sunk in the Indian mind, that even-handed justice as between Europeans and Indians is almost an impossibility. The fourth charge against the Zamindar is the reproduction of Moulana Mahomed Ali's statement regarding the Afghan begoy. This idea of asking for apologies from editors and public men under threat of prosecution, is a parody of the apology of the A.I. Brothers. For the U. P. Government have been trying the same thing upon the editor of the *Independent* and others. I do not know, what has happened in Allahabad as a result of the Government's unseemly effort to obtain apologies from self-respecting non-co-operators. The more straightforward and honourable course would be to send to jail all the non-co-operators whom the Government do not like. Let them not move from the Punjab type of humiliation to the subtler type in the shape of abject apologies.

Co-operation and Non-co-operation defined.—It is no small thing for the country, that Dwijendra-nath Tagore fondly known as Bada Dada by his friends, follows with keen attention even in his old age and in his seclusion at Santiniketan all that is going on in the country. Mr. Andrews has circulated a free translation of his latest thoughts on non-co-operation. Although the whole of it is published in the daily press, I cannot resist reproducing his definitions of co-operation and non-co-operation; they are so true and telling. Writing of the former he says, "Our rulers, in order to hide their despotic measures from the world's eye, dressed up a puppet show in the form of Legislative Councils, in which a few platform orators have been invited to co-operate. Our rulers believe, that by doing so, they have placed us under an eternal debt of gratitude, but in reality they have only added insult to injury. These Councils cling to us now, and threaten to choke us like the old man in the story of Sindbad the sailor." "If this is the meaning of co-operation," proceeds Bada Dada, "according to our English rulers, then it is no very difficult matter to understand what non-co-operation means to us. We shall never accept, even if it costs us our lives to refuse it, anything that will bring evil upon our country. That is non-co-operation."

Worthy of Imitation.—Mr. Vithalbhai Patel is never so happy as when he is fighting Municipal or Legislative Councils. He was therefore in his element on the 6th inst., when he moved and carried in the Thana District Board the following resolutions:—

1. This Board expresses its sorrow to find that the sale of liquor is on the increase, resulting in the loss of public morals, health and wealth.

2. This Board welcomes the popular movement for removing the evil, and congratulates the organisers upon this exhibition of a spirit of public service.

3. This Board notes with regret the absence of any power of prohibiting the sale of liquor within its jurisdiction. Therefore, the Board is of opinion, that it should take advantage of all the powers it possesses of undertaking picketing on its responsibility, of helping Congress Committees and of compensating those liquor-dealers who may voluntarily undertake to close their shops.

4. For the purposes aforesaid, the Board hereby appoints a Committee consisting of the Chairman, the Vice-chairman—the mover—and Mr. Acharya with powers to conduct or control picketing and to bring about total prohibition.

5. The Board authorises the said committee to incur an expense not exceeding Rs. 3000 as a beginning, and will be prepared to incur greater expenditure in future if necessary.

This is distinctly a courageous step. If the Board persists in the enforcement of its resolutions to the bitter end, and brings about a speedy closing of all the liquor-shops within its jurisdiction, it will have covered itself with glory, and will have rendered a signal service to the country. I hope that Mr. Patel's initiative will be copied by other members and councillors throughout India. A simultaneous move on the part of Local Boards and Municipalities all over India will strengthen the hands of reformers a-fore, will force the hands of the Government and is therefore likely to obviate all danger of violence, which a three-cornered tussle between pickets, the police and the publicans is likely to precipitate.

The Arms Act.—The refusal of the Magistrate of Bijnor District to renew the fire-arms licence in favour of the Assistant Governor of Kangri Gurukul, brought to light by Swami Shraddhanand, is an eloquent demonstration of the utter fatality of the Reforms. If Swami Shraddhanand's guess that the refusal is due to his having been prominently identified with non-co-operation turns out to be true, it will show, that in things affecting the daily life of the people, there is absolutely no change in the methods of administration or the conduct of officials except such as has been compelled by the pressure of non-co-operation. But the public were hardly prepared for the callous indifference of the District Magistrate of Bijnor in respect of a citizen of the known standing of Swami Shraddhanand. I have characterised the indifference as

(to be concluded on page 222)

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 13th July, 1921.

A RUNNING SORE

BY M. K. GANDHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the Liberal League Deputation from the United Provinces, delivered an address which was more cautious than his reply to the Ahmadiyya Deputation. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remind His Excellency, that in it he has asked India to do the impossible. Liberals and Nationalists, co-operators and non-co-operators, Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all who call themselves Indians insist, each in his own way, upon the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs being righted. His Excellency is still pressing the Khilafat claim. That is hopeful, in that he does not ask the Mussalmans of India and their Hindu and other countrymen to forget the Khilafat wrong. But he clearly asks us to forget the Punjab wrong. The task is as impossible as it would be for a physician to make a patient forget—except under the temporary influence of some stupefying drug—his painful disease. The Punjab wrong is like a running sore, and even as a running sore cannot be healed unless the whole of the poison is removed, so can the Punjab wrong not be forgotten and forgiven, unless and until the poison in the shape of pensions to and continued employment of unrepentant and faithless servants has been removed. Does Lord Reading imagine that India is reconciled to the translation of Mr Thomson to a higher post? He asks us to give him and his Government credit for sincerity and honesty of purpose. He may have that credit, but there arises immediately upon the grant of that credit the belief, that there is a fundamental difference between the Government's and the people's outlook upon vital matters. And so long as Lord Reading and his Government continue, he it ever so sincerely, to ask India to be reconciled to the retention on the pension list or on the service list of the names of those, who have from an Indian standpoint proved unworthy of the trust imposed in them, so long there can be no meeting-ground between the Government and the people. If we have even a semblance of responsibility given to us, surely we must have the right to dismiss from service those who have atrociously wronged us. To me it is a supreme test of responsibility—the righting of the two wrongs. The injustice of the Khilafat wrong is admitted. The atrocity in the Punjab is written in letters of blood. We admit that we did wrong in Amritsar, in Kasur, in Jalianwala and in Gujranwala. We have been made to pay for it heavily. We have been humiliated, kicked, both the innocent and the guilty have been hanged. We have ourselves made a frank, free and open confession from many a platform. We ask for no liberation of official wrong-doers. All we ask is,

that they may not be imposed upon us as masters. An English official once frankly told me, that rather than be party, by remaining in the service, to the removal from the pension list of Sir Michael O'Dwyer or General Dyer, he would resign. I told him, that whilst I could see my way to sympathise with such an attitude, he must not expect me to agree with him. Nor did he. Hundreds, if not thousands of Englishmen and Englishwomen consider Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer as saviours of the Empire and the honour of their kind. It is highly likely, that if I were an Englishman intent upon holding India at any cost, I would feel even as they. But I hold, that so long as that attitude is retained, so long must co-operation between the Government and the people be impossible. Non-co-operation alone can open the eyes of Englishmen to the fact, that co-operation with them in the Government of the country involves an acceptance of their attitude. But it is inconsistent with their position as friends and associates. They may not remain in India on the strength of their bayonets. They can remain only on the strength of our goodwill. That and that alone must be the binding force between them and us. Let them not mock us by professing equality on the lips and by maintaining behind their entrenchments an unassailable superiority. As a shrewd man of the world, Lord Reading, I hope, will soon recognise the impossibility of reconciling two opposite attitudes. Had there been a middle course, non-co-operators would have adopted it long ago. It is not a question of hatred or ill-will on the part of the vast mass of people. I invite him to drive the probe deep enough, and he would find that weak as we are, we can no longer tolerate the cult of white superiority. Lip professions, well meaning and sincere though they may be, can serve no useful purpose. We are idolatrous enough to demand ocular proof of equality. Does he not see, that the existence of white soldiers may be a necessity for the safety of Englishmen, never for the safety of the Indian Border? Englishmen must be prepared to live in India precisely on the same terms as the Parsis. A mere handful of the latter have remained for the last thousand years as honoured friends and partners. They have needed no special protection, no fort to retire to in times of danger from enraged Hindus or Mussalmans. Have not the followers of Moses and Jesus the faith of those of Zoroaster? The plain fact is, that Englishmen are not prepared to remain in India on the sufferance of the millions of Hindus and Mussalmans. The latter are not prepared to give the former any advantageous position by reason of their controlling all the most destructive appliances that human ingenuity has ever invented. There is no choice before the latter but that of making a supreme effort to neutralise the effect of all those appliances by ceasing to fear them, i. e. by non-resistance. This may all appear to be arrogant or visionary. I hope, however that Lord Reading at any rate will soon find that I have

spoken the real mind of India. And the sooner this fundamental truth is realised, the sooner will there be real hearty co-operation between Englishmen and Indians. I am longing for such co-operation, and it is this very longing which deters me from accepting any apology, no matter how tempting, for co-operation. Non-co-operation is not born of ignorance and ill-will, but it is the only effective step towards co-operation, and therefore it rises from knowledge and love.

TO EVERY ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA.

DEAR FRIEND,

This is the second time I venture to address you. I know, that most of you detest non-co-operation. But I would invite you to isolate two of my activities from the rest, if you can give me credit for honesty.

I cannot prove my honesty, if you do not feel it. Some of my Indian friends charge me with camouflage, when I say we need not hate Englishmen, whilst we may hate the system they have established. I am trying to show them, that one may detest the wickedness of a brother without hating him. Jesus denounced the wickedness of the Scribes and the Pharisees, but he did not hate them. He did not enunciate this law of love for the man and hate for the evil in him for himself only, but he taught the doctrine for universal practice. Indeed, I find it in all the scriptures of the world.

I claim to be a fairly accurate student of human nature and vivisector of my own failings. I have discovered, that man is superior to the system he propounds. And so I feel, that you as an individual are infinitely better than the system you have evolved as a corporation. Each one of my countrymen in Amritsar on that fateful 10th of April was better than the crowd of which he was a member. He, as a man, would have declined to kill those innocent English bank managers. But in that crowd, many a man forgot himself. Hence it is, that an Englishman in office is different from an Englishman outside. Similarly an Englishman in India is different from an Englishman in England. Here in India, you belong to a system that is vile beyond description. It is possible, therefore, for me to condemn the system in the strongest terms, without considering you to be bad and without imputing bad motives to every Englishman. You are as much slaves of the system as we are. I want you, therefore, to reciprocate, and not impute to me motives which you cannot read in the written word. I give you the whole of my motive when I tell you, that I am impatient to end or mend a system, which has made India subservient to a handful of you and which has made Englishmen feel secure only in the shadow of the forts and the guns that obtrude themselves on one's notice in India. It is a degrading spectacle for you and for us. Our corporate life is based on mutual distrust and fear. This, you will admit, is unmanly. A system that is responsible for such a state of things, is necessarily satanic. You should be able to

live in India as an integral part of its people and not always as foreign exploiters. One thousand Indian lives against one English life is a doctrine of dark despair, and yet, believe me, it was enunciated in 1919 by the highest of you in the land.

I almost feel tempted to invite you to join me in destroying a system that has dragged both you and us down. But I feel I cannot as yet do so. We have not shown ourselves earnest, self-sacrificing and self-restrained enough for that consummation.

But I do ask you to help us in the boycott of foreign cloth and in the anti-drink campaign.

The Lancashire cloth, as English historians have shown, was forced upon India, and her own world-famed manufactures were deliberately and systematically ruined. India is, therefore, as the marionette not only of Lancashire but also of Japan, France, and America. Just see what this has meant to India. We send out of India every year sixty crores (more or less) of rupees for cloth. We grow enough cotton for our own cloth. Is it not madness to send cotton outside India, and have it manufactured into cloth there and shipped to us? Was it right to reduce India to such a helpless state?

A hundred and fifty years ago, we manufactured all our cloth. Our women spun fine yarn in their own cottages, and supplemented the earnings of their husbands. The village weavers wove that yarn. It was an indispensable part of national economy in a vast agricultural country like ours. It enabled us in a most natural manner to utilise our leisure. To-day our women have lost the cunning of their hands, and the enforced idleness of millions has impoverished the land. Many weavers have become sweepers. Some have taken to the profession of hired soldiers. Half the race of artistic weavers has died out, and the other half is weaving imported foreign yarn for want of finer hand-spun yarn.

You will perhaps now understand what boycott of foreign cloth means to India. It is not devised as a punishment. If the Government were to-day to redress the Khulafat and the Punjab wrongs and consent to India attaining immediate Swaraj, the boycott movement must still continue. Swaraj means at least the power to conserve Indian industries that are vital to the economic existence of the nation, and to prohibit such imports as may interfere with such existence. Agriculture and hand-spinning are the two lungs of the national body. They must be protected against consumption at any cost.

This matter does not admit of any waiting. The interests of the foreign manufacturers and the Indian importers cannot be considered, when the whole nation is starving for want of a large productive occupation ancillary to agriculture.

You will not mistake this for a movement of general boycott of foreign goods. India does not wish to shut herself out of international commerce. Things other than cloth which can be better made

outside India, she must gratefully receive upon terms advantageous to the contracting parties. Nothing can be forced upon her. But I do not wish to peep into the future. I am certainly hoping, that before long it would be possible for India to co-operate with England on equal terms. Then will be the time for examining trade relations. For the time being, I bespeak your help in bringing about a boycott of foreign cloth.

Of similar and equal importance is the campaign against drink. The liquor-shops are an innumerable curse imposed upon society. There never was so much awakening among the people as now, upon this question. I admit, that here, it is the Indian ministers who can help more than you can. But I would like you to speak out your mind clearly on the question. Under every system of government, total prohibition, so far as I can see, will be insisted upon by the nation. You can assist the growth of the ever-rising agitation by throwing in the weight of your influence on the side of the nation.

I am,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI.

A CONFESSION OF FAITH

By M. K. GANDHI.

A strange anonymous letter has been received by me, admiring me for having taken up a cause that was dearest to Lokamanya's heart, and telling me that his spirit was residing in me and that I must prove a worthy follower of his. The letter, moreover, admonishes me not to lose heart in the prosecution of the Swaraj programme, and finishes off by accusing me of imposture in claiming to be politically a disciple of Gokhale. I wish, correspondents will throw off the slavish habit of writing anonymously. We, who are developing the Swaraj spirit, must cultivate the courage of fearlessly speaking out our mind. The subject-matter of the letter, however, being of public importance, demands a reply. I cannot claim the honour of being a follower of the late Lokamanya. I admire him like millions of his countrymen for his indomitable will, his vast learning, his love of country, and above all, the purity of his private life and great sacrifice. Of all the men of modern times, he captivated most the imagination of his people. He breathed into us the spirit of Swaraj. No one perhaps realised the evil of the existing system of Government as Mr. Tilak did. And in all humility I claim to deliver his message to the country as truly as the best of his disciples. But I am conscious that my method is not Mr. Tilak's method. And that is why I have still difficulty with some of the Maharashtra leaders. But I sincerely think, that Mr. Tilak did not disbelieve in my method. I enjoyed the privilege of his confidence. And his last word to me in the presence of several friends was, just a fortnight before his death, that mine was an excellent method if the people could be persuaded to take to it. But he said he had doubts. I know no other method, I can only hope, that

when the final test comes the country will be proved to have assimilated the method of non-violent non-co-operation. Nor am I unaware of my other limitations. I can lay no claim to scholarship. I have not his powers of organisation, I have no compact disciplined party to lead, and having been an exile for twenty-three years, I cannot claim the experience that the Lokamanya had of India. Two things we had in common to the fullest measure—love of country and the steady pursuit of Swaraj. I can therefore, assure the anonymous writer, that yielding to none in my reverence for the memory of the deceased, I will march side by side with the foremost of the Lokamanya's disciples in the pursuit of Swaraj. I know, that the only offering acceptable to him is the quickest attainment of Swaraj by India. That and nothing else can give his spirit peace.

Discipleship, however, is a sacred personal matter. I fell at Dadabhai's feet in 1888, but he seemed to be too far away from me. I could be as son to him, not disciple. A disciple is more than son. Discipleship is a second birth. It is a voluntary surrender. In 1896 I met almost all the known leaders of India in connection with my South African mission. Justice Ranade awed me. I could hardly talk in his presence. Badruddin Taiyabji fathered me, and asked me to be guided by Ranade and Pherozeshah. The latter became a patron. His will had to be law. "You must address a public meeting on the 26th September, and you must be punctual," I obeyed. On the 25th evening I was to wait on him. I did.

"Have you written out your speech?" he inquired.

B. . .

"That won't do, young man. Can you write it out to-night?"

"Munshi, you must go to Mr. Gandhi and receive the manuscript from him. It must be printed over night and you must send me a copy." Turning to me, he added, "Gandhi, you must not write a long speech, you do not know Bombay audiences cannot stand long addresses." I bowed.

The lion of Bombay taught me to take orders. He did not make me his disciple. He did not even try.

I went thence to Poona. I was an utter stranger. My host first took me to Mr. Tilak. I met him surrounded by his companions. He listened, and said, "We must arrange a meeting for you. But perhaps you do not know, that we have unfortunately two parties. You must give us a non-party man as chairman. Will you see Dr. Bhandarkar?" I consented and retired. I have no firm impression of Mr. Tilak, except to recall that he shook off my nervousness by his affectionate familiarity. I went thence, I think, to Gokhale, and then to Dr. Bhandarkar. The latter greeted me, as a teacher his pupil.

"You seem to be an earnest and enthusiastic young man. Many people do not come to see me at this the hottest part of the day. I never now-a-days attend public meetings. But you have recited such a pathetic story that I must make an exception in your favour."

I worshipped the venerable doctor with his wise counsel. But I could not find for him a place on that little throne. It was still unoccupied. I had many heroes but no king.

It was different with Gokhale, I cannot say why. I met him at his quarters on the college ground. It was like meeting an old friend, or better still a mother after a long separation. His gentle face put me at ease in a moment. His minute inquiries about myself and my doings in South Africa at once enshrined him in my heart. And as I parted from him, I said to myself, 'you are my man.' And from that moment Gokhale never lost sight of me. In 1901 on my second return from South Africa, we came closer still. He simply 'took me in hand,' and began to fashion me. He was concerned about how I spoke, dressed, walked and ate. My mother was not more solicitous about me than Gokhale. There was, so far as I am aware, no reserve between us. It was really a case of love at first sight, and it stood the severest strain in 1913. He seemed to me all I wanted as a political worker—pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault. It does not matter to me, that he may not have been any of these things. It was enough for me, that I could discover no fault in him to cavil at. He was and remains for me the most perfect man on the political field. Not, therefore, that we had no differences. We differed even in 1901 in our views on social customs, e. g. widow remarriage. We discovered differences in our estimate of western civilization. He frankly differed from me in my extreme views on non violence. But these differences mattered neither to him nor to me. Nothing could put us asunder. It were blasphemous to conjecture what would have happened if he were alive to-day. I know, that I would have been working under him. I have made this confession, because the anonymous letter hurt me, when it accused me of imposture about my political discipleship. Had I been remiss in my acknowledgment to him who is now dumb? I thought, I must declare my faithfulness to Gokhale, especially when I seemed to be living in a camp which the Indian world culls opposite

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ADUMER—The Ali Brothers do not live upon the Khilafat Funds.

R. J. VARMA—Certainly collections must continue even after the All India Congress Committee Meeting, where the full quota for the *taluka*, district or province has not been made up. And no one who has already subscribed can honourably withhold his subscription, because the full quota has been otherwise made up. Pleaders, who, having suspended practice in terms of the Congress resolution, resume it, cannot, with any sense of decency, hold office in a Congress Committee.

SWARAJ—If any Swadeshi store is selling Japanese cloth in the name of Swadeshi, it should certainly be exposed and boycotted. Enlightened active public opinion is the surest remedy against such frauds. Moreover, people should reject all fine stuff. Hand-spun and hand-woven stuff is unmistakable

(concluded from page 219)

callous, because the gun sought to be licensed was required not for the purposes of sport but of self-defence in the midst of a jungle infested with wild beasts.

Under False Pretences?—I have already adverted to the prosecution and conviction of Pandit Makhanlal Chaturvedi. I have just received a copy of his statement before the court. He refused to defend himself by leading evidence or otherwise, but made his statement before the court with merely a reiteration of his creed of non-violence. The reader, however, will be startled as I was, to find, that if Pandit Makhanlal's statement may be relied upon, he was prosecuted in reality not for what was his actual offence in the estimation of the Government, but for an inoffensive speech. The following is the part of the statement I have in mind. From it one can see, that when the prosecution was decided upon, Makhanlalji had not spoken at all.

"I have been the Editor of the *Karmavir* published from Jabalpur. In the course of my journalistic duties, I have had occasions to ventilate many public grievances and to criticise several administrative measures in the province. The district administration of Narsimhpur had fallen into disrepute, and it became a matter of duty fearlessly to expose in the columns of my paper the scandals connected with the administration of Mr. J. C. Bourne, the Deputy Commissioner. The local officials there systematically tyrannised over the people, and as was stated in the Legislative Council, 'a body of police force had invaded a village, tortured the people, spat at their faces, kicked them with their shoes, arrested and maltreated them, starved them for a number of days and lastly violated the honour of women.' As a result of the exposure, I have become the object of Government wrath, and it is not at all surprising to me, that the C. P. Government should prosecute me for a speech made at the Bilaspur Conference on the 12th of March 1921, when the Home Member of the Government publicly announced on the 4th of March in the Central Provinces Legislative Council that my prosecution was already awaiting the sanction of the Government. I venture to state, that if I had not fearlessly exposed the corrupt character of the Bourne regime at Narsimhpur, this prosecution would not have been launched. I admit to have made a speech at the Bilaspur District Conference on the 12th March, but assert, that the speech as reported by the Government reporters neither represents my views, nor is an honest and correct report of what I spoke at the meeting. I am a strict and loyal adherent of the non-violent non-co-operation creed of the Indian National Congress, and have honestly worked within the letter and the spirit of the resolution as passed at the Nagpur

Thus, the Government had decided upon prosecution on the 4th of March, whereas actual prosecution took place for a speech delivered on the

12th of March. Why was he not prosecuted in connection with his exposure of the administration at Narsinhpur? I do not know whether there is any truth in the charges against the Narsinhpur administration. But there is certainly something very wrong somewhere.

Blasphemy—A correspondent writes:—"I regret very much to inform you, that one constantly sees pictures in which you and other leaders have been represented as Shrikrishna and Pandava respectively. Will you not use your influence to stop this, as it must hurt the religious feelings of many like myself, who consider Shrikrishna to have been not merely a great man but God incarnate?" The correspondent has my faintest sympathy. I have not seen the pictures, but I hold it to be a blasphemy to represent me as Shrikrishna. I claim to be a humble worker and no more among many in a great cause, which can only be injured rather than advanced by glorification of its leaders. A cause has the best chance of success, when it is examined and followed on its own merits. Measures must always in a progressive society be held superior to men, who are after all imperfect instruments, working for their fulfilment. I would therefore urge, with all the strength at my command, enthusiasts or enterprising businessmen to observe some sense of proportion and withdraw all such pictures, which like the one under notice are undoubtedly calculated to wound deep religious susceptibilities.

Karachi Schools—I owe an apology to Mr. Jagtiani for not publishing earlier his important explanation regarding his school. The fact is, that during my incessant travelling, I have not been able to cope with all my correspondence. Having got breathing time in Bombay, I am endeavouring to overtake arrears, and I have only just come across his letter. Here is the relevant part of it.

"A letter on the subject of suspicious finance of schools has already appeared in *Young India*. I agree with the writer. I am Principal of the "Tilakalaya", about which rumours seem to have been set afloat by some of my opponents. The school was started by me in November last, one month after I had non-co-operated. Not being able to secure assistance from the Khilafat Committee, I depended upon individual support. A new school wants some time to put itself on its legs. But in the case of my school, I began at the very start to hear rumours about my "fat salary", although the plain fact is, not only that I have drawn no salary as yet, but that there is a deficit of about Rs. 1200 up to the 31st of May 1921. As regards finance, the school has a financial board with Mr. Durgadas B. Advani as Chairman. The board met, and the accounts duly audited by a professional accountant appointed by the Committee have been passed, and a statement of accounts will be published in the report. This is the usual procedure which was to be followed. None of the schools receiving public support has followed any other course or been asked to publish accounts

periodically. You will thus see the injustice of the reports that have occasioned your writing; the reports are apparently the result of personal grudge."

I am not publishing the remainder, which relates to purely local and personal matters. I do not think, that any good purpose can be served by a public discussion of such things. We must develop a capacity for putting up with small annoyances and agreeing with our adversaries quickly.

In Lord Sinha's Land—Orissa is the poorest province perhaps in all India. Its people are the most inoffensive. The *Samaj* is an Utkal newspaper. A correspondent describing the official lawlessness in a small state called Keonjhar writes to the *Samaj*:—

"You are doubtless getting certain information regarding the affairs in Keonjhar. But the internal conditions are not probably known to you. These internal conditions the state authorities are trying their best to suppress, and thereby reduce the people to utter helplessness. The post offices are closed so to say. No one gets a newspaper to read. Letters are neither despatched nor delivered. They are first taken to the authorities for perusal, after which they are dealt with according to their contents. The *Samaj* has been prohibited by circular. So it is not found here. Secondly, no one is allowed to go from one place to another. The roads are guarded by regular watchmen. The way-farers are searched on the suspicion of their being in possession of information, and whoever is suspected is prohibited from going farther. In this way no stone is left unturned in the attempt to oppress the people who are utterly helpless. One Nishakar Mishra, from among the people who had been beaten, is reported to have died by it. This news has been suppressed. Another, by name Jagadbandhu Chakrabarti, is on the point of death, and hardly expected to live. They say that he is in solitary confinement. But no one knows where he is. People strongly believe, that the authorities are doing their best to suppress the news of deaths.

I have more corroborative correspondence too on the point. The reader must not confound this state with the states of Western India. In the Utkal states, the English political agent is the supreme master and acts just as he pleases. The *Zoolam* described above is going on, because the people countenanced non-co-operation workers. The only comfort I can send them is, that they should suffer whilst India's chains remain fastened to her. I would advise non-co-operators not to touch the places, where they cannot give any relief in the event of oppression breaking out. If the Utkal people were strong and organised, I would have no hesitation in asking them to enter these so-called state territories, break through every one of the inhuman restrictions and invite all the penalties of the law. But I fear that the time is not yet. We must learn much greater self-restraint than we have up to now. What we have already cultivated is hopeful, but more is undoubtedly needed.

M. K. G.

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{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

Notes.

Some 'ifs'—If you are a weaver feeling for the country, the Khilafat and the Punjab,

(1) You should weave only hand-spun yarn, and charge so as to give you a living. You should overcome all the difficulties of sizing and adjusting your loom to the requirements of coarse yarn.

(2) If you cannot possibly tackle handspun yarn for warp, you must use Indian mill-spun yarn for it and use handspun for woof.

(3) Where even the second alternative is not possible, you should use mill-spun yarn for both warp and woof.

But you should henceforth cease to use any foreign yarn, whether it is silk or cotton.

If you are a Congress official or worker, you should get hold of the weavers within your jurisdiction, and place the foregoing propositions before them for acceptance and help them to the best of your ability.

If you are a buyer, insist upon the first class of cloth, but if you have not the sense or the courage to do so, take up the second or the third, but on no account purchase foreign cloth or cloth woven in India but made of foreign yarn.

If you are a householder,

(1) You should make a fixed determination henceforth not to buy any foreign cloth.

(2) You should interview the weaver in your neighbourhood, and get him to weave for you enough Khadi out of homespun and failing that to weave out of Indian mill-spun yarn.

(3) You should deliver to the Congress Committee all your foreign cloth for destruction or sending to Smyrna or elsewhere outside India.

(4) If you have not the courage to give up your foreign cloth, you may wear it out at home for all dirty work, but never go out in foreign cloth.

(5) If you have any leisure, you should devote it to learning the art of spinning even, properly-twisted yarn for the sake of the nation.

If you are a schoolboy or schoolgirl, you should consider it a sin to receive literary training, before you have spun, carded or woven for the nation for at least four hours per day till the establishment of Swaraj.

Congress Committees—People are asking me, whether one crore members have been placed

on the Congress register. I have not the accurate figures before me, but I do know that we have nearly reached the figure, if we can be satisfied with the mere mechanical registration. Let us however understand the implication. It is that we have one crore men and women who believe in and wish to work for the Congress creed. Boycott of foreign cloth is the acid test. If we have one crore of men and women of one mind in India, we must have an ocular proof of it in our streets and villages. Do we see as we walk about, that one out of every thirty men and women is dressed in Khadi or at least Swadeshi? Do the majority of those who make our audiences present the appearance of Swadeshi? The answer must be a reluctant but an emphatic no. I would, therefore, advise all Congress organisations to mind nothing but Swadeshi, till we have brought about a complete boycott of foreign cloth. In order to be able to do this, it is high time that every Congress worker dressed himself or herself in coarse Khadi. That must be the Swaraj soldier's uniform. I am looking forward to the All India Congress Committee meeting, hoping that the members will bear on their persons the mark of soldiership. If we are to attain complete boycott say by the 31st August, the Congress organisations must become carding, spinning and weaving institutes. Congress workers must become experts in carding spinning and weaving. Let them not write helplessly to the Ashram at Sabarmati for information and guidance. Thank God, every province has now some knowledge of these processes. The workers in each province must befriend carders (Pinjars), spinners and weavers, learn the trade from them, so that they may be able to protect it and not compete with them. Let them also befriend carpenters and blacksmiths for charkhas and spindles. Let them stock sufficient Khadi and sell it at cost price, the cost to include the expense of running the store. In other words, every Congress office must for the time being be an arsenal for the storage and manufacture of peaceful ammunition. Is this a ludicrous or impossible demand? Was not every available hand in England, France and Germany working for furthering the objects of the war? If we believe that Swaraj is unattainable without Swadeshi, does it not follow that we must ceaselessly and intelligently devote our attention to boycott, manufacture and distribution to the almost entire exclusion of every other activity? All meetings, and all declamation at our meetings when they are

held, must be stopped. We must consider our weaknesses and shortcomings, rather than contemplate the rulers'. Contemplation of the latter can only breed hatred, weakness and helplessness. That of the former and consequent action will give us courage, strength and hope. If, therefore, we hold meetings, they must be simply business meetings to demonstrate the necessity of boycott and manufacture, and to show the way thereto.

The Coming A. I. C. C. Meeting—Much depends upon the coming meeting of the All India Congress Committee. We have no time for wrangling or idle discussion. We must be able to say, whether India can be organised during the next few months for the establishment of Swaraj and vindication of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, whether we are of one mind on the essentials of success, and whether we are prepared to work heart and soul therefor. It is to be hoped, that responsible officials in their respective provinces will come prepared with figures as to

- (a) the amount of the Tilak Swaraj Fund,
- (b) the number of members on the Congress register,
- (c) the number of charkhas in working order and their total output to-date,
- (d) the number of carders,
- (e) the number of weavers of (1) handspun, (2) Indian mill-spun and (3) foreign yarn,
- (f) the number of importers of foreign cloth.

They will also come prepared to give the necessary information on the prospects of civil disobedience and suspension of payment of taxes.

The Committee meeting, I hope, will be businesslike and chary of wasting a single moment of national time in vain discussion.

Mill-made Khadi—A correspondent draws my attention to the fact, that there is now on the market Khadi made in our mills and even brought from Japan. I find it difficult to believe this. Has commerce fallen so low, that it must intrude upon even sacred soil? Our mills have enough work for their machines without trying to take the bread out of the mouths of the poor workers in their cottages. But let the consumer beware. Handspun is unmistakable, especially when it is unbleached and unwashed. Let him beware of cloth that looks like mill-made and is yet claimed to be handspun and handwoven. The fact is, that handspun has and ought to have an individuality about it. It must have a finish peculiar to it, and it should never have the dead glossiness of mill-made cloth. Hand-spun Khadi has a roughness that is soothing. The hand-made Khadi is absorbent, light, pleasant to the touch, and it cannot be produced at 4 annas a yard without sweating both the weaver and the spinner, unless it is manufactured entirely from waste when it is flimsy and wears away after a few washes. And it is best always to buy from stores one knows. The Congress Committees in Bombay and Ahmedabad have taken to certifying stores, where pure Khadi can be purchased at reasonable prices. Only that is Khadi, whose warp and woof are handspun and which is handwoven.

The Kirpan—The Kirpan—the Sikh sword—is for the Sikh, 'what', says the Secretary of the Sikh Young Men's Association, 'the sacred thread is to the Brahman.' And now the Punjab Government is trying to divest the Sikhs of their 'sacred thread' by restricting its length and breadth. Much as I abhor the possession or the use of arms, I cannot reconcile myself to forcible prohibition. As I said three years ago, this forcible disarmament of a people will be regarded by history as one of the blackest sins committed by the British Government against India. If people want to possess arms, they ought to have them without ado. But in the case of the Sikhs who have held Kirpans without let or hindrance all these years, the crime is worse. The Secretary has no difficulty in proving, that this war against the kirpan has synchronised with repressive measures adopted against this brave community. The reason too is obvious. The Sikhs have attained political consciousness. They are not content merely to kill at the bidding of their officers. They want to weigh the pros and cons of a cause in which they are called upon to fight. Above all, they want to know where they 'come in.' They want to become equal partners. This is intolerable, and they must be put down. The bravest among them have, as the Government imagine, been silenced. I can only hope, that rather than surrender their sacred weapon, the Sikhs will court imprisonment. We cannot learn discipline by compulsion. We must learn not to use arms or to use them with responsibility and self-restraint, notwithstanding the right to possess them.

The Beauty of It—By the kind permission of Pandit Motilal Nehru, I reproduce the following instructive and entertaining description, word for word, of his life at Ramgadh where he was recently recuperating:—

The climate and the surroundings of the little hill top on which I am perched all by myself save for one servant has agreed with me remarkably. There is a trace of asthma and cough still left, but it is bound to disappear with returning health and strength. The only pity is that I am not allowed sufficient time for the after cure, and this is due to the past sins of professional life which are still following me. Out of the hundreds of briefs on my hands when I suspended practice, there were two which I could not give up. One of these cases came on immediately before Sarup's marriage, and was to a certain extent responsible for the break-down of my health, and the other is now interfering with my rest cure. It is a long original trial and begins on the 8th of July requiring three or four days' previous study. I am trying to have it snuffed off after the All-India meeting in Lucknow, but have provisionally fixed the 30th June as the date of my departure from Ramgadh. If I am only allowed a couple of weeks more, I can promise you that I would be as strong as a bull, but perhaps it is not safe for a non-violent non-co-operator to be as strong in body.

You will be interested to know the kind of life I am leading here. In the good(?) old days, two kitchen establishments—one English and the other Indian—accompanied me in the hills. After Chhota-Hazri in camp, we would start off for the jungle with a full equipment of rifles, short

guns and ammunition, and on occasions with quite a little army of beaters and killed such innocent creatures as came on our way till late in the afternoon—lunch and tea being served in the jungle with as much punctilious care as at home. A hearty dinner awaited our return to camp, and after doing full justice to it we slept the sleep of the just! There was nothing to disturb the even tenor of life except occasional annoyances at a stupid miss which saved the life of some poor beast. And now—the brass cooker (purchased in Delhi when we were all there for the opening of the Tibbi college) has taken the place of the two kitchens, a solitary servant not over-intelligent that of the old retinue—three small bags containing rice, dal and masala that of the mule loads of provisions (I shall never excuse Kamia for making these bags of Bideshi cloth instead of Khadi)—one square meal of rice, dal, vegetables, sometimes khir (milk and rice cooked together) in the middle of the day, that of breakfast, lunch and dinner a la' Anglaiser—lots of fruit with morning and afternoon tea and an occasional egg or two when available.—The Shikar has given place to long walks and the rifles and guns to books, magazines and newspapers (the favourite book being Edwin Arnold's *Song Celestial* which is now undergoing a third reading). When it rains hard as it is doing now, there is nothing but to write silly letters like this. "What a fall, my countrymen!" But really I have never enjoyed life better. Only the rice has given out, and I have applied Brahman-like for a dollo from the ministerial stores of Jagatnarayan who happens to be near.

M. K. G.

SHRIRAMAKRISHNA AND THE CHARKHA.

To

The Editor, *Young India*.

S.r,

I beg to send a quotation from the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa by Swami Sharadananda, one of his direct disciples, which will speak for itself. Your readers will find therein, how the sacred Charkha and spinning were associated with pure and holy life in Bengal in ancient times. That will also give your readers a vivid picture of Bengal village life which we have lost owing to the spread of the so-called culture from the west.

As your readers might have heard, Shri Ramakrishna realised God through many ways, and at one time a desire arose in his mind to realise the divine through the *Prakriti Bhava*. "He heard that the Gopis (the shepherd-girls of Vrindavan) attained Lord Krishna as their husband through intense *Prema*, and it was possible only because they had the woman's body, and he thought that he too could have been blessed with the same rare divine privilege through his intense God-love, had he been a woman. Thus he considered his male body as a great obstacle in his way to realising God through *Madhura Bhava*. He mused, that if he were to be born again, he would be born in a Brahman's house as a girl, with a beautiful face and long hair. She would become a virgin widow, and would not look upon any one save Lord Krishna as her husband. There would be a little plot of land around her little hut and small means of subsistence also. There would be only

an old woman as her guardian and none else to keep company. In that little plot of land she would grow some vegetables with her own hands, and there would also be a cow which she would milk herself. Further she would have a spinning-wheel too. And his fancy would stretch further to imagine that after the day's work she would sit in the verandah of the hut, and while spinning, she would sing in praise of Lord Shri Krishna. And when the sombre shadow of the evening would descend on earth, she would take the butter and sweets prepared from the cow's milk and would cry her heart out for Shri Krishna, feel the bitterest pang of separation from the Lord, and pray with the deepest emotion of heart to Him to come and accept her offerings. And lo! Sri Krishna, in the form of a beautiful cowherd would slowly creep in, and would accept her offerings of devotion. And thus he would be coming every day without being noticed by anybody, and she would enjoy the divine company of the Lord." (*Shri Ramakrishna the Great Master*, Vol. I pp. 134-135.)

Advaitashram,

Mayavati,

Almoda Dt.

I am,

yours etc.,

D. C. D. G.

RECREATION IN THE CHARKHA

To

The Editor, *Young India*.

Dear sir,

I wish to say a few words about the charkha and Swadeshi, as I have thought of them and as I am going to practise them. So far as this letter is concerned, it would be enough if I disclose my identity by saying that I am an engineer.

Questions have often been asked as to how the pleaders and the members of the technical lines can help the attainment of Swaraj without giving up the means of their livelihood. If the pleaders have failed to give the desired response by giving up practice, they can now help a deal by throwing off the badge of slavery which they put on their body. Let them throw away the dead weight that they carry from morning to evening. Let them also wear national dress. And let that too be pure Khadi. This is not a very difficult state of things for the pleaders to bring about.

The same thing also can be said of the engineers. If they cannot give up the manufacture of half pants, shirts and hats, the least that can be expected of them is to make everything of Khadi. Khadi, specially the thick variety, is a very good substitute for khaki for making half pants. The khadi cap of course won't suit those who have to walk in the sun. But they can wear Khadi hats. If the Sole has been covered with milk-white khadi, it makes a nice hat. A Khadi suit thus made keeps the body and the brain cool. Moreover, it will always put us in mind of our common nationality.

My personal experience may only permit me to speak of engineers. They will find a novel thing in the charkha. If after long physical and mental toil they can sit at the charkha three hours daily, they will have a strange experience. They will see how it acts like a heavenly tonic in removing all the worry of the day. To the engineering students it is the best thing imaginable. It teaches patience. It shows the potentiality of small things brought together. To the bachelor it is the best companion that he can keep. To the married man it is the best thing that he can see his wife working at.

I know there are many who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the motherland. That is not very difficult. But let us also learn to suffer and sacrifice our life-blood drop by drop to remove the endless misery that slavery has brought on our land.

Pani Minge, } Yours sincerely,
4-7-21. } S. Chowdhary.

THE SHADOW OF SIMLA.

By M. K. GANDHI.

If proof were wanted that the movement of non-co-operation is neither anti-British nor anti-Christian, we have the instance of Mr. Stokes, a nationalised British subject and staunch Christian, devoting his all to the eradication of the evil of Begar. Mr. Stokes is a convinced non-co-operator and Congressman, I think I am right in saying, that he has come to it by slow degrees. No Indian is giving such battle to the Government as Mr. Stokes. He has veritably become the guide, philosopher and friend of the hillmen. The reader should know, that Begar is going on under the shadow of Simla, under the Viceroy's nose as it were. And yet Lord Reading is powerless to remedy the mischief. I have no doubt, that he is willing enough. But he cannot carry the district officers and others with him. And some of the officials are so unscrupulous, that if they cannot have their way in the territories directly administered, they do so through the native states. Now, on the hills near Simla there are small native states in which the British officer is all-powerful, more so in his own jurisdiction than the Viceroy. He can make the states do as he wills, and yet profess to be unconnected with their doings. There is one such state under the Court of Wards. And it is here, that through the influence of the Deputy Commissioner of Simla, repression is going on in order to suppress the Begar movement. The chosen way, which as a Parsi friend corrected me dates not from British days but from Adam's, is to lop off tail puppies. The axe must be laid at the root. And so the most efficient and cultured of the 'poor hillmen, named Kspur Singh, has been put under lock and key. Here is a graphic description of the way evidence was collected. 'People were subjected to a reign of terror. The Simla Pongee were brought, a number of them arrested all the people scared by threats of machine-guns and Kala-pani...It was in such an atmosphere, that the evidence for the prosecution was collected.' This reminds one of the Punjab martial law days.

Naturally the hillmen feel sore about this persecution of their trusted leader. I hope, that under Mr. Stokes' inspiration, they will resolutely refuse to do any Begar at all even for full value, until their leader is discharged. They must not weaken, but must invite upon their devoted heads the wrath of the authorities, and face imprisonment even as he did.

Why this persistence in exacting Begar? For the authority, the influence and the comfort of the officials and officers depend upon the continuance of

Begar. Without it, they cannot sport and kill wild beasts in the forests of the Himalayas. The Duke could not have been taken for shikar to the mountain fastnesses, if Begar had gone out of use. For the doubtful pleasure of shooting tigers and innocent 'game', a way had to be cut by impressing the labours of thousands of unwilling villagers. If the beasts had intelligent speech at their command, they would state a case against man that would stagger 'humanity.' I can understand the shooting of wild beasts which come to annoy us. But I have found no cogent reasons advanced for wasting treasures upon organising parties for satisfying man's thirst for blood. And yet, if there was no Begar, there would be no 'sport' for the officer or the globe-trotter. I need not have the practice of Indian princes and precedents from the Mahabharata flung in my face. I decline to be slave to precedents or practice I cannot understand or defend on a moral basis.

POSITION OF WOMEN.

By M. K. GANDHI.

Shrimati Saraladevi of Katak writes:—"Don't you admit that the treatment of women is as bad a disease as untouchability itself? The attitude of the young 'nationalists' I have come in contact with, is basely in ninety cases out of a hundred. How many of the non-co-operators in India do not regard women as objects of enjoyment? Is that essential condition of success—self-purification—possible without a change of attitude towards women?"

I am unable to subscribe, that the treatment of women is a 'disease as bad as untouchability.' Shrimati Saraladevi has grossly exaggerated the evil. Nor can the charge levelled against the non-co-operators of mere gratification of lust, be sustained. A cause can only lose by exaggeration. At the same time, I have no difficulty about subscribing to the proposition, that in order to fit ourselves for true Swaraj, men must cultivate much greater respect than they have for woman and her purity. Mr. Andrews has struck a much truer note than this lady, when he tells us in burning language that we dare not gloat over the shame of our fallen sisters. That any non-co-operator could have been found willing to relate with gusto that there were some of these erring sisters who reserved themselves for non-co-operators, is a degrading thought. There can be no distinction between co-operators and non-co-operators in this matter of vital importance for our moral well-being. All of us men must hang our heads in shame, so long as there is a single woman whom we dedicate to our lust. I will far rather see the race of man extinct, than that we should become less than beasts by making the noblest of God's creation the object of our lust. But this is not a problem merely for India. It is a world problem. And if I preach against the modern artificial life of sensual enjoyment, and ask men and women to go back to the simple life epitomised in the charkha, I do so because I know, that

without an intelligent return to simplicity, there is no escape from our descent to a state lower than brutancy. I passionately desire the utmost freedom for our women. I detest child marriages. I shudder to see a child widow, and shiver with rage when a husband just widowed with brutal indifference contracts another marriage. I deplore the criminal indifference of parents who keep their daughters utterly ignorant and illiterate and bring them up only for the purpose of marrying them off to some young man of means. Notwithstanding all this grief and rage, I realise the difficulty of the problem. Women must have votes and an equal legal status. But the problem does not end there. It only commences at the point where women begin to affect the political deliberations of the nation.

To illustrate what I mean, let me relate the enchanting description a valued Mussalman friend gave me of a talk he had with a noted feminist in London. He was attending a meeting of feminists. A lady friend was surprised to find a Mussalman at such a meeting! She inquired how he found himself there. The friend said he had two major and two minor reasons for so doing. His father died when he was an infant. He owed all he was in life to his mother. Then he was married to a woman who was a real partner in life. And he had no sons but four daughters all minors in whom as a father he was deeply interested. Was it any wonder that he was a feminist? He went on, Mussalmans were accused of indifference to women. There never was a grosser libel uttered. The law of Islam gave equal rights to women. He thought that man for his lust had degraded woman. Instead of adoring the soul within her, he had sat about adoring her body, and he had succeeded so well in his design, that woman to-day did not know that she had begun to hug her bodily adornment which was almost a sign of her slavery. He added with his voice almost choked, if it was not so, how could it be, that the fallen sisters delighted most in the embellishment of the body? Had we (men) not crushed the very soul out of them? No, he said regaining self-possession, he wanted not only the mechanical freedom for women, he wanted also to break down the shackles that bound her of her own will. And so he had intended to bring up his daughters to an independent calling.

I need not pursue the ennobling conversation any further. I want my fair correspondent to ponder over the central idea of the Mussalman friend's discourse and tackle the problem. Woman must cease to consider herself the object of man's lust. The remedy is more in her hands than man's. She must refuse to adorn herself for men including her husband, if she will be an equal partner with man. I cannot imagine Sita ever wasting a single moment on pleasing Ravana by physical charms.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

for *Young India* should be sent strictly in advance by money order. The paper is not sent by V. P.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

P. SISHA—The object of the Congress Resolution regarding Vakils was to undermine the prestige of the Courts of Law, through which the Government consolidates its power.

N. H. MOU—Without considering the Constitution, those who resort to Rasad and Begar should certainly not become office-bearers in Congress Committees. In my opinion, the Resolution of the Congress debar nominated members from holding office. Nor can an Honorary Magistrate become an office-bearer. Persons under twenty-one, no matter how well-educated they may be, are certainly disqualified for membership. Personally I cannot bide in co-operators handling non-co-operation work successfully. I would therefore leave untouched a place, where no non-co-operator can be found to organise work. A non-co-operating Mussalman would certainly not wear a Turkish cap of foreign make. Any one employing paid agencies for canvassing votes for seats on Congress Committees, I would regard as an unworthy candidate. I would suggest to this correspondent and others, that after all the choice lies with the electors. If non-co-operating electors choose to elect co-operators or persons of questionable character, no constitution can succeed in preventing their entry into public life, and if co-operators join the Congress as they have a right to, they will undoubtedly carry the election of candidates of their choice, where they are in a majority. The Congress Constitution does not respect parties. It is the non-co-operation Resolution of the Congress carried practically without a dissentient voice, that makes it necessary for the proper working of the Resolution, that non-co-operators should elect staunchest adherents of the Congress Programme.

K. B. LAL GUPTA—It has never been claimed that the *charkha* can keep a family. It is claimed that a *charkha* can provide food for a poor person. Its greatest claim is, however, that it is indispensable for national prosperity.

B. S. M.—As to giving evidence in false criminal or civil cases, I refer you to the Working Committee's interpretation. Even where municipalities nationalise schools, it will certainly be better if they allow their schools to be controlled and regulated by Congress experts wherever their services are available. Even if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are righted, non-co-operation cannot be stopped until Swaraj is attained. The keeping of the details of the Simla interview from the public is not in my opinion a sin of secrecy. One does not commit that sin, when one refuses to disclose confidence given by a friend. Respect for confidence is quite consistent with avoidance of secrecy. We may not keep anything secret for fear of punishment or other evil befalling us.

TES SING VARMA—Your kind offer to take up Fiji and Assam men has been forwarded to Mr. Andrews. His address is Shanbuketan, Bolpur, E. I. Ry. M. K. G.

A TRAVESTY OF CIVILIZATION

[Fond as I am of reading literature, it is rare that I get the opportunity of reading any. A number of the *Nation* issued last Christmas week has been lying with me for months. It contains a thoughtful essay, entitled 'Law and Gospel.' It has such a bearing on the present movement, that I offer no excuse for reproducing it in full for the benefit of the many readers of *Young India* who could not have seen it. The able writer of the essay calls the world-revolt an essentially religious movement. The reader must judge, whether Indian non-cooperation, based as it deliberately is on a frank acceptance of non-violence (however much we may fail in its application), is not the most religious of all the movements going on in different parts of the world for freeing mankind from the yoke of a system falsely called civilization. M. K. G.]

"Civilization—the true civilization—exists. It is the Man who said, 'Love one another,' or 'Return good for evil.' But for two thousand years these phrases have been merely repeated."—*From Duhamel's "Civilization."*

It is impossible, we hope, for us nominally Christian folk to celebrate the birth of Jesus without a feeling of shame, or even of hypocrisy. What, we must think, have we to do with him, or he with us? What, in fact, *should* we do if he re-appeared in our society? It is clear that we should not recognize him, and that long before three years of his Ministry had expired State and Church would combine against him in the old Judæan fashion, to bully, to betray, and to kill. In truth, there would be no need for Jesus to essay a second travail. We are known by our fruits. For six years not a Christian deed has been done in the name of any Christian nation, nor, save in mockery of man's despair or in vain appeal to the moral sense of his rulers, has one Christian word been spoken in their behalf. It may even be said that our Christianity, professed but not followed, does us more harm than good, for while we use it to consecrate war, and to cloak greed and polity as religion, we mask our souls with a new and deep falsification. The Christian world is a simple dwelling, built for humble-minded men. We rear our grand temples on self-love and the depreciation of our neighbour. Worshipers of Moloch and Mammon, of Power and of Empire, would it not be better for us to own up, and, confessing that the God we worship lives not in the spirit of Jesus, follow a frank Diabolism in place of a sham Christianity?

Well, that would be a counsel of honesty, for our rulers, but it would be one of despair and final ruin for the world. Society has, indeed, become a scene of suffering and discontent. But after what has happened, could we expect it to be anything else? If happiness had followed such a Treaty as that of Versailles, or, conversely, as the peace that Germany would have made had she been victorious, then, indeed, the soothsayers might well have proclaimed the downfall of the Gospel of Jesus, and the triumph of its assailant. A pagan world might have celebrated

such an event, and settled down to the job of "assimilating" its victims, but not a community of Christian peoples, each of them enjoined by its religion to cherish the other. They did indeed go unwarned into the catastrophe that has befallen them. But now that their eyes are opened, they must see that what their rulers sowed for their enemies, they have reaped, and that on the principles and the policy of the war no nation can live. Once that discovery is made and applied, there is no reason for despair, but, on the contrary, every hope of the amendment of civilization. And it is being made. One by one the landmarks of 1914 recede. It is probable that excessive private wealth will disappear as the result of the general impoverishment of the war. Excellent. It is certain that every statesman and Government that made the war (most have gone already) will be broken or fall into discredit. A good riddance. It is clear that every fresh trial of force by these rulers will yield decreasing results, until, by one means or another, by the failure of money and credit, the direct or the indirect action of the workers, or the passive resistance of whole communities, it is forbidden or rendered innocuous. It is probable that a great number of experiments will be made in industry, tending either to modify the capitalist system or to abolish it. Thus the inevitable struggle between the better and the worse elements in civilization has begun, and at Geneva and elsewhere the re-militarized Powers are confronted, even in their own Governments, with the demand for a standard of international justice and humanity. Everywhere, therefore, the false society that made the war and that the treaty set up again is crumbling. Science, the great renovator, looks askance at a second enlistment with Death. The smaller nations, strengthened by their abstinence from war, begin to refuse submission to the tyranny of the great, and if they are threatened again, will form protective leagues of their own. Met with force, they will resort to the equalizing aid of science, or counter the Empires on the ground of apiritual power in which they excel. Thus Ireland has her chance to overcome England, and the East to recover its freedom from the West.

He must be blind, indeed, who does not see in this world-revolt an essentially religious movement, in which our crude materialism will meet and be overthrown by the appeal to sympathetic understanding and love. It was fated that the Churches, which preach Christianity as a professional mystery which few can comprehend, rather than as a rule of life which all can follow, should ignore this sign in the heavens, or treat it as a vision of judgment on their special enemies rather than of mercy and relief to all mankind. Nevertheless, a relief it is. For evils which are implanted in the thought and practice of the modern State must end by destroying it. The acts of cruelty and licence of which the national soldiery have been guilty in White and Red Russia, in Poland and in Ireland, have been crimes of society rather than of

individuals, and the men who must stand at the bar to answer for them are the directors of church and school, of politics and the press. Save for the war, most of the boys who committed them would have followed the plough, or tended the loom, and lived in as much innocence and happiness as our still primitive culture and moral growth allow. But the world which threw away or depraved its youth in a senseless quarrel, and let the peace blight the childhood of Central Europe, is not a sane or a possible social organization. For six years man has thrown every constructive and provident contrivance away, and lived like a wolf-pack in a hard winter. But all the while his table was spread, and none need have ravaged on his neighbour. Then why need we suffer more? Why die, as we are dying, in our sins? We know the law, and how terribly it has prevailed against the outrage of our de-civilization. But there is the gospel too. The genius of Christianity came from the soul of man and lives there still, an unexhausted and incalculable treasure of practical wisdom, and a promise to him of eventual mastery of the almost forgotten Art of Life.

OUR WEAVING-SCHOOL

All the external activities of Satyagraheshram in connection with Swadeshi have for some time now been taken over by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee. People, who are in need of or wish to know anything about ginning-wheels, spinning-wheels, looms and Khadi, are requested to correspond with the Secretary of the Khadi department of that Committee. The Ashram now only conducts a weaving-school, which teaches all the processes from ginning right up to weaving. The boys of the Ashram school are at present taking the full course of instruction here, and we have not the room to take up students from outside. Some description of the work done is given here in the hope, that it may perhaps furnish suggestions to outside students and to schools desirous of having spinning-classes attached to them.

Forty-nine spinning wheels are here regularly at work, over and above twenty-five others which are reserved for beginners. All these are worked three to six hours per day. Some are worked for even seven or eight hours. After a month's training, a friend worked twelve to fourteen hours daily for a number of days and thus proved the possibility of earning three annas a day. Another, a sister, spun nine to ten hours daily for some days after finishing her round of domestic business. In a month and a half, she had spun enough to get *saddis* and other cloth woven out of yarn spun by herself, and actually began wearing these things. She is now-a-days spinning at the rate of eight hours a day. One day there was something wrong with this lady's *rentia*. She referred the matter to the present writer who set it right. But she was not satisfied. She complained again, and again was the *rentia* operated upon. But the wheel apparently suffered from some occult malady, which she was at a loss to diagnose. Every time its spinning power would get enfeebled. At last the poor lady lost all patience and was almost ready to weep. This was reported to me,

and this time I examined the wheel very critically and effected a perfect cure. It now moved merrily, and merrily did the sister proceed with her work. It is very desirable that all the wheels in a spinning-class be kept in a perfect condition. When that is the case, the spinner does not tire and works cheerfully and speedily. Our class is attended by five ladies, who spin five or six hours every day, and by twenty-three students of the Ashram school, of whom eighteen are boys and five are girls. The conduct of this class is not an easy job. Their spirits are in continual need of cheering. Some of them spin very rapidly. But sometimes there is a grievous attack of head-ache, at other times the still more grievous attack of idleness. Sometimes the hand is fatigued, at other times the wheel gets out of repair.

We are now replacing the thick by a thin spindle. It is true that with the slightest interference or rough handling, this thin spindle bends and begins to wobble. But it makes the movement of the wheel very smooth and easy, and also adds to its speed, as the revolutions are doubled from the fifty of the thick spindle to a hundred in the thin spindle following from one revolution of the large wheel. The doubling of revolutions does not mean a double output, but there is certainly a considerable increase. With the thick spindle, the wheel must go through 8 or 10 revolutions for the drawing and winding of one length of yarn; with the thin spindle, the revolutions of the wheel needed for that purpose are reduced to 4 or 5. Hence with the thin spindle, there is an economy of labour. The speed of drawing the yarn by the hand is clearly limited, so that 200 or 300 revolutions of the spindle instead of 100 would not double or treble the speed or the output. Advanced students draw and wind two feet to two feet and a half of yarn every five seconds. This comes to 8 to 10 yards a minute. If the aliver is good and the student in a spinning-mood, there is less breakage of yarn. Even considering the time lost on account of breakage and joining, some students are easily able to spin 400 to 500 yards of yarn of about 12 counts, fit for warp. This approximates to the speed of a mill spindle, and is therefore quite satisfactory. When the work is over, the student removes the spindle from the wheel and keeps it in good preservation. Yet accidents do occur. The class master must know how to repair a spindle which has thus gone wrong. He must also know how to put the wheel in good working order. The string which makes the spindle revolve often breaks, but if it is well-twisted, treated with wax, and then rubbed well with a piece of cloth, it becomes more durable and lasts for a number of days.

The students generally like to work on the *rentia*. But the moment it gets a little wrong and cannot be soon corrected, they rise and flee. Not only the beginners but even advanced scholars are sometimes confused, when called upon to set right such a simple machine as the spinning-wheel. A veteran leader who set the non-co-operating students of engineering at work upon the spinning-wheel, made the remark that English education has incapacitated our young men. It was with great pain that he said this. And with the simplest truth of the matter. We can clearly

see, that as a result of this education, we have not only lost the power of our hands and feet, but we also lack in patience and perseverance. We cannot bear to take the trouble of correcting anything that is wrong. Newspaper leader-writers question the educative value of spinning and doubt its efficacy in driving away poverty from our midst. Their doubts would vanish, if ever they tried and saw for themselves what children gain from the spinning-wheel. But these writers are themselves the product of English education. To expect them to be patient, is to forget the character of the discipline to which they have been subject. There is no better test than the spinning-wheel, if we wish to ascertain whether our children are educated in the real and the proper sense of that term.

Many people still question the economic value of hand spinning. But I believe that the results of our experiments may perhaps lead them to reconsider their views. I will here put down the statistics of our own class. Among our students, there are five playful children, who spin only when the spirit possesses them. But all of them spin good yarn fit for warp. Hardly any spin yarn below 10 counts. Many spin yarn of about 15 counts. Now-a-days the boys are giving four hours to spinning. Formerly they used to work six hours daily, but then there was a tendency to occasional slackness. Now we have ruled that when once a student has spun a length of 1000 yards, he may be allowed to leave the spinning class, and learn carding etc. This arrangement has had excellent effects. All spin without losing a moment, and spin 1000 yards in two to four hours according to the skill acquired. And the yarn thus produced is pretty uniform, well-twisted, and fit for warp. We have fixed a round wire frame on the axle of the wheel, just near the handle, with a circumference of 4 feet. This frame is used for opening the cone into a hank. 750 revolutions of this mean a thousand yards of yarn. Most students count the revolutions, while they are moving the frame, and hence do not take much additional time for calculations. Some are not able to practise this, and they count the length after they have prepared the hank.

1000 yards of yarn of six counts weigh 8 tolas. (840 yards make a hank. If six such hanks weigh a pound, the yarn is of 6 counts. Hence 840 yards of six count yarn weigh $6\frac{2}{3}$ tolas.) 4 annas is a quite proper wage for spinning one pound of six-count yarn of a standard quality. This means a wage of nine pice and a half for spinning 8 tolas. But most of our students spin yarn of 12 to 15 counts, and even finer. And this is quite good and fit for weaving. The wage for a thousand yards of finer yarn must be proportionately higher; as the finer the yarn, the greater the number of twists to be given to it. Twelve-count yarn requires nearly half as much twisting again as six-count yarn. Hence the wage of a thousand yards of twelve-count yarn must be half as much again as that of the same length of six-count yarn. But this proportionately higher wage makes the hand-spun yarn much dearer than the mill-made yarn of the same count. If we take 3 and 12 annas to be the wage for spinning a pound of yarn of 12 and 16

counts respectively, the wage for spinning a length of 1000 yards of the same counts will be 10 or 11 pice. One student spins this amount in 2 hours, several in 3 hours and the rest in 4.

On the last *Annaboya* it was twenty two days since the students sat regularly to work after the *Varashukha* vacation. Deducting three holidays on Sundays and three half-holidays on Wednesdays, we get seventeen and a half working days. There was an average attendance of twenty two students out of twenty three. Twenty two students spun in seventeen days and a half, twenty four *shers* and a half of yarn of about fourteen counts. If we take ten annas to be the average wage for spinning a *sher*, this comes to fifteen rupees and four annas. This is exclusive of Rs. 1-11-0 which is the wage of 18 pounds of cotton carded and made into shivers by one student in 12 days, calculated at an anna and a half per pound. It is also exclusive of the extra work put in by 6 students on five or six days after finishing their daily quota of 1000 yds. of yarn by way of carding and opening yarn for weaving tapes and carpets. These students gave some of their private time also to this work.

There is no doubt, that the figures will mount higher when the students acquire the habit of methodical work. But whatever the pecuniary value of their work might be, method in work in itself will be an acquisition beyond all price.

So much for the spinning department. I hope to be able to deal with the weaving department on another occasion.

Satyagruhaabram, }
77, Ashwinchad. } MAHARAJA KRISHNAJI AND GANDHI.

The revenue derived by the Indian Government from the sale of intoxicants rose from £1,561,000 in 1874-5 to £ 13,000,000 in 1919-20.

"The people are silent. I will be the advocate of this silence, I will speak for the dumb, I will speak of the small to the great and of the feeble to the strong... I will speak for all the despairing silent ones. I will interpret this stammering; I will interpret the grumblings, murmurs, the tumults of crowds, the complaints ill-pronounced and all these cries of beasts that, through ignorance and through suffering, man is forced to utter. I will be the Word of the People, I will say everything."—VICTOR HUGO.

NOTE.

The day of publication of *Young India* has been changed from Wednesday to Thursday, which suits us better. It is a lucky coincidence, that while Wednesday is in bad odour, Thursday is in high favour with the astrological fraternity. *Vidya-rambha Guruh shreshthah*. [Thursday is best for the communication of knowledge.]

WANTED

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AHMEDABAD, THURSDAY, JULY 28th, 1921

{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

Notes.

The White Cap - A employee of the British India Steam Navigation Company has been discharged for the effrontery to wear the Khadi cap. Messrs. Shaw Wallace and Co. set the ball rolling. This is an instance of the enormity of which we have not yet realised. We have stooped so low that we do not notice the curve. And yet such insults are more humiliating for nations than physical blows delivered wilfully or in a fit of anger. The crawling and rubbing the nose were physically less painful than the floggings, and yet there are no two opinions that the former humiliated India more than the latter. What is there in a bow? And yet a Prince nearly lost the Gadi because he had forgotten to bow at the correct angle and retire from a Viceroy's presence in the required manner. It was the homage exacted by insolence for its sustenance. So have the two firms dismissed their poor clerks, because they had the manliness to wear their national dress or the insignia of their faith if you like. The proud firms could not brook an exhibition of manliness on the part of their clerks. The moment the men of India realise their manhood, and the women their womanhood, India becomes free. No power in the world can then keep freedom from her. These two dismissals therefore should have a world of meaning for us. And I must confess to a feeling of painful disappointment over the supineness of the employees of these firms. They should have shown at least the courage of the common labourer. India can show examples of a wholesale strike for the sake of an injured comrade. Have the clerks of these firms no feeling for their comrade? Can they claim kinship with the whole of India? What would they have done if a blood-brother had been so treated as these two brave young men? It is not yet too late for employees of these firms to make amends. They can still wear white Khadi caps by way of protest and demand the reinstatement of their fellow clerks in their respective offices.

I venture too to warn the managers of the two great firms. Non-co-operators have steered clear of racialism. They are fighting against a vicious system with all their might. They have no quarrel with individual Englishmen. But if the latter take sides as the managers of the two houses have done it will be difficult to avoid a racial outburst. There is danger of European firms being boycotted if the European merchants do not treat this matter

as one of urgency and enforce rectification of the grievous mistake committed by the firms in question.

Fishing for Apologies—The correspondence published in the *Independent* between Messrs. Jawahirlal Nehru, Joseph and Ranga Iyer and the U. P. Government proves, that my visit to the Viceroy and my advice to the Ali Brothers to apologise for some of their speeches was a blunder from a political standpoint. It is becoming more and more clear, that as Maulana Abdul Bari has said, whilst the harm done by the visit and the apology is patent, the good that they might have done is too latent to be seen by the public. Happily I am not a politician. And I see the good hidden behind the discreditable use the U. P. Government have made of the Brothers' apology, to lead Messrs. Jawahirlal Nehru and his friends into a trap. The Government have even copied the phraseology of the Brothers' apology. Dirt is popularly and correctly described as matter misplaced. In precisely the same manner whilst I hold that the Brothers' apology was an honourable transaction being in its place, the apology required by the U. P. Government would have been a dishonourable transaction being out of its place. But that Government had tough people to deal with. They were not to be duped by false analogies, nor frightened by threats of imprisonment. The Government therefore has before it the choice of further proving its incapacity and intolerance by launching prosecutions against the three public workers for speeches or writings which the public and they themselves had long forgotten. If it prosecutes the 'offenders', it will prove itself incapable of dealing with the root cause of the unrest, and it will prove itself intolerant of well-merited hostile criticism. To call a spade a spade may seem harsh to the spade, but the simple truth is more likely than anything else to go home. A Government that does harsh things cannot be truthfully described by sweet words. The publication of the correspondence therefore has been a great service to the cause of Swaraj. It has cleared the atmosphere, and it serves as guidance for all who are placed in the same position as the three friends. A non-co-operator may not give an apology or undertaking to purchase freedom from prosecution. He must at the same time, whenever his attention is drawn to anything said by him which is calculated to incite to violence immediately correct his error and keep himself true to his creed. If the Government wish honestly to deal with non-co-operators and wish to imprison them because they do not like non-co-operation even though it is and remains non-violent,

it has only to charge them under Section 124A, and every one of us must plead guilty because it is our creed to harbour and to promote disaffection towards the Government as a system. We are out to destroy the system and that I am told amounts to sedition in terms of that section. If it is permissible in law to compass destruction of the existing system, every non-co-operator is a pledged loyalist.

Misuse of Journalism—It is something that *Capital* has apologised to Mr. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar for the remarks made by "Ditcher" and referred to in these columns. The charge underlying Ditcher's remarks was a serious that it involved the brothers in serious trouble. Can an editor of a responsible newspaper when challenged claim immunity by hiding himself behind the fact that he had merely given currency to a rumour? Can he base an elaborate argument upon a rumour, which for the wealth of details contained in the description almost amounts to a statement of facts? Can I, for instance, level all manner of charges against the King by prefacing them with a statement that they are based on a rumour? Can I after having made such charges draw elaborate inferences most damaging to His Majesty? I have only put the case in this blunt manner to show that I would be guilty of ungentlemanly conduct rendering me liable to summary dismissal from decent society for having in a cowardly manner sought to tarnish the reputation of the first gentleman in the empire. Is the case any different when the objects of such insidious attacks happen to be two cultured and brave Indians, and the author of imputations a European journalist? Mr. Ganesh Savarkar has raised himself in the estimation of his countrymen by magnanimously waiving the right of prosecution for a foul imputation against his honour. But is journalistic honour satisfied by a mere apology, tendered as it appears to me in a *very* *careless* manner? The reply to Mr. Savarkar's solicitors starts with an excuse for conduct which is wholly inexcusable. No journal having the slightest regard for justice and fair play can afford to give currency to rumours, unless the editor has sifted them and believes them to be founded on fact. I do hope, that both English and Indian newspapers will take serious notice of the matter and let the editor of *Capital* know that he has been guilty of conduct unworthy of an honourable journalist.

Why burn?—Critics have overwhelmed me with their rebuke regarding the burning of foreign cloth. After having considered every argument advanced against it I cannot help saying that destruction is the best method of dealing with foreign cloth. The Provincial Congress Committee has left it optional to the givers to choose between destruction and despatch to Smyrna or elsewhere. The discussion of the question therefore lacks the importance it would have had if destruction had been the only method prescribed for dealing with foreign clothes. The propriety of destruction depends upon the intensity of one's belief in the necessity of discarding foreign cloth. Just as a converted teetotaler will not hand the contents of his wine-cellar to a needy neighbour, so would a votary of Swadeshi, if he feels as keenly as

the teetotaler, refuse to give to the poor the contents of his wardrobe. I hold that the wearing of foreign cloth in India is almost as bad as drinking. I am not sure that it is not even worse than drinking in some respects. For the last hundred and fifty years India has been importing foreign cloth at the expense of her great cottage industry, i.e. spinning. As Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt has pointed out in his study of the history of the deliberately planned destruction of the spinning and weaving industries of India, Bihar which was once one of the richest provinces of India was reduced to poverty by the systematic and cruel destruction of her flourishing industry of spinning and weaving. If we only realised the magnitude of the injury done by the East India Company and of the sin committed by us in yielding to the persecution of the Company's *Gumastas* or the temptations put in our way, we would hang our heads in shame. Our great national industry would not have perished, our women would not have been forced to labour on public roads, millions of our people would not have been obliged to remain a part of the year in enforced idleness if we could have retained Swadeshi. In my humble opinion cloth which revives such black memories and is a mark of our shame and degradation is fit only to be destroyed. It certainly cannot be given to the poor. We should have much greater regard for their feelings and their national culture than to think that we serve them by giving them what to us is a mark of our slavery. Should not India's poor have a sense of patriotism? Should they not have feelings about dignity and self-respect in the same manner as we have? I would not have the meanest of us remain without a spirit of true patriotism. Just as we would or at least ought to recoil with horror from giving them rotten food or food we will not eat, so should we feel about giving them foreign cloth. A moment's thought would also show that much of the fineries we are throwing away are perfectly useless for the poor. Of what use can the dirty hats and caps stinking with our perspiration be to them or the rich silk saris and the finest muslins that are being given up? They had no value except for the wearers who loved these things. They cannot clothe the famine-stricken. The things that are really useful to them are very few indeed. But I do not base my argument for destruction upon the uselessness of the clothing discarded. My argument goes much deeper if only because it is based upon a sentiment on which alone the noblest in us is and can be reared. Why should an Englishman resent an insult to a tattered flag? But he does, and rightly thinks that he must. What harm is there in gaining a million by concealing my faith for a moment? But I may not for the kingdom of the world. For exactly similar reasons we may not use foreign cloth for the poor in India. And it is after all making a convenience of an act of renunciation to send cloth thus discarded even to Smyrna or elsewhere abroad. But the moral objection to the despatch abroad is certainly not so strong as to its use at home.

Foreign Yarn—The *Indian Social Reformer* objects to the exclusion of foreign yarn from the definition of Swadeshi. It is impossible to retrace

steps, to reform, to purify without some destruction and some hurt being caused somewhere. The weavers do not think that they will have to sit idle if they do not weave foreign yarn. They can without difficulty weave mill-spun yarn and exercise all their artistic talent upon it, if only for the time being we consent to be satisfied with less fineness. When foreign cloth and foreign yarn are not available in the Indian market, I can see no impediment to India's ability to reproduce the beautiful fabrics of old. The real art has died out and tawdry things that pass for art have found a place in wealthy homes, because there are no patrons of real art. I look forward to the time, as soon as we reach normal conditions, when our rich men will have attached to their establishments houses for their special spinners and weavers whose business it will be to manufacture artistic cloth for the benefit of their patrons.

Women as Pickets.—A Parsi sister writes to say that when picketing is recommenced in Bombay, she is quite prepared to join any party that may be raised and she hopes that many other sisters will come forward. She is of opinion that if women respond in large numbers, their presence will be an effective check on violence. I entirely endorse her remarks, and hope that many other sisters will send in their names to the Committee at Bombay as candidates.

Desecration of Graves.—A Friend from Agra draws my attention to Mr. David's letter to the press regarding the desecration of the graves of Christians in the Indian Presbyterian cemetery at Ajmer. I am sorry that the letter has escaped me. Mr. David rightly remarks, that fanaticism and bigotry would mar the harmonious development of the Indian nation and are fatal to the growth of unity. Hindu Muslim Unity, as I have often said, means the unity of all those for whom India is their home irrespective of caste, creed or colour. Desecration of graves is a specially dastardly crime. Even laws of war respect the sanctity of graves. Only a depraved nature can delight in wicked desecration of graves. But the crime in question becomes still more wicked when we remember that at the present moment the nation is trying to harmonise all its discordant elements. There are many Christian sympathisers of our struggle. Mr. Andrews is a staunch Christian, and India has no truer worker than Charlie Andrews rightly called the friend of the poor. I hope that the Congress Committee at Ajmer will look into the matter and help our Christian countrymen in every way.

M. K. G.

SWARAJ FUND CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MESOPOTAMIA.

Guptadan Rs. 30, Mr. B. Chodbari 25, Mr. Maherchand 15, Mr. Bhujangsinh 10-4, Messrs. K. H. Raval Tulsiram Ramprasad G. C. Ghose Ghasitlal Jethalal 20 each, Messrs. Ramcharan Ramkishansinh Munshiram Javahirprasad Durgadas Ranjitsinh Velaswami Paramanand Hakim Gulammahomed Abdullatif B. R. Bedi Baburam Shivasahay Harisinh Friend K. K. Kar Mahmed C. S. Rao S. C. Bose Deshpande Amarnath Melaram Rangaya R. C. Gupta M. Naidu 5 each, Mr. V. Jayatali 4. Total Rs. 274-4.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

BENGAL.

- I. *Titles and honorary offices surrendered* 10.
- II. *Suspensions of legal practice* 330. [13 Calcutta, 1 Birbhum, 1 Howrah, 6 Rangpur, 8 Kachar, 28 Sylhet, 2 Murshadabad, 9 Hooghli, 20 Chittagong, 43 Mymensing, 27 Dacca, 23 Rajshahi, 23 Comilla, 2 Nadia, 18 Midnapore, 5 Maldah, 5 Khulna, 21 Barisal, 7 Noakhali and 48 Bogra.]
- III. *Resignations of Professors and Teachers* 105. [5 Professors from Calcutta, Dacca, Rangpur, Chittagong and Bankura. Teachers:—10 Barisal, 13 Faridpur, 25 Chittagong, 2 Rajshahi, 1 Sylhet, 2 Dacca, 8 Comilla, 6 Barisal, 12 Mymensing, 5 Maldah, 4 Kachar, 5 Midnapur, 1 Murshadabad, 3 Hooghli, 2 Calcutta and 1 Birbhum.]
- IV. *Arbitration boards and Panchayats* 363. [Faridpur 37; Sylhet 50; Mymensingh 128; Rajshahi, 11; Jessore 1; Hooghli 2; Bardwan 3; Birbhum 13; Howrah 4; Kachar 35; Comilla 75; Murshadabad 4.]
- V. *National Schools and Colleges* 76. [Dacca 2; Nadia 3; Chittagong 6; Faridpur 3; Barisal 3; Hooghli 4; Noakhali 6; Sylhet 15; Comilla 4; Pabna 14; Jessore 3; Maldah 2; Rajshahi 1; Dinajpur 1; Calcutta 3; Howrah 2; Birbhum 1; Bardwan 3.] [Number of students?]
- VI. *Congress Committees* 1160. [Membership?]
- VII. *Spinning Wheels* 1,40,000. Faridpur, Mymensingh, Dacca, Tipperah, Chittagong and Midnapore have more than 10,000 wheels each.

SWARAJ IN A YEAR?

Sir John Lascelles—The Castelecalans were in a state of abject slavery. Were these boons of consummate freedom conferred upon them in a moment?—and if so, were the people prepared in any way to receive them?

The Prince—A nation in slavery is like a body in a condition of deep disease. Now, would you restore that body to perfect health all in a moment, if you had the power?—or would you only effect the restoration by slow and almost imperceptible degrees?

Sir John—As a conscientious and an honest man, I should of course adopt the mode of instantaneous cure.

The Prince—Then, Sir John, your question whether the people were prepared to receive the consummation of their freedom in a moment, is answered. Believe me those statesmen who talk of the necessity of gradual reform are either weak and timid, or else in their hearts opposed to the interests of the people. Freedom is a nation's right; and a right cannot be recognised too suddenly, nor too frankly. Were your fortune in the grasp of a rapacious being should you be contented by receiving it in small instalments according to his caprice and good pleasure? No; certainly not! You would demand and expect to receive the whole at once and would consider yourself the victim of a monstrous tyranny, were your claims refused or ridiculed or set at naught. Yes, Sir John, the Castelecalans obtained in a moment, as it were, their emancipation from tyranny and oppression.

[R. D. LALA.]

REYNOLDS.

NOBLE REPENTANCE AND ITS LESSON.

By M. K. GANDHI.

I have just received the following pathetic letter from Mr. Yakub Hasan:—

"I now realize that I have committed a serious indiscretion in a moment of weakness. Ever since the significance of my folly has dawned on me, I am suffering excruciating pain in my heart which is nearly driving me mad. I owe an apology to you as the head of the movement, and I offer it in the most humiliating manner possible. As my guide and leader, scold and chastise me as much as I deserve, but I hope you would for God's sake forgive me my sin. I would undergo a penance to make my peace with God and to undo any disservice that my action may have done to the holy cause that I sincerely and earnestly endeavoured to serve before this according to my lights."

The letter has a ring of sincerity about it, which disarms all criticism. I have informed Mr. Yakub Hasan it is not for me to forgive him. Who knows that I should not prove as weak as he has in the face of danger? God alone can forgive. For He alone knows us through and through. We have His promise through His word revealed in many lands and to many peoples that when a man confesses before Him his weakness with a pure and humble heart, He forgives. Being weak ourselves let us not throw a stone at a brother who has confessed his weakness.

But let Mr. Yakub Hasan's plight serve all of us as a danger signal. For though victory seems to be in sight, there is danger of our not being able to stand the last heat when it comes, as it must. Let us make up our minds, that this Government will try us through and through, before it really bends to the will of the people. We must be prepared in our thousands to fill the jails of India. We must be prepared not to mind cholera breaking out within their precincts. It is far more sufferable than the moral chronic cholera of slavery we are suffering from. Brave Sherwani has gone to jail without a fault, if the report of the farcical trial be true. Some one or other is daily going to gaol in the United Provinces. Now comes a telegram from the Andhra Province to the effect that two important workers have been sentenced to one year's imprisonment at Guntur—one is a Barrister. Mr. Venkatappaya, who sends the wire, says that more repression is expected. It was bound to come sooner or later. If we stand the fire without flinching, Swarajya this year is a certainty.

But there is danger not only of weakness. There is danger too of people losing their heads under provocation and retorting. This danger of people going mad is more serious than inability or unwillingness to suffer. It is up to every worker throughout India that he prevent violence even at the risk of losing his life in the attempt.

The best answer that India can give to the impending universal repression is to perform the act of renunciation of all foreign cloth in utter disregard of the figures flung in our faces by wise economists. If we have the will, we can manufacture in three months' time all the cloth we need through

hand spinning and hand-weaving. Have we the will to be satisfied, pending attainment of Swaraj, with Khadi?

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

By M. K. GANDHI.

Everybody knows that without unity between Hindus and Musalmans, no certain progress can be made by the nation. There is no doubt that the cement binding the two is yet loose and wet. There is still mutual distrust. The leaders have come to recognise, that India can make no advance without both feeling the need of trust and common action. But though there is a vast change among the masses, it is still not a permanent quantity. The Musalman masses do not still recognise the same necessity for Swaraj as the Hindus do. The Musalmans do not flock to public meetings in the same numbers as the Hindus. This process cannot be forced. Sufficient time has not passed for the national interest to be awakened among the Musalmans. Indeed it is a marvel, that whereas but a year ago the Musalmans as a body hardly took any interest in Congress affairs, all over India thousands have registered themselves as members. This in itself is an immense gain.

But much more yet remains to be done. It is essentially the work of the Hindus. Wherever the Musalmans are still found to be apathetic, they should be invited to come in. One often hears from Hindu quarters the complaint that Musalmans do not join the Congress organisations or do not pay to the Swaraj Fund. The natural question is, have they been invited? In every district Hindus must make special effort to draw out their Musalman neighbours. There will never be real equality so long as one feels inferior or superior to the other. There is no room for patronage among equals. Musalmans must not feel the lack of education or numbers where they are in a minority. Deficiency in education must be corrected by taking education. To be in a minority is often a blessing. Superiority in numbers has frequently proved a hindrance. It is character that counts in the end. But I have not commenced this article to lay down counsels of perfection, or to state the course of conduct in the distant future.

My main purpose is to think of the immediate task lying before us. Bakr-Id will be soon upon us. What are we to do to frustrate the attempts that will then be made to foment quarrels between us—Hindus and Musalmans? Though the situation has improved considerably in Bihar, it is not yet free from anxiety. Over-zealous and impatient Hindus are trying to force matters. They lend themselves an easy prey to the machinations of mischief-makers not always prompted by the Government side. Protection of the cow is the nearest to the Hindu heart. We are therefore apt to lose our heads over it, and thus be unconsciously instrumental in doing an injury to the very cause we seek to espouse. Let us recognise that our Musalman brethren have made great efforts to save the cow for the sake of their Hindu brethren. It would be a grave mistake to underrate them. But immediately we become

assertive, we make all effort on their part nugatory. We have throughout all these many years put up with cow slaughter either without a murmur or under ineffective and violent protest. We have never tried to deserve self-imposed restraint on the part of our Musalman countrymen by going out of our way to cultivate friendly relations with them. We have more or less gratuitously assumed the impossibility of the task.

But we are now making a deliberate and conscious attempt in standing by their side in the hour of their need. Let us not spoil the good effect by making our free offering a matter of bargain. Friendship can never be a contract. It is a status carrying no consideration with it. Service is a duty, and duty is a debt which it is a sin not to discharge. If we would prove our friendship, we must help our brethren whether they save the cow or not. We throw the responsibility for their conduct towards us on their own shoulders. We dare not dictate it to them as consideration for our help. Such help will be hired service, which the Musalmans cannot be blamed if they summarily reject. I hope, therefore, that the Hindus of Bihar and indeed all the parts of India will realise the importance of observing the strictest forbearance, no matter what the Musalmans do on Bakr-Id. We must leave them to take what course they choose. What Hakim Ajmal Khanji did in one hour at Amritsar, Hindus could not have done by years of effort. The cows that Messrs. Chhotani and Khatri saved last Bakr-Id day, the Hindu millionaires of Bombay could not have saved if they had given the whole of their fortunes. The greater the pressure put upon the Musalmans, the greater must be the slaughter of the cow. We must leave them to their own sense of honour and duty. And we shall have done the greatest service to the cow.

The way to save the cow is not to kill or quarrel with the Musalman. The way to save the cow is to die in the act of saving the Khilafat without mentioning the cow. Cow protection is a process of purification. It is *tapasya*, i. e. self-suffering. When we suffer voluntarily and therefore without expectation of reward, the cry of suffering (one might say) literally ascends to heaven, and God above hears it and responds. That is the path of religion, and it has answered even if one man has adopted it *in its entirety*. I make bold to assert without fear of contradiction, that it is not Hinduism to kill a fellow-man even to save the cow. Hinduism requires its votaries to immolate themselves for the sake of their religion, i. e. for the sake of saving the cow. The question is how many Hindus are ready without bargaining with the Musalmans to die for them and for their religion? If the Hindus can answer it in the religious spirit, they will not only have secured Musalman friendship for eternity, but they will have saved the cow for all time from the Musalmans. Let us not swear even by the greatest among them. They can but help. They cannot undertake to change the hearts of millions of men who have hitherto given no thought to the feeling of their Hindu neighbours when they slaughter the cow. But God Almighty can in a moment

change them and move them to pity. Prayer accompanied by adequate suffering is a prayer of the heart. That alone counts with God. To my Musalman friends I would but say one word. They must not be irritated by the acts of irresponsible or ignorant but fanatical Hindus. He who exercises restraint under provocation wins the battle. Let them know and feel sure that responsible Hindus are not on their side in their trial in any bargaining spirit. They are helping because they know, that the Khilafat is a just cause and that to help them in a good cause is to serve India, for they are even as blood-brothers, born of the same mother—Bharata Mata.

NON-VIOLENCE.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

It is my conviction that we are in sight of the promised land, but the danger is the greatest when victory seems the nearest. No victory worth the name has ever been won without a final effort, more serious than all the preceding ones. God's last test is ever the most difficult. Satan's last temptation is ever the most seductive. We must stand God's last test and resist Satan's last temptation, if we would be free.

Non-violence is the most vital and integral part of non-co-operation. We may fail in everything else and still continue our battle if we remain non-violent. But we capitulate miserably if we fail in adhering to non-violence. Let it be remembered that violence is the keystone of the Government edifice. Since violence is its sheet-anchor and its final refuge, it has rendered itself almost immune from violence on our side by having prepared itself to frustrate all violent effort by the people. We therefore co-operate with the Government in the most active manner when we resort to violence. Any violence on our part must be a token of our stupidity, ignorance and impotent rage. To exercise restraint under the gravest provocation is the truest mark of soldiership. The veriest tyro in the art of war knows, that he must avoid the ambushes of his adversary. And every provocation is a dangerous ambush into which we must resolutely refuse to walk.

The story of Aligadh is an illustration in point. It seems clear enough that sufficient provocation was given by the police. We have long recognised that it is their business to do so. The people of Aligadh walked into the trap laid for them. They allowed themselves to be provoked, and resorted to arson. It is not yet clear who killed the constable in mufti. The burden is on the people to show that they did not.

Let us be hard on ourselves. If we wish to walk along the straight and narrow path (which is necessarily the shortest), we must not be self-indulgent. We may not throw the blame for any mishap on the *badmashes*. We must be responsible for their acts. Or we declare ourselves unfit for Swaraj. We must gain control even over them. Even they must realise the necessity of not interfering with the national and the religious work we are engaged in. In a movement of purification, the whole country

is lifted up not excluding the wicked and the fallen. Let there be no mistake, that that is our deliberate claim. If it is merely a lip claim, we shall prove ourselves guilty of having set up a system more rotten than the one we condemn as such.

Therefore whilst we are following the course of non-violent non-co-operation, we are bound in honour to live up to it in thought, word and deed. Let us make the frank confession, if we are too weak or too incredulous to live up to our creed.

The reader must not run away with the idea that I feel we are not standing the test. On the contrary I believe that we have obtained a marvellous hold over the people, that they have understood the necessity of non-violence as they have never done before.

But it would be wrong for us not to take due warning from the slighted deviation from the path deliberately chosen by us.

I find it necessary too, to utter the word of caution, because the provocation by the Government is on the increase. It is the greatest in the U. P. The arrest of Mr. Sherwani at 5 o'clock in the morning, his swift trial, conviction, sentence and removal the same day are enough to irritate the most sober-minded. The details of the trial show, that the magistrate knew little of law and cared less. The evidence before him, if all of it has been given to the press, was quite insufficient for a conviction. It almost seems that the conviction and sentence were prearranged. The production of evidence in that case was a huge farce. We are having a rehearsal of trials under the ordinary law. Where is the difference between an executive order and a judicial trial? The latter is more deadly as it is more difficult to expose. To say that a man had no trial, carries greater conviction of injustice than to have to say that the trial was farcical. Repressive laws may be repealed; it does not follow therefore that repression will be done away with. The substance will be the same though the form is changed. What we want is a change of substance, of spirit, of heart.

And if we desire that change, we must first change ourselves, i.e., be proof against repression. Just as we may not retort with violence, so may we not weaken under repression no matter how severe or trying it may be.

An authentic rumour comes from the U. P. that at least three more or less noted workers found the gaol life too trying, gave undertakings to refrain from certain acts and procured their discharge. If this is true, it is sad. We must be firm as a rock. There must be no going back. We must be able cheerfully to bear any torture that may be our lot in the gaols of India. We may expect no quarter from the Government. We must expect it to do the worst it can whether within or without the law. Its one purpose is to bend us, since it will not mend itself.

I am not passing harsh judgment on the Government. Dharwad and Aligarh are the latest instances of Government's defiance of propriety. If I am to credit another rumour, in a U. P. gaol a brave Mosalman prisoner was put in a dark cell

and locked up in it for three days in the midst of foul stench. My informant asked me, what a man who could not bear these stench was to do. The harsh but deliberate answer I gave was, that he was even then not to apologise, he was free to dash his head against the walls of the prison rather than submit to the wish of the tyrant. This is not an idle expression of opinion, but a bit-bit from my South African experiences. The gaol-life in South Africa was not a bed of roses. Many a prisoner had to undergo solitary confinement. Hundreds had to do sanitary work. Several fasted. One woman was discharged a skeleton, because the authorities would not allow her the only food she would eat. But she had a proud and resolute spirit. Out of the thousands who suffered imprisonment in South Africa, with one or two exceptions in the early stages I do not recall a single instance of a prisoner having weakened and apologised to purchase his freedom. Some like Parsi Rustamji, Imam Kadar Bavazir, Thambi Naidu and many others whose names I could set down never flinched but repeatedly sought imprisonment. The Temple of Freedom is not erected without the blood of sufferers. Non-violent method is the quickest, the surest and the best. Let us be true to our solemn oath taken at Congress and Khilafat Gatherings, and triumph is at hand.

THEFTS ON RAILWAYS

(TRANSLATED FROM GUJARATI.)

There is no end of complaints about thefts and corruption on railways. If all these are true, they are a matter of deep national shame, especially at a time when the whole country is passing through the fire of purification. Government certainly have nothing to do with these malpractices; the responsibility is entirely ours. I have even heard, that a bribe must be offered in times of famine when wagons are needed for the transport of grain. We may send anything we please by a railway parcel, but if it is at all vulnerable, its contents are bound to be tampered with. Only recently, a Bombay merchant received a parcel of Khadi through the railway and found that part of it was stolen. If railway servants happen to see this, they will kindly consider this request of mine to have some regard for the public and to find out other and honest means of eking out their income. It is my advice to associations of railway servants, that they may lay no less stress upon their members' performance of their duties than upon the vindication of their rights. If these complaints persevere in their existence even under Swaraj, the administration then will be as costly as it is now. Swaraj can be maintained, only where there is a majority of loyal and patriotic people to whom the good of the nation is paramount above all other considerations whatever including their personal profit. Swaraj means government by the many. Where the many are immoral or selfish, their government can spell anarchy and nothing else. I am in this movement, only as I believe that the many are good and true at the bottom but being cowardly and careless are ignorant of their inherent qualities, and that when once they have realised the power of goodness, they will begin to practise it and succeed in the attempt.

M. K. GANDHI.

INDIANS ABROAD.

To the Editor, *Young India*.

Sir,

The present time is the most critical not only in the history of India, but also in the history of Indian emigrants. The position of our countrymen in South Africa is daily growing worse. They are being deprived of their right to vote in municipal elections in certain municipalities where they had this right up to this time. The question of East African Indians is taking a serious turn. The Governor of East Africa has gone to London, and there is no doubt that he will press to the utmost the selfish point of view held by the white citizens of that colony. There has arisen a strong wave of racial feeling in New Zealand, and the Indians residing in that dominion have been treated unjustly and humiliated. And what shall I say of our unfortunate countrymen in Fiji, twenty thousands of whom have sold their all and are waiting for ships to take them home? When I interviewed you in Calcutta about the questions of Indians abroad, you said, "I consider the Fiji question to be the most momentous of all the questions so far as Indians abroad are concerned, for the Indians of South Africa and East Africa are resourceful, they have a voice, they can make it reach the world outside. But the poor indentured and ex-indentured Indians of Fiji are like dumb driven cattle after the criminal deportation of Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Doctor." Since the time you spoke these words, the things in Fiji have become much worse.

Now what shall we do for these unfortunate people? While commenting on my article in *Young India* of 22nd September 1920, you wrote that we should publish pamphlets broadcast in India about their grievances. Has anybody done this? No.

The Nagpur Congress has passed a resolution which says, that in the present enslaved condition of India we cannot give adequate protection to our countrymen in Fiji and other colonies. That is quite true. How can we protect others when we ourselves are slaves? But does this resolution mean, that we should postpone doing anything for our helpless countrymen in the colonies till we get Swaraj? I am afraid that has been the interpretation put upon this resolution by some people, and this is to a certain extent responsible for the criminal neglect of this question.

At the time of the Special Congress of Calcutta you kindly gave me an hour for an interview about the Indians abroad. In answer to my question, "In view of your having taken up non-co-operation, how do you propose to work for our countrymen abroad?" you said, "You have well put the question. My faith in British statesmen is shattered to pieces. I expect little or no assistance of a substantial character from the Imperial Government in order to redress the wrongs. Till therefore we have obtained complete responsible Government, we would bring more prominently than hitherto to the notice of the public here the grievances of our countrymen abroad, and the volume of the indignation of the country, ever growing in its intensity because of these wrongs, will be such that the Government

cannot—will not—be able to resist its pressure and will be compelled to take effective steps, because any wrong brought to our notice would speed the process of non-co-operation and to that extent the process of the disintegration of the forces of anarchy, injustice and exploitation which dominate the Government of India and the Imperial Government at the present moment. We shall therefore still continue to call public meetings, frame protests but they will all be by way of arming ourselves with a power that will compel the Government to do its duty."

I wonder if any effort has been made to bring the grievances of our countrymen abroad more prominently to the notice of the public. Why, the question of Indians abroad has been neglected almost altogether. Without giving any further proof of my statement, I will simply tell your readers that in the Nagpur Congress, the resolution about the Indians abroad was the last resolution on the last day and not a single word was spoken about it. It was simply read and passed! Has the All India Congress Committee done anything for them? In fact, it has not given the question a moment's attention. If any thing has been done this year for our countrymen in the colonies, it has been done by that most selfless Englishman, Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has spent days after days working for them from six in the morning till ten in the night. He has been overwhelmed with this work, and it has worn him out, but still he is going to Fiji next month, for the third time! And he has done this work single-handed for years. Mr. Polak has been indefatigable in his efforts for our countrymen in the colonies. But what are we Indians doing for them? The Congress advised the Indian people to give all sorts of help to the repatriated Indians, but the gentleman who has tried more than any one else to carry into effect this part of the Congress resolution is not an Indian, nor a Congressman, but an Englishman Mr. F. E. James of Calcutta.

It is very fortunate, that we have such noble helpers, but is it at all creditable for us not to take up this work ourselves? The problem of the repatriated Indians is not an easy one to solve. It is very thorny and very difficult. Who is going to take it up?

I understand that you are not in favour of starting any institution to watch the interests of Indians abroad. The bad example set by the Imperial Citizenship Association is really discouraging. You told me on 17th December last, that the best way is that some young men should turn themselves into institutions devoting all their time to this work. How is this possible for ordinary people, it is difficult to understand. However, it is high time the Indian people gave a little attention to this problem too. An unfortunate idea is getting abroad, that while we are ready to exploit the troubles of our countrymen in the Colonies, we are not ready to help them when they are in trouble. This impression ought to be removed and the only way to do this is to take up the work in right earnest. Shall we do it?

Yours etc.,

B. C.

SWIFT ON ENGLISH LAW.

I said there was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid. To this society all the rest of the people are slaves. For example, if my neighbour has a mind to my cow, he hires a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must then hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law that any man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now, in this case, I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages. First, my lawyer, being practised almost from his cradle in defending falsehoods, is quite out of his element when he would be an advocate for justice, which, as no unnatural office, he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill-will. The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren as one that would lessen the practice of the law. And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my cow. The first is, to gain over my adversary's lawyer with a double fee, who will then betray his client by insinuating that he has justice on his side. The second way is for my lawyer to make my cause appear as unjust as he can, by allowing the cow to belong to my adversary and this, if it be skilfully done, will certainly bespeak the favour of the bench. Now your honour is to know, that these judges are persons appointed to decide all controversies of property, as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the most dexterous lawyers who have grown old or lazy; and having been biased all their lives against truth and equity, he under such a fatal necessity of favouring fraud, perjury, and oppression, that I have known some of them refuse a large bribe from the side where justice lay, rather than injure the faculty by doing something unbecoming their nature or their office.

It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever has been done before may legally be done again, and therefore they take special care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

In pleading, they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause, but are loud, violent and tedious in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned, they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary has to my cow, but whether the said cow were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square, whether she were milked at home or abroad, what diseases she is subject to and the like. After which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years come to an issue.

It is likewise to be observed, that this society has a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong, so that it will take thirty years to decide, whether the field left me by my ancestors for six generations belongs to me or to a stranger three hundred miles off.

In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more short and commendable, the judge first sends to round the disposition of those in power, after which he can easily hang or save a criminal, strictly preserving all the forms of law.

Gulliver—Houyhnhnms, Cap. V.

GLADSTONE TO BREWERS.

Gentlemen, you need not give yourselves any trouble about the revenue. The question of revenue must never stand in the way of needed reforms. Besides, with a sober population, not wasting their earnings, I shall know where to obtain the revenue.

Great Britain spends on drink 260,000,000 £ a year, or 5,000,000 £ a week or over 700,000 £ (—over a crore of rupees) per day.

First the missionary, then the trader—then the gun boat, and then—Oh Lord!

AN AFRICAN CHIEF.

(quoted by Bernard Bosanquet.)

The population of New Zealand is about 1,200,000, i.e. half that of Kathiawad. New Zealand is a member of the League of Nations; where is Kathiawad?

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{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

SWADESHI.

The Swadeshi movement is the cow-protecting movement of the present age. There will yet come a time in India, when the man who buys from a foreigner what his own countryman could by any means supply, will be regarded as on a level with the killer of cows to-day. For assuredly the two offences are morally identical.

SISTER NIVEDITA.

Swadeshi is not a policy of hate; when you say, we will use only the goods which we make—we will use no foreign goods, you give no just ground for offence, even to Englishmen. Englishmen, next to Americans, are the wealthiest people in the world, with an average income of about Rs. 600 a year; you are the poorest people in the world, with an average income of Rs. 15 a year. Does neighbourly love require the Indian to starve in idleness, in order that the wealthy Englishman may have more industry and collect more wealth? Do not forget, that by the use of foreign goods you are taking the bread from the mouths of some of your countrymen and causing some of your countrymen to die of starvation. Is this neighbourly love? Is it humanity? Is it justice?

MYRON H. PHELPS.

We often have movements which make a little noise for a time and then disappear without leaving any permanent mark behind. I think it safe to say that the Swadeshi movement is not going to be one of that kind, and my own personal conviction is that in this movement we shall ultimately find the true salvation of India.

Every year between 30 and 40 crores of Rupees go out of India never to come back. No country—not even the richest in the world—can stand such a bleeding as this.

The production per head in India is £2 or Rs. 30 according to Government calculation and about Rs. 20 according to Indian calculation. England's production per head is £40, i. e. about 20 or 30 times greater than that of this country. Take again the buying power of the people as judged by the imports. In England the average imports per head are about £15 or Rs. 225; even in Ceylon they are £2 per head; but in India they are only six shillings or 4 to 5 Rs. per head. Take the deposits in banks. The deposits in English banks are about 1,200 crores of rupees, for a population of about 4 crores. We are 30 crores and our deposits are only 50 crores for the

whole of India, and these deposits include also the amount held by European merchants in the country. Again, take the Savings Banks. In the Savings Banks and Trustees Banks in England there are 300 crores deposited to-day, as against about 12 crores in this country—less than 7 annas per head against about Rs. 75 per head in England.

The task which the people of India are now called upon to accomplish, is the most difficult that ever confronted any people on the face of the earth. Why it has pleased Providence to set it before us why we are asked to wade through the deepest part of the stream—to be in the hottest part of the battle—Providence alone knows. But it is my hope and my faith that we will successfully achieve this task. The situation requires us to devote ourselves to the service of our mother-land in an earnest and self-sacrificing spirit. But what can be higher or nobler or holier or more inspiring than such service? In working for India, we shall only be working for the land of our birth, for the land of our fathers, for the land of our children. We shall be working for a country which God has blessed in many ways, but which man has not served so well. And if we do this work as God wants us to do it, our mother-land will yet march onwards and again occupy an honoured place among the nations of the world.

GOKHALE.

Lakhuva Speech, 9th Feb, 1906.

NOTES

Pride of Andhra—After a J. Konda Venkatappaya and his barrister and vakil friends have been arrested. When the news of the first two arrests of a well-known barrister and vakil came. I was prepared to hear that Mr. Venkatappaya was shot dead. He had proclaimed a week's hartal over the arrests in anticipation of the Committee's sanction. I felt that the hartal was a bad move. And I think so still. His next telegram was that the hartal was going on peacefully. Then came the telegram announcing the arrest of his four associates and of himself. I believe Konda Venkatappaya to be the pride of Andhra. He woke up in that great country when every one else was asleep. He has great strength of character. He has accepted non-violence as his creed and he is fully living up to it. With so many others he has for years dedicated himself to the service of the country. And when he is arrested,

to me it is the surest sign of the complete insanity of the Government. It is also a sign to me of victory hastening to us. Only, the Andhra friends must remain calm and unperturbed. They are a brave and spiritually-minded people. They have dogged pertinacity. They have a fine body of workers. And they can give a good account of themselves during these few months of strenuous work. They can best honour the imprisoned leaders by becoming leaders themselves and organising Swadeshi. They must discard foreign cloth. Ours is a country in which we do with just enough cloth to hide our nakedness. Andhra has still got the skill to produce the finest hand-spun yarn obtainable in India. Let every Andhra man and woman be engaged in this great work during the next two months, no matter what happens to whom. Imprisonment of the best of us ought not to arrest the progress of our work; it should on the contrary add to our speed.

Indian Soldiers and Civilians—Bureaucracy does not mean Englishmen merely; it also means thousands of Indians trained by them. It is a vicious system which taints all who belong to it. And so it has come about that now the Indian soldier and the Indian Civilian are being used more and more for advancing the system. Who are the men at the back of the Guntur arrests? Indians. Who gave the order to fire in Matiani? An Indian. Who charged the poor labourers of Assam? Indians. Who conducted the mock trial of Maulana Sherwani? An Indian. The Gurkhas who charged had not the courage to disobey the orders to assault innocent men and women. The Indian officers and magistrates in various places have not the courage to refuse to punish or shoot innocent men. Our demoralisation is complete when we become willing tools in the hands of the tyrant. I should not at all be surprised, if we find that the next Jallianwala is organised and worked under Indian guidance. And it would go down to posterity as training in Swaraj! The profession of a soldier or a judge cannot be an honourable calling under a system of government that is designed to keep millions of men under subjection as long as possible. But we must put up with the tyranny of our own kith and kin as we do with that of the foreigner. Let us not weakly imagine, that we may frighten them into giving up their 'job.' They will do so, only when they are tired of it, never by our making their life intolerable. We must challenge them to do the worst even as we challenge the English official or officer. As a matter of fact they can only be pitied. And being irresponsible they are more likely to make fatal blunders than an English official. The latter often imposes upon himself a restraint which his consciousness of being a member of the ruling race requires, whereas the Indian runs at the most the risk of losing his post. The repression now assuming definite shape in our land is therefore of a far more dangerous type than hitherto. We must be prepared to face it patiently and fearlessly.

The Shikhs Colour The Shikh friends are needlessly agitated over the colours in the proposed national flag. They want the black colour also to be inserted on the ground of their military

importance. Apart from the merits, their agitation has no point, as the flag has not even come before the All India Congress Committee for discussion or decision. And in view of their objection I do not propose to bring it up before the Committee at all, so long as I have failed to convince them of the unreasonableness of the demand. On the merits, I have not the shadow of a doubt that they should withdraw the objection. The white includes all other colours. To ask for special prominence is tantamount to a refusal to merge in the two numerically great communities. I would have had only one colour if there had been no quarrel between Hindus and Musalmans. The Shikhs never had any difference with the Hindus. And their quarrel with the Musalmans was of the same type as the Hindus'. It is a dangerous thing to emphasise our differences or distinctions. We must seek for points of contact. Distinguished Musalman friends on hearing of the Shikh claim advised me to adopt a single colour, either white or red. But that too would be inadvisable. The two colours red and green should be there to perpetuate the growing unity. I am aware of the difficulty of Shikh Nationalists. The Government agents in the Shikh Camp are making all kinds of mischievous suggestions to breed dissensions. And they are naturally afraid. The best thing is not to worry. If they attempt to set right every grievance manufactured against Hindus or Musalmans or against the non-co-operation movement in general, they will find that they will have no platform to stand upon. Whether they are few or many, Shikh nationalists must know their own mind and stand unmoved by anything said by their detractors.

Shikh Representation—Whilst therefore I believe the complaint regarding the national colours to be unsound, I regard the Shikh fear about representation at the present stage to be justified. They have been assured by the Congress communal representation, if the Musalmans insist upon the Lucknow compact. The Working Committee issued only advisory instructions because of attempts to divide Musalmans. The Shikhs therefore are entitled to similar assurances. There should be no difficulty about issuing them. It is largely a question for the three communities in the Punjab to settle among themselves. The Committee can only issue helpful instructions.

The Agreed Statement—His Excellency the Viceroy has now issued a statement agreed between him and me regarding the interviews I had the honour of having with him. The statement sets forth all the details that the public need know. I do not propose to discuss it. In my opinion it makes it clear that the apology as I have called the statement of regrets initiated with me, that it was conceived before I ever knew of the impending prosecution for the speeches that were shown to me and that it was neither suggested nor made for fear of the prosecution of the Brothers, certainly not to avoid imprisonment. It is my firm belief that the Brothers have rendered a great service to the cause by making the statement. I do not regret having

given them the advice, I wish also to place on record my appreciation of the willingness with which Lord Reading approached my request for the publication of an agreed statement. In the lengthy correspondence that ensued between us for settling the form and the language of the statement, I did not observe on His Excellency's part any inclination to avoid mention of any relevant detail. On my part I had informed him that I had no intention to hide anything whatsoever. The public therefore have a full statement from both sides.

Bad of Karachi—Though I have not read the papers regarding the stoning of Europeans in Karachi by a crowd that was incensed against the imprisonment of Swami Krishnanand, from what I have heard through friends from Sindh I must confess that those who threw stones have done a disservice to the sacred cause they had at heart. They have also shown little honour to the Swami by breaking the pledge of non-violence. The Swami is undoubtedly a popular and fearless worker. He had been producing by organised picketing a marked impression on the receipts of the liquor-dealers. I hear too that he was falsely charged with having assaulted some one. Granting all this, it was the clear duty of the populace to observe perfect self-restraint. It is a most thoughtless thing to assault innocent Europeans, because the police have wrongly prosecuted and a magistrate has wrongly convicted. Incidents such as these make civil disobedience difficult if not impossible. Let the crowd that so misbehaved in Karachi honour the Swami by boycotting foreign cloth, and by spinning or weaving.

A Sign of the Times—One of the happiest experiences of the A. I. C. C. meeting in Bombay was the fact that a Telugu member asked speakers who know Hindustani to speak in that language, and the Tamil President accepted the suggestion and straightway appealed to the next speaker to speak in Hindustani. The idea was popular, and several speakers adopted it. There are now many schools in Dravida-land teaching Hindustani. Much however still remains to be done. I hope that when the Committee meets next, the Dravidian members will have made headway with their Hindustani. Let the would-be delegates to the Congress also take note.

M. K. G.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

KERALA (up till 1st July)

- I *Suspensions of legal practice* 14.
- II *Arbitration Courts* 7.
- III *National Schools* 7.
- IV *Congress Committees* 213. *Membership* 25,061.
- V *Swaraj Fund*, Rs. 19,516-0-7.
- VI *Spinning-wheels* 1400.

Mr. Gandhi has received the following cablegram from the Second International Convention of Negroes New York City (Marcus Garvey President):—Please accept best wishes of 40,000,000 Negroes through us their representatives for the speedy emancipation of India from the thralldom of foreign oppression. You may depend on us for whatsoever help we can give.

REMINISCENCES OF LOKAMANYA.

When Lokamanya went to Delhi to interview Mr. Montagu, Government prohibited the holding of any procession in his honour. The illiterate people on the street were talking among themselves:—'Aj Poona-ka Raja ant-udla hai. Sarkar us-se balast dasti hai.' (The King of Poona is coming to-day Government are mightily afraid of him)

A friend of Tilak once asked him in course of conversation, 'Balvantran, what portfolio will you select under Swaraj? Will you be Prime Minister or will you be Foreign Member?' Tilak replied, 'No, sir. Under Swaraj I will become Professor of Mathematics in a Swadeshi college and retire from public life. I detest politics. I still wish to write a book on differential calculus. The country is in a very bad way and none of you is doing anything for it. So I am compelled to look into the matter.'

There was a meeting in Bombay, where many scholars attended. Tilak delivered a learned and original address on Chaldean civilisation and the parallels between Indian and Iranian civilisations. When the meeting was over, the President who was a Parsi said, 'Mr. Tilak, you are making a misuse of your talents. With such a magnificent intellect you are eminently fitted for historical research, and if you devote yourself to it, you will acquire a world-wide reputation. Leaving this, why do you entangle yourself in the mire of politics?' Tilak replied, 'India is not a sterile woman. When there is Swaraj there will be thousands of scholars like myself. To-day there is a supreme necessity for every one of us to run to our country's succour, and to devote our abilities, our energy and our all to the attainment of Swaraj.'

When the *Rashtramata* was started in Bombay, there was a talk about tables, chairs and other requisites for its office. Tilak said, 'When we started the *Kesari* and the *Maratha*, we had no such paraphernalia of editorial dignity. We got not a pie from the papers. We used to roll up our bedding, and that served us as a table. Our articles, written on such loose yielding stuff, were still powerful and trenchant enough.'

When the New English School was first started, it naturally did not get very bright students. Its boys were either dull or mischievous. When some one was disappointed at this, Tilak said, 'There lies our real test. When we make something even of such boys, the people will begin to believe in us.'

Tilak drew a salary of 30 Rs. from the school. One of his comrades remarked that on such an income they would hardly be able to save enough to purchase funeral requisites in case they died. Tilak replied, 'Society must bother about it more than ourselves. They will see to the burning of our corpse for purposes of sanitation, if not of hero-worship.'

D. B. KALELKAR

(FROM THE GUJARATI *Navaajvan*.)

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

By M. K. GANDHI.

Civil disobedience was on the lips of every one of the members of the All India Congress Committee. Not having really ever tried it, every one appeared to be enamoured of it from a mistaken belief in it as a sovereign remedy for our present-day ills. I feel sure that it can be made such if we can produce the necessary atmosphere for it. For individuals there always is that atmosphere except when their civil disobedience is certain to lead to bloodshed. I discovered this exception during the Satyagraha days. But even so a call may come which one dare not neglect, cost it what it may. I can clearly see the time coming to me when I must refuse obedience to every single state-made law, even though there may be a certainty of bloodshed. When neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a peremptory duty.

Mass civil disobedience stands on a different footing. It can only be tried in a calm atmosphere. It must be the calmness of strength not weakness, of knowledge not ignorance. Individual civil disobedience may be and often is vicarious. Mass civil disobedience may be and often is selfish in the sense that individuals expect personal gain from their disobedience. Thus in South Africa, Kallenbach and Polak offered vicarious civil disobedience. They had nothing to gain. Thousands offered it because they expected personal gain also in the shape say of the removal of the annual poll-tax levied upon ex-indentured men and their wives and grown-up children. It is sufficient in mass civil disobedience if the resisters understand the working of the doctrine.

It was in a practically uninhabited tract of country that I was arrested in South Africa when I was marching into prohibited area with over two to three thousand men and some women. The company included several Pathans and others who were able-bodied men. It was the greatest testimony of merit the Government of South Africa gave to the movement. They knew that we were as harmless as we were determined. It was easy enough for that body of men to cut to pieces those who arrested me. It would have not only been a most cowardly thing to do, but it would have been a treacherous breach of their own pledge, and it would have meant ruin to the struggle for freedom and the forcible deportation of every Indian from South Africa. But the men were no rabble. They were disciplined soldiers and all the better for being unarmed. Though I was torn from them, they did not disperse, nor did they turn back. They marched on to their destination till they were every one of them arrested and imprisoned. So far as I am aware, this was an instance of discipline and non-violence for which there is no parallel in history. Without such restraint I see no hope of successful mass civil disobedience here.

We must dismiss the idea of overawing the government by huge demonstrations every time some one is arrested. On the contrary we must treat arrest as the normal condition of the life of a non-co-operator. For we must seek arrest and imprisonment,

as a soldier who goes to battle seeks death. We expect to bear down the opposition of the Government by courting and not by avoiding imprisonment, even though it be by showing our supposed readiness to be arrested and imprisoned *en masse*. Civil disobedience then emphatically means our desire to surrender to a single unarmed policeman. Our triumph consists in thousands being led to the prisons like lambs to the slaughter house. If the lambs of the world had been willingly led, they would have long ago saved themselves from the butcher's knife. Our triumph consists again in being imprisoned for no wrong whatsoever. The greater our innocence, the greater our strength and the swifter our victory.

As it is, this Government is cowardly, we are afraid of imprisonment. The Government takes advantage of our fear of gaols. If only our men and women welcome gaols as health-resorts, we will cease to worry about the dear ones put in gaols which our countrymen in South Africa used to nickname His Majesty's Hotels.

We have too long been mentally disobedient to the laws of the state and have too often surreptitiously evaded them, to be fit all of a sudden for civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil has to be open and non-violent.

Complete civil disobedience is a state of peaceful rebellion—a refusal to obey every single state-made law. It is certainly more dangerous than an armed rebellion. For it can never be put down if the civil resisters are prepared to face extreme hardships. It is based upon an implicit belief in the absolute efficiency of innocent suffering. By noiselessly going to prison a civil resister ensures a calm atmosphere. The wrong-doer wearies of wrong-doing in the absence of resistance. All pleasure is lost when the victim betrays no resistance. A full grasp of the conditions of successful civil resistance is necessary at least on the part of the representatives of the people before we can launch out on an enterprise of such magnitude. The quickest remedies are always fraught with the greatest danger and require the utmost skill in handling them. It is my firm conviction that if we bring about a successful boycott of foreign cloth, we shall have produced an atmosphere that would enable us to inaugurate civil disobedience on a scale that no Government can resist. I would therefore urge patience and determined concentration on Swadeshi upon those who are impatient to embark on mass civil disobedience.

AT CHOWPATI

The following is the text of the address distributed to the vast audience at Chowpati, Bombay on the 1st of August:

It was the magic of Lokamanya Tilak's name that brought together the two lacs of men and women on Mr. Sobani's ground yesterday. It was to me a soul-stirring sight. Bombay the Beautiful lit yesterday a fire which must remain for ever alive even as in a Parsi temple and which must continually burn all our pollutions, as yesterday we burnt our greatest outward pollution, namely our foreign

clothing. Let it be a token of our determination never to touch foreign cloth. Untouchability of foreign cloth must be held to be a duty with every Hindu, Musalman, Jain, Shikh, Parsi, Christian, Jew and all other religious communities which have made India their home. Let it be a common necessary factor for all Indian creeds. Untouchability of foreign cloth is as much a virtue with all of us as untouchability of the suppressed classes must be a sin with every devout Hindu. It was therefore a noble sacrifice we made yesterday. Bombay qualified herself for celebrating Lokamanya's memory. Let us treasure the memory of his great self-sacrifice, his dauntless courage and his austere simplicity. He made patriotism a religion. Let us dedicate ourselves for realisation of his dream of Swaraj. No memorial less than Swaraj can fittingly perpetuate his memory.

And as I said yesterday, there is no deliverance for India without true Swadeshi. It was the true and necessary sacrificial fire we lit yesterday.

As with the outer, so with the inner. To me, yesterday's outward fire is the symbol of the inner fire that should burn up all our weaknesses of the head or the heart. Our purified reason must show us the true economics of Swadeshi. Our purified hearts must make us strong to withstand the temptation of yielding to the charms of foreign cloth. However good it may be outside India, it is not good enough for India.

If it was a true fire we lit yesterday, if it is a true homage we have met to-day to render to the memory of Lokamanya, we will take good care not to deceive ourselves or the nation. Khadi is on the fair way to become the state dress, it is not the foreign muslin that will henceforth deck our bodies on auspicious occasions, but the sacred Khadi reminiscent not of sweated labour or the enforced idleness and pauperism of India's millions, but of the reviving poetry of the homelife and of the incoming prosperity of the poorest toiler. And if that is to be the significance of yesterday's sacrament and to-day's demonstration on the very spot where twelve months ago the sacred remains of our deceased countryman were cremated, there must be no turning back upon our resolution, there must be no make-believe, no mere show. We must give up the use of foreign cloth once for all. We must realise that foreign cloth in our possession is valueless, even as the richest milk if it is discovered to be infected is fit only to be thrown away. If we are no longer to wear foreign cloth, is it not so much burden locked up in our trunks? Do they not in Europe give up valuable things when they have gone out of fashion? I utter this word of caution at this early stage because I know that many have given up only a part of their foreign clothing in the hope, evidently, that some day they might be able to wear what they kept. Collection of foreign cloth is not like collection of funds and jewellery of which only a part need be given by many. Collection of foreign cloth is like collection of refuse, every particle of which an industrious and careful housewife puts in the dustbin. So much depends upon our ability to revolutionize our taste for the tinsel splendour of the shops for the sale of foreign cloth are to be

an exception in our bazars. Let us not hanker after imitations. If we do, we are likely to have fraudulent imitations of Khadi from foreign markets. For the time being and during the transition period, the coarser and unwashed Khadi is the best.

I swear by Swadeshi, as it affords occasion for an ample exercise of all our faculties and as it tests every one of the millions of men and women, young and old. It can succeed only if India acts as one mind. And if India can do so in Swadeshi, she will have learnt the secret of Swaraj. She will then have mastered the art of destruction and construction in a scientific manner.

To us the spot where we burnt a part of our sins yesterday has become hallowed. Let me hope that Mr. Sobani who has already contributed generously to the movement and who has given his son to it, will part with just the plot on which the sacrificial fire was lighted and enable the nation to erect a fitting monument to commemorate the sacred event. And so must we acquire this site where we have met to-day and where we cremated the remains of Lokamanya. Here out of his ashes rose the force of non-co-operation. It was on the 1st of August last that non-co-operation was inaugurated. And it was in Parel on Mr. Sobani's ground yesterday that the nation commenced what is to me almost the final stage in its march towards Swaraj. May God grant that India shall not be found wanting on the 30th of September next.

A word about the the volunteers, and I have done. We are often accused of incapacity of organisation. Yet there was no police needed yesterday, and there was no mishap. All work from collection down to burning was organised by the volunteers. All honour to them and the other helpers. It is by such patient, silent and peaceful effort that we hope to win freedom's battle.

INTERVIEW-CUM-APOLOGY.

His Excellency's attention has been directed, and notably by Mr. Gandhi, to various statements that have appeared, and to inferences that have been drawn in the public press, relating to the conversations between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi concerning Mr. Shankat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali which in some respects do not correctly represent the purport of those communications.

The interviews between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi resulted from a conversation between the Viceroy and Pandit Malaviya relating to the conditions generally prevailing in India. His Excellency informed Pandit Malaviya of the Government's decision to commence criminal proceedings against Mr. Shankat Ali for having made speeches inciting to violence and the discussion turned upon the disturbances that might possibly ensue. Pandit Malaviya expressed the opinion that it would be of advantage for His Excellency to meet Mr. Gandhi. His Excellency replied that he would be glad to meet Mr. Gandhi and hear his views if he applied for an interview. On the next day, Mr. Andrews saw His Excellency and suggested that he should see Mr. Gandhi. It should be observed that various important matters were discussed during these

conversations and that the proposed interview between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi was intended to have reference to the situation generally. His Excellency is, however, aware that Pandit Malaviya in inviting Mr. Gandhi to Simla did not refer to the contemplated proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali.

In due course Mr. Gandhi came to Simla, at the request of Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Andrews, and asked for an interview with His Excellency, which was immediately arranged. At the first interview no mention was made of the proposed prosecutions. The conversation related to the causes of discontent in India. Upon the next occasion His Excellency stated that, according to the Government reports, responsible non-co-operators had made speeches inciting to violence contrary to the doctrine advocated by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi repudiated incitement to violence on the part of any of the responsible non-co-operators and said that if he was satisfied that any of them had incited to violence, he would publicly repudiate them and their teachings unless they withdrew their statements that amounted to incitement to violence. His Excellency mentioned the names of the Ali brothers and promised to show Mr. Gandhi passages in their speeches which, in his opinion, were calculated to incite to violence, and when the passages were actually read to Mr. Gandhi he admitted that they were capable of bearing the interpretation His Excellency put upon them. He, however, asserted that he was convinced that it was not intended by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali to incite the audience to violence. Mr. Gandhi added that he would see them as soon as he left Simla and advise them to express publicly their regret for the unintentional incitement contained in the passages. His Excellency, thereupon, asked whether, in view of the importance of the document, Mr. Gandhi would show him the draft of the statement he intended to advise Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali to publish.

It was at this stage that the Viceroy said that it was proposed to institute criminal proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali in respect of these passages and that, if Mr. Gandhi showed him the statement and it satisfied him from the standpoint of his Government, he would use his influence to prevent the institution of prosecution, for, the Viceroy said, the object of the Government would be attained if the making of speeches of a violent character was in future prevented. Mr. Gandhi readily agreed to show the statement. The draft statement was duly shown by Mr. Gandhi to His Excellency, who pointed out that the introduction of certain paragraphs gave the statement the appearance of a manifesto including that of the religious creed of Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali. The Viceroy observed further that the statement was incomplete so far as it did not contain a promise to refrain in the future from the speeches inciting to violence and added that after publication of the statement Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali could give any explanation by means of speeches provided they did not infringe the law. Mr. Gandhi agreed to delete the paragraphs in question and to add a passage to cover promises of future conduct. His Excellency then informed Mr. Gandhi that if

Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali signed the statement as then altered by Mr. Gandhi, with the addition of the promise as to the future conduct, steps would be taken to suspend the institution of proceedings and that no prosecution would take place so long as the promises given in the published statement were observed. The Government remained free to take up prosecutions for the past speeches. The Viceroy added that, in the event of the publication of the statement by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali and of the Government refraining in consequence from the prosecutions it would be necessary to issue a *communiqué* explaining the attitude of the Government. There was however no desire to bargain. Mr. Gandhi even said that, whether the prosecutions took place or not, he would be bound, after having shown the extracts to his friends for their own honour and that of the cause to advise them to express publicly their regret.

During the whole discussion His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi were actuated by the desire to prevent any untoward events that might result from the prosecutions, as also to prevent speeches inciting to violence. The Viceroy informed Mr. Gandhi that he might not be able to prevent the commencement of proceedings if the statement was not published with the least possible delay. There was already much discussion of the speeches not only in India but also in the United Kingdom. Mr. Gandhi agreed that the statement should be published without delay. Mr. Gandhi then left Simla and some days afterwards telegraphed to His Excellency that Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali had signed the statement with immaterial alteration and sent it to the press for publication. The alteration was as follows:—For the passage in Mr. Gandhi's draft statement "We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence but we recognise that certain passages in our speeches are capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them," Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali put, "We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation."

After the publication of the statement an official *communiqué* was issued by the Government. The terms of the *communiqué* were not actually settled until just before its issue and Mr. Gandhi never saw it although the substance of it as already indicated had been communicated to him. The main part of the interviews between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi consisted of conversations which ranged over the various causes of discontent in India including the Punjab disturbances, the Khilafat agitation, the Treaty of Sevres and the general conditions of the people. Mr. Gandhi did not submit any scheme of Swaraj to His Excellency, nor was a scheme of Swaraj discussed at the interviews.

In India, an abstainer would live to the age of 53·4 years on an average, the moderate drinker would live only 40·4 years, while the hard drinker would live only to the age of 24·4 years.

H. W. KNIGHT in the ABKARI.

GANDHI SAHIB.

THE MAN OF THE MOMENT.

Who is this "egregious Mr. Gandhi" whose quaint designs propounded with all solemnity to bring the British Government to its knees and hasten the establishment of complete self-government in India arouse the enthusiasm of Indians and the ridicule of Europeans? He is the soul of India in revolt, the spirit of Indian discontent, the assertion of the East's equality with the West, most powerful and at the same time the most puzzling personality in India to-day. Physically, he hardly counts: scarce 5ft. 6in. in height, frail of body, humble in dress and, devoid of good looks, he presents an altogether undistinguished figure; but a light in the eye and a spring in the step mark him off from the common herd. Birth and caste yield him little prestige; his father was an obscure official in a native state and he himself is a barrister who ceased to practice some years ago. He comes not from the proud ranks of priest or soldier; his caste is that of the trader; but seven years in England and twenty in South Africa have familiarised him, with the wider world of men and affairs and given him a knowledge of the English language possessed by few of his countrymen. He is no orator; and yet he commands the ear of India. He lays no claim to scholarship, he has written nothing with any prospect of immortality. He is the nominee of no party, and yet to-day at the early age of 52 he holds the first place in the hearts of his countrymen. Wherein lies his power? The answer is obvious—in the man himself. This man of humble birth with the light in his eye and the step of a pioneer, this saint turned politician, this returned exile breathing the doctrines of Tolstoy and Ruskin, this "egregious Mr. Gandhi" is the biggest man in India. We have nobody in this country to whom we can liken him: a General Booth turned politician or a Reverend Roth Smillie might serve as a possible approach to a Western comparison, but even there we should be far from the real Gandhi. He baffles classification. Here, for example, are a few estimates that came within my own knowledge. 'Sir, he is a God,' was the reverent verdict of a Bengali station-master; 'God has given only one Gandhi Sahib in this millennium,' was the fine tribute of an unlettered villager. 'Gandhi is our Mahatma' (our superman) was the faith of a student disciple. "This man reminds me of the Apostle Paul," said a shrewd Government official who had evidently been to a Sunday school in his youth; 'Beware of Gandhi,' wrote a valued friend, 'he is a revolutionary of a most dangerous type.' I have heard him further described as a 'charlatan,' a 'madman,' a 'villain,' 'a menace to British rule,' an 'astute politician who hides his real designs under a mask of guileless simplicity,' an 'irresponsible and unscrupulous agitator,' a 'country cousin,' the 'saviour of his country,' and the 'egregious Mr. Gandhi.' This then, is no common man, be he revolutionary or evolutionary, prophet or politician, saint or sinner, agitator or statesman, madman or wise man, saviour or wrecker, mere man or superman: come he in peace or come he in war, he arrests attention and

demands a hearing. He is not to be dismissed by the fine sarcasm of an editorial in an English newspaper nor rendered ridiculous by the foolish worship of admiring disciples: in him the current discontents of India begotten of certain unpopular legislative measures, agrarian and industrial grievances, social inequalities at home and abroad, the implications of the great war and the aftermath of martial law in the Punjab, find expression and he can only be silenced when these are remedied or allayed.

But what manner of man is this? He is a patriot. I have never known a more Indian Indian. He is, moreover, a man of the people. Poverty is the badge of his tribe; the clothes he wears were probably woven by himself—one of his hobbies is handloom weaving; his wants are few—he exists mainly on nuts and fruits; he always travels third class on the railway—a sure token of humility in India, and he is big enough and human enough to break through the conventions of caste and custom in order to eat with pariahs. He will even dine with a Christian missionary! Either a touch of nature makes him wondrous kind or diplomacy drives him to strange companionships and unlikely dinner parties. He is a saint in homespun; but the man is never lost in the saint, for this strangely assorted democrat maintains against heavy odds a keen sense of humour. Then he is a man who bears in his body the marks of suffering. Here, if anywhere, we light on the secret of his power. This man has suffered for being an Indian; his patriotism has been put to the test, time and again, notably in South Africa, where he surrendered a lucrative practice at the bar in order to share the afflictions of his people, and where his championship of their cause led him frequently to prison and on one occasion to the verge of a violent death at the hands of a misguided countryman. These marks command respect. He is of the stuff of which martyrs are made.

A partisan in politics, Gandhi is no bigot in religion. He calls himself a Hindu, but that is a term exceeding broad, and in many matters he shares common ground with Christians and Mahomedans. In fact, his ardent sympathy with the latter contributed largely to the gravity of the Khilafat agitation. He is a disciple of Tolstoy and Ruskin; but he reverences the Christ, and quotes as freely from the Sermon on the Mount as from the Gita. He sees in the Apostle Paul's eulogy of love a foreshadowing of his own doctrine of 'soul force,' and Calvary as the supreme symbol of sacrifice, is to him holy ground. Familiarity with the Christian Scriptures is a remarkable feature of this remarkable man. Courage and sincerity are closely allied and Gandhi fears neither friend nor foe. He speaks his mind with refreshing candour; and herein he is a man apart for Indians generally are disinclined to say what they think and state unpleasant truths. Determination is another arresting characteristic. Determination is not far removed from doggedness and we must confess that the 'egregious Mr. Gandhi' is a 'thrown devil.' Once set on a certain course nothing moves him but disaster. This was tragically illustrated in his advocacy of 'passive resistance,' which led, in some measure at least, to the outburst of mob fury that

ushered in the reign of terror in the Punjab. Notwithstanding this obstinate strain in him he knows the value of compromise, and has proved himself more than once a shrewd man of affairs. Few practical politicians at the age of 52 have a better record of something attempted, something done. His record in South Africa will bear the closest scrutiny, and all who read it must bear tribute, however reluctantly, to his resource as well as his patriotism. Returning to India late in life, he plunged with eager spirit into its problems, and many hailed him as the natural successor of Gokhale—one of the greatest Indians of all time. For a time social and economic questions claimed him; he intervened effectively in agrarian troubles in Champaran and Kaira and showed so little (?) resource in handling labour problems; he advocated the revival of cottage industries, notably handloom weaving, and pleaded earnestly for the recovery of self-respect among his people: female emancipation found in him an ardent champion, and education, on Indian lines, a powerful advocate. Ultimately, impelled by the sovereign motive of patriotism, he entered the troubled arena of Indian politics and he stands out to-day the acknowledged leader of the extremist wing of the Nationalist party and the author of the policy of non-co-operation. This is frankly a policy of boycott, and its avowed object is by rendering the present Government futile and impossible, to win complete self-government for India. Primarily it had in view the modification of the Peace Treaty with Turkey and reparation for the alleged miscarriage of justice in the Punjab; but these minor claims are now merged in the supreme claim for immediate and complete Home Rule.

We do well to remember that this non-co-operation movement has behind it not only the dominating personality of Gandhi but also the following sources of discontent:—(1) The Rowlatt Act—a measure designed to deal immediately and drastically with sedition, but carried through in the teeth of the vehement opposition of educated India. (2) The Peace Treaty with Turkey, the terms of which, by their alleged unfairness to the Sultan of Turkey and his empire, aroused the deep resentment of Indian Mohammedans. (3) The unfortunate and tragic happenings in the Punjab in April, 1919: 'martial law and no damned nonsense' may be a sovereign remedy in desperate emergencies, but in the Punjab if it averted a mutiny, as its defenders claim, it left behind an embittered populace and wounded the heart of the province. (4) The treatment of Indians in South Africa and elsewhere—the badge of inferiority is harder to bear as the national consciousness in India gains in strength. (5) The acute economic pressure created by the war and the apparent helplessness of Government to relieve the situation. (6) Ever-recurring agrarian and industrial troubles, turned so easily to political account, since the grievances, as a rule, are genuine. and (7) The universal spirit of revolt against things, as they are in the world to-day, and vocal in India as elsewhere. Bearing these things in mind it is no altogether surprising that ardent spirits like Mr. Gandhi have come to the conclusion that British

Administration in India has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Things, they argue, could not be worse under Indian rule. That they are mistaken hardly affects the issue, they are out to make India mistress within her own house and the spirit of haste now dominates their counsels. Hitherto the goal of educated India has been self-government within the Empire, to-day the extremist wing of the Nationalist party define their objective as 'self government by all legitimate and peaceful means.' The reassuring words 'within the British Empire' are dropped, and the possibility of separation must therefore be faced. In the meantime India may become a vast Ireland.

I am of opinion, however, that the policy of non-co-operation will fail in its immediate objective for two very good reasons. (1) It runs counter to human nature. It asks the lawyer to give up his practice the trader to confine himself to Indian goods, the politician to shun the Councils, the politician to renounce his titles, the students to withdraw from Government schools, and the parent to cease propagating his kind till Home Rule is won. This is magnificent, but it levies an impossible tax on Indian human nature as at present constituted. (2) It is dictated by no overmastering need. It overlooks the salient fact that the peasant, the man that really matters in India, and to whom political power must ultimately pass—has yet to be persuaded that Home Rule is a good thing, far less an immediate necessity. But whether non-co-operation succeed or fail, Gandhi himself will triumph, for he represents the soul of a people and the man is bigger than his methods. Ere we part from him let us remember that his campaign is inspired by love of India rather than hatred of Great Britain. He is singularly free from race prejudice. He was with us heart and soul in the struggle with Germany as he was with us years ago when as captain of an Indian company of stretcher bearers, he helped us against the Boers. He counted among his friends the late Lord Roberts; he may find another in Lord Reading. When in course of time the 'United States of India,' come into existence, I hazard the opinion that history will regard the spectacle as an outcome of the work and worth of the 'egregious Mr Gandhi,' as well as the crowning triumph of British statesmanship in India.

THE GLASGOW HERALD.

From 1793 to 1900 not more than 50 lacs of people died in warfare throughout the whole world. But during that period 3 crores and 25 lacs of people died of starvation in India alone.

DIGBY.

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NOTES.

Burning in Bombay—If anybody had any doubt as to the necessity and the practical value of burning foreign clothes, those who witnessed the ceremony at Mr. Sobani's yard in Parel must have had their doubts set at rest. It was a most inspiring sight witnessed by thousands of spectators. And as the flame leapt up and enveloped the whole pyramid, there was a shout of joy resounding through the air. It was as if our shackles had been broken asunder. A glow of freedom passed through that vast concourse. It was a noble act nobly performed. It has I am sure struck the imagination of the people as nothing else could have so far as Swadeshi is concerned. And it was as well that it was not rags that were burned but some of the finest sads shirts and jackets were consigned to the flames. I know that in some cases choicest silks kept by mothers for their daughters' wedding were given up for burning. The value consisted in destroying such costly things. Not less than one lac and a half pieces were burnt including articles worth several hundred rupees each. I am sure it was all for the good of the country. It would have been a crime to have given such things to the poor. Just imagine the poor people wearing the richest silks. To say the least it would have been highly inartistic and incongruous. The fact is that the majority of the articles burnt had no correspondence with the life of the poor. The dress of the middle classes had undergone such a transformation that it was not fit to be given to the poor people. It would have been like giving discarded costly toilet brushes to them. I hope therefore that the burning process will continue and spread from one end of India to the other and not stop till every article of foreign clothing has been reduced to ashes or sent out of India.

Of Tamil Women—A friend writes from Tirupati:

The greatest obstacle in the way of success of our movement in Madras are our women. Some of them are very reactionary and a very large number of the high class Brahmin ladies have become addicted to many of the western vices. They drink coffee not less than three times a day and consider it very fashionable to drink more. In dress they are no better, they have given up the homely cheap cloth and are running after costly foreign cloth. In the matter of jewels, Brahmin ladies excel all others. Among Brahmins, Shri Vaishnava ladies are the worst sinners. When men are trying to return to a purer life, our ladies are becoming extravagant.

While going to temples to worship God, they can not think of a plain, simple dress. They should wear the costliest jewels available and still more costly laces. I know of many honest women, who refuse to go to temples because they have not got rich clothes and costly jewels.

I am loth to think that what the friend who is himself a non-co-operating Vaishnava pleader says is all true. And I am inclined to disbelieve the statement that the Tamil sisters are worse than the rest in the matter of love of gaudiness. All the same, his letter ought to serve as a warning to the Tamil sisters. They must revert to the original simplicity and certainly God will be better pleased with those who wear the spotless Khadi sari as a symbol of the inner purity than with those who are gaudily dressed. Our temples are not meant for show but for expression of humility and simplicity which are typical of a devotional mood. There should be a continuous propaganda amongst women in the Madras Presidency with reference to the evil complained of.

The White Cap in the C. P.—The wearing of white caps by Government servants has been officially regarded as a crime in the Central Provinces, and the decision has been publicly endorsed in the C. P. Council. The doctrine laid down by that Government is most servile and dangerous. If the white cap is the badge of the non-co-operation party, the use of Khadi may be equally regarded as such and penalised. And thus may Swadeshi become a sin in the Government dictionary. Foreign cloth was forced upon India two hundred years ago. The attempt has now commenced forcibly to prevent India from reverting to Swadeshi. Any well-meaning Government sensitive to public opinion would have encouraged the use of Khadi by its servants. I deny that the use of the white cap is any sign of non-co-operation. I know many who are averse to non-co-operation and yet have adopted the white Khadi cap as a convenience and as a symbol of Swadeshi. The Congress has not yet invited Government servants to throw up their employment, but I do expect of them to have courage enough to wear what dress they like and retain freedom of action even at the risk of losing their employment. If Government servants will but take concerted action, they will find that the Government is powerless to punish them. But whether that is possible or not, I do hope for the sake of themselves that individuals will be found even among

Government servants who will not hesitate to wear the white cap.

Darkness in Gwalior—Passing through Gwalior, I was surprised to find that the people at the station were afraid of approaching our compartment. There was no sign of Swadeshi on the platform. Nobody offered us their foreign caps as at every other station. I soon learnt the reason. Non-co operation is practically prohibited in this state. The wearing of the Khadi cap and the possession of the spinning-wheel are regarded with disfavour if not as a crime. It is unthinkable that the Maharaja has himself such reactionary views. His Highness has my sympathy. The poisonous influence of the Government is nowhere more apparent than in the Indian states which are powerless for making substantial reforms but are often made unwilling instruments for curtailment of the freedom of their subjects. What is more, the protecting wings of the sovereign power have made them like the rest of India emascuate and irresponsible. When therefore a prince is self-willed and intent upon oppression, he has certainly infinitely greater powers for mischief within his own state than the Viceroy himself. This is one of the greatest evils inherent in the existing system of Government. I hope, however, that the information given to me at Gwalior station is exaggerated and that repression in that state has not taken the virulent shape it is alleged to have.

Imitate Lahore—The Municipality of Lahore which contains a majority of non-co-operators has resolved that all its cab-drivers and such other employes shall wear Khadi caps and that all municipal departments are to use as much Khadi as possible. The lawyers of Amritsar are said to have adopted Khadi for their dresses. I hope that the other municipalities will follow the good example set by Lahore and that the lawyers all over India will follow the Amritsar precedent. This is about the least that they can do for the country and Swadeshi.

Labourers' Mite—The public have no idea of the part labourers have played in contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Twenty one thousand mill-hands of Ahmedabad have paid nearly Rs. 54,000 to the Fund and this at the prescribed rate, i.e. one tenth of their monthly wages. Seven thousand have become members. Similarly though not so scientifically or largely as the Ahmedabad labourers, the Bombay labourers have also sent their purses unasked. It is a sign of the times. As the labourers become more organised and think of the country as well as themselves, they will fight for a due adjustment of prices of manufactures to the making of which they contribute so much labour. And then there will be no question of mills charging exorbitant prices just to swell the shareholders' dividends irrespective of the interests of the working man or the consumer. A time must come, and the sooner the better, when there would be a respectable proportion between dividends, wages and prices.

Indiscipline—My experience of the resumed tour is not happier than the past. I had expected that after all I have written and spoken and after the discipline we have gone through, I would witness

disciplined and consolate demonstrations on the way. I was however astonished to find vast, noisy and pressing crowds at stations. They were intense and insistent at Agra and Tundia. At the latter place, it was difficult to pass through the crowd. Naturally they did not hear what was said to them. They only shouted the louder when any one asked them to keep quiet. And when I was pushed into the dining room, the crowd hovered about it and in its eagerness to have a peep, it broke the panes of the door of the dining room. It would not be satisfied till I took the people to the shed outside the station. The contrast after my speech was great. The crowd attended to instructions, was less noisy than before, did not make a rush for my compartment and made room for us to pass through. I have passed several times through Tundia but I have never before noticed a crowd there at all. Upon inquiry I found that this time people had come from neighbouring villages just for 'darshan'. This 'darshan' has become a most embarrassing process and consumes valuable time. It puts an undue strain upon my nerves and deprives me of the peace I need for writing during the odd moments I get during my travels. The difficulty is largely due to want of forethought and organisation. Workers must either organise these demonstrations in a methodical manner or not have them at all. Happily these are friendly demonstrations and therefore never cause trouble. But imagine the chaos that must ensue if we undertook hostile demonstrations. What would happen if we had to manage such crowds under fire or under angry excitement? I could see in Tundia that mass civil disobedience was an impossibility with a crowd like the one there. We can do no effective work unless we can pass instructions to the crowd and expect implicit obedience. Volunteers must therefore undergo training in handling crowds. An Indian crowd is easily the most manageable and docile in the world. But it needs previous preparation. And when we have not had it, it is the wisest thing not to bring together crowds.

Demonstrations—It is now easy enough to understand how the incendiarism could have taken place at Malegaon and even at Aligarh. An undisciplined crowd had gathered. Such a crowd contains mischief-makers waiting for an opportunity. And when a crowd is excited, it yields passive obedience, that is it is driven by the momentary impulse. We therefore play into the hands of the 'enemy' when we organise at trials demonstrations we cannot control. Our purpose to-day is to establish a calm and non-violent yet determined atmosphere. All our determination is frittered away under an unexpected fire opened by disciplined soldiers. Therefore we must scrupulously avoid all demonstrations over imprisonments. We must let go unnoticed all whom the Government wants. As soon as we have acquired sufficient self-control, we shall be ready for civil disobedience and Swaraj. This self-control can only be attained by complete Swadeshi. A boycott of foreign cloth and effort put forth to manufacture the required quantity of Khadi will give us a self-confidence which nothing else can.

Sorry for Liberty—Mr. Venkatappaya wires expressing his deep regret that he has been set free whilst his comrades are still in custody. I share his sorrow. Presently the gaol will be the only fit place for a self-respecting Indian. Everybody in Aligarh envies Maulana Sherwani his lot. Mrs. Khwaja tells me she is cut up to find that her husband is free whilst her husband's companion in work is in prison. It is the true spirit. And Swaraj is possible during this year only if our men and women consider it their good fortune to be in gaol striving for freedom. Evidently the right spirit pervades the people of Guntur, for Mr. Prakasham who ran post haste to Guntur on hearing of the arrests, wires that several pleaders have suspended practice and that the people are preparing more strenuously than before to carry out the Congress programme of non-co-operation. When we work outside the gaols with a free sense of responsibility, we shall not be long being imprisoned and whilst we are not, we have faith that we are not idling away the nation's time.

Force on 1st August—X. Y. Z. angrily asks me what my experience of the 1st of August is. My experience of the 1st of August is that I have never seen a better-behaved crowd. I believe him when he tells me that some people were forced to give up their foreign caps. But these instances I am sure were exceptions. The use of force is certainly out of place for the Swadeshi propaganda and I have no doubt can only defeat the purpose we have in view. We cannot make India wear Khadi by force. It must be a mark of freedom and respectability which it cannot be if any force is used for its propaganda.

Bengal and Madras Elections—I have no doubt that there will be heartburnings over the decision of the Working Committee on the Bengal and Madras elections. More so as the decision was given in the teeth of the chairman's ruling that the elections were contrary to the constitution. I can sympathise with the aggrieved parties. But I would ask them to give due weight to the reasons for the Committee's decision. In my opinion the Committee could not have given a decision on merits without taking evidence from the parties concerned. This the Committee had no time to do if it was to go through the programme set by the All India Congress Committee. Pending the investigations, the members would have remained as they are. Nothing much is therefore lost by the aggrieved parties by waiting till November. Moreover it is a wrong policy to bring up such cases before the All India Congress Committee before every possible effort has been made to redress such grievances locally. What we want to cultivate is ability to check and correct irregularities by the force of local public opinion. Neither the Bengal nor the Madras Committee can possibly defend an untenable position in the face of enlightened public opinion. And if the present leaders have got blind public opinion behind them, no decision of the All India Congress Committee will give the injured parties any relief. The Congress has got a demo-

cratic constitution, but unless there are democrats to work it and use the barometer of public opinion for their guidance, there is no doubt that the constitution will be worked for autocratic ends. A hasty interference by the central body can but increase acerbities and splits. The Working Committee has therefore deliberately evaded the legal issue, refrained from going into the merits, put both the parties on their honour and appealed to them to set matters right by local endeavour. We have no time for academical discussions or legal subtleties. We must think less of office and more of service.

An English Friend's Caution—I reproduce below the relevant part of a letter from an English friend whom I have known for years and who is a great seeker after Truth. She says.

Some of your words have seemed very beautiful, others have seemed unlike yourself and I have been troubled. Why should I criticise? I do not know the complex situation, how can I judge whether there is sufficient cause for the radical upheaval you are trying to bring about? When I look back and see how I revered you, and the ideal for which you stood to me, I could wish that things had stood still, and that nothing had ever happened to make me wonder whether I was mistaken. Of course this is a very weak thought, and of course I must brace myself to face the actual facts of to-day. In so far as you are right I can but reverence you still, only that I cannot tell how far you are right. Of one thing I feel pretty sure, that if you are wrong you do not wish to succeed, the great majestic Right is far dearer to you than your own endeavours. How curious it is that we do not know what the Right is, and yet we are far more anxious that it should prevail than that our own schemes should succeed.

I have no doubt that many of my friends feel as this friend does. Another English correspondent has put the same thought more bluntly and says that I appear to him to be countenancing evil so that good may come. I can only assure both the correspondents and those who think like them that I have no desire to see anything but Right triumph. I have never believed and I do not now believe that the end justifies the means. On the contrary it is my firm conviction that there is an intimate connection between the end and the means so much so that you cannot achieve a good end by bad means. And I am not aware of having resorted to a departure by a hair's breadth from the strictest truth and right as I know them. Indeed I am sure that I would long ago have stood discredited had I compromised truth for a single second. I am fully aware that I am trying a most dangerous experiment—that of inducing thousands of Mussalmans and for that matter Hindus too, to become and remain strictly non-violent although their final creed permits them to resort to violence under given conditions. It has been my misfortune to be misunderstood whenever I have taken up a new cause. Friends and adversaries alike have been startled by the new and (for them) unexpected applications of some ancient truth. I was accused of fomenting trouble in South Africa to such an extent that I was often in danger of losing

my best friends. The majority of them as also my adversaries afterwards came to acknowledge that I was right and they had not understood the implications of the doctrine I was trying to illustrate in practical life. And so I feel it is with non-co-operation. I consider it to be one of the gentlest practices of ethical conduct. It and it alone can pave the way for a genuine understanding between Englishmen and Indians; it and it alone can promote, if anything can, real friendship between the East and the West. It and it alone can enable India to realise the full height of her own unique culture. In spite of many appearances to the contrary, I see the day coming when Englishmen and Indians will come to regard one another as friends and fellow-workers.

M. K. G.

ESSENTIALS OF SUCCESS.

By M. K. GANDHI.

To finish the boycott of foreign cloth programme before the 30th September next, it is no doubt necessary to revise our taste, revert to simplicity and cut down our wants to a minimum. No non-co-operator can afford to wear more than three articles of dress. We must not hanker after the Bezvada fineries but must be satisfied with the coarsest Khadi. But this is only a preliminary. Swadeshi will fail if we are not businesslike. We have hitherto tried to act on the students and they have responded to the best of their lights and ability. Many non-co-operating students are doing valiant work as wickets or propagandists. A non-co-operation school attracts to it all public activity. But we cannot achieve full success in Swadeshi through the school-boys only. We must touch the hearts of the weavers of India. We must organise them. Those weavers who for want of scope for their art have left their calling should be induced to come back to it. We must hold their meetings and tell them why they should weave handspun yarn even though it may be uneven, and why they should consider it a sin to touch foreign yarn. Similarly we must induce carders (dhunis) to prepare shivers for spinning. We must also induce clothiers to introduce patriotism into their trade and sell handspun cloth and give up selling foreign cloth. We must have for Swadeshi shops inspectors who are experts in distinguishing between foreign cloth and Swadeshi and between handspun and machine-spun. This great work cannot be done unless we are able to organise ourselves on a grand scale. And such organisation is utterly impossible unless every Congress body is able to concentrate upon Swadeshi, i. e. boycott and production to the exclusion of every other activity.

The ideal no doubt is for every village to spin and weave for itself just as to-day most villages grow for themselves. It is easier for every village to spin and weave for itself than to grow all its corn. Every village cannot grow wheat or rice, but every village can stock enough cotton and spin and weave without any difficulty. But it must be some time before we can arrive at that happy state. Meanwhile those provinces that are at all organised for the work, for instance the Punjab, must not only immediately exclude all foreign cloth from their own markets

but must send out to the parts of India that need their superfluous stock of Khadi, Panjab, Andhra, Bihar and Gujarat seem to be the best organised provinces for the manufacture of Khadi. And they must busy themselves with the work so as to anticipate a famine of Khadi.

And if we would do this great and glorious work, we must cease to talk, or if we do talk, our talk must take the shape of business. We must cease to wrangle and offer hair-splitting objections to every position as also to take interest in them if any one insists on indulging in these things. The Congress must cease to be a debating society of talented lawyers who will not leave their practice, but it must consist of producers and manufacturers, and those who would understand them, nurse them and voice their feelings. Practising lawyers can help by becoming silent workers and donors. I sympathise with them for their desire to be in the limelight. But I would urge them to recognise their limitations. Their day will come when the nation is again in a position to go to law-courts and debating assemblies for justice or legislation. To-day it has no faith in either, for they are corrupt beyond description. Both law and law-courts fail to do justice when the question is between the Government and the people. The test of their usefulness lies in their ability to adjudicate evenly between the two parties, not in their giving just laws as between different parts composing the people. The latter justice is like that of the lion interposing to keep the lambs from eating one another or dying of disease so that he may have all of them for food.

20 LACS OF RENTIAS=25 CRORES OF RUPEES A YEAR

One *rentia* needs daily 15 *tolas* of cotton to be spun into yarn of about 10 counts. 50 *tolas* of raw cotton would yield 15 *tolas* of clean cotton. Hence

Cost of 25 lacs pounds of raw cotton needed daily for 20 lacs wheels, at 10 lbs. a rupee = Rs. 2,50,000

Daily interest on a crore of rupees invested, at 12 p. c. per annum = Rs. 3,350

Total daily outlay = Rs. 2,53,350

Price of cloth produced daily 7,50,000 lbs., at R 1-6 per pound = Rs. 10,31,250

Price of cotton seed 16½ lacs pounds, at 6 as per 10 lbs. = Rs. 62,500

Daily gross receipts = Rs. 10,93,750

Deducting the outlay as above Rs. 2,53,350

Daily nett receipts = Rs. 8,40,400

Yearly nett receipts (year of 300 days) = Rs. 25,21,20,000

We would employ 62,500 spinners, 83,332 carders, 20 lacs spinners, 3 lacs weavers, one lac managing staff a total of over twenty five lacs of men. Over and above these twenty five lacs, we would support over sixteen lacs of people being the members of the families of all classes of workers excluding the spinners, supposing a family to consist of 4 persons. Every day 8 lacs and 40 thousands of rupees would be distributed among over 41 lacs of people. We must not forget that we would also support a number of families of carpenters, blacksmiths and other artisans.

LAKSHMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM.

(Based on the *Gujarati Navajivan*)

TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

Dear Sisters,

The All India Congress Committee has come to a momentous decision in fixing the 30th September next as the final date for completing the boycott of foreign cloth begun by the sacrificial fire lit on the 31st July in Bombay in memory of Lokamanya Tilak. I was accorded the privilege of setting fire to the huge pile containing costly sadis and other dresses which you have hitherto considered fine and beautiful. I feel that it was right and wise on the part of the sisters who gave their costly clothing. Its destruction was the most economical use you could have made of it, even as destruction of plague-infected articles is their most economical and best use. It was a necessary surgical operation designed to avert more serious complaints in the body politic.

The women of India have during the past twelve months worked wonders on behalf of the mother-land. You have silently worked away as angels of mercy. You have parted with your cash and your fine jewellery. You have wandered from house to house to make collections. Some of you have even assisted in picketing. Some of you who were used to fine dresses of variegated colours and had a number of changes during the day, have now adopted the white and spotless but heavy Khadi sadi reminding one of a woman's innate purity. You have done all this for the sake of India, for the sake of the Khilafat, for the sake of the Panjab. There is no guile about your word or work. Yours is the purest sacrifice untainted by anger or hate. Let me confess to you that your spontaneous and loving response all over India has convinced me that God is with us. No other proof of our struggle being one of self-purification is needed than that lacs of India's women are actively helping it.

Having given much, more is now required of you. Men bore the principal share of the subscriptions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. But completion of the Swadeshi programme is possible only if you give the largest share. Boycott is impossible, *unless you will surrender the whole of your foreign clothing*. So long as the taste persists, so long is complete renunciation impossible. And boycott means complete renunciation. We must be prepared to be satisfied with such cloth as India can produce, even as we are thankfully content with such children as God gives us. I have not known a mother throwing away her baby even though it may appear ugly to an outsider. So should it be with the patriotic women of India about Indian manufactures. And for you only hand-spun and handwoven can be regarded as Indian manufactures. During the transition stage you can only get coarse Khadi in abundance. You may add all the art to it that your taste allows or requires. And if you will be satisfied with coarse Khadi for a few months, India need not despair of seeing a revival of the fine rich and coloured garments of old which were once the envy and the despair of the world. I assure you that a six months' course of self-denial will show you that what we to-day regard as artistic is only falsely so, and that true art

takes note not merely of form but also of what lies behind. There is an art that kills and an art that gives life. The fine fabric that we have imported from the West or the far East has literally killed millions of our brothers and sisters, and delivered thousands of our dear sisters to a life of shame. True art must be evidence of happiness contentment and purity of its authors. And if you will have such art revived in our midst, the use of Khadi is obligatory on the best of you at the present moment.

And not only is the use of Khadi necessary for the success of the Swadeshi programme, but it is imperative for every one of you to spin during your leisure hours. I have suggested to boys and men also that they should spin. Thousands of them, I know, are spinning daily. But the main burden of spinning must, as of old, fall on your shoulders. Two hundred years ago, the women of India spun not only for home demand but also for foreign lands. They spun not merely coarse counts but the finest that the world has ever spun. No machine has yet reached the fineness of the yarn spun by our ancestors. If then we are to cope with the demand for Khadi during the two months and afterwards, you must form spinning-clubs, institute spinning competitions and flood the Indian market with handspun yarn. For this purpose some of you have to become experts in spinning carding and adjusting the spinning-wheels. This means ceaseless toil. You will not look upon spinning as a means of livelihood. For the middle class it should supplement the income of the family, and for very poor women, it is undoubtedly a means of livelihood. The spinning-wheel should be as it was the widows' loving companion. But for you who will read this appeal, it is presented as a duty, as *Dharma*. If all the well-to-do women of India were to spin a certain quantity daily, they would make yarn cheap and bring about much more quickly than otherwise the required fineness.

The economic and the moral salvation of India thus rests mainly with you. The future of India lies on your knees, for you will nurture the future generation. You can bring up the children of India to become simple God-fearing and brave men and women, or you can coddle them to be weaklings unfit to brave the storms of life and used to foreign fineries which they would find it difficult in after life to discard. The next few weeks will show of what stuff the women of India are made. I have not the shadow of a doubt as to your choice. The destiny of India is far safer in your hands than in the hands of a Government that has so exploited India's resources that she has lost faith in herself. At every one of women's meetings, I have asked for your blessings for the national effort, and I have done so in the belief that you are pure simple and godly enough to give them with effect. You can ensure the fruitfulness of your blessings by giving up your foreign cloth and during your spare hours ceaselessly spinning for the nation.

I remain,

Your devoted brother,

M. K. GANDHI.

THE CHARKHA

Spin, spin, a nation is waking

A fresh dawn is breaking, a new day is born;

Weave, weave, Aryavarta is waiting

For garments of homespun

to greet the new morn:

Spin for the starving who are not yet dead,

For the life of the Motherland hangs by a thread;

Weave the bright web of a future so great,

The world will allow that man weaves his own fate,

Spin, spin, to the naked give clothing,

Food to the hungry, wheels to the poor;

Work, work, all idleness loathing,

For only by spinning, our lives we insure,

Chant, chant, that religion is spinning,

Our work, a glad penance to keep the heart pure;

Spin, spin, pay for past sinning,

Earn by the Charkha, deliverance and cure;

A-hum is the hovel, the dwelling, the mosque

For pariah, Brahman, and Mullah, a task;

A-hum is the school, every child keeps pace

With the effort to free his downtrodden race.

Hum, hum, as the bee keeps on humming,

And gather the cotton as honey from flowers;

Store, store it in cloth that keeps coming,

Until, crowned by thrift,

we eclipse the great powers.

Spin, spin, a nation is winning

Its freedom by spinning, its place among men;

Spin, spin, our women are singing

"The Charkha is needed above sword or pen."

The Goddess of liberty sits at the wheel,

And substitutes spinning for bullets of steel;

She smiles that the living continue to weave,

And women and children have no cause to grieve.

Spin, spin, a new flag is winging

The Symbol of woman abroad unto man;

Work, work, the Charkha is spinning

A cable to circle the globe in its span.

Spin, spin a heaven creating,

Where beauty and truth, peace and plenty abide;

Sing, sing of the stand we are taking

Until all the nations at strife are allied:

Well within hand, be the thread's release,

The price of his labour, each man's increase,

His time, his endeavour, his patience, his toil,

Sacred and safe, as his home or his soil.

Shine, shine, as the Sun in his spinning

Shines in that great wheel where earth is a spoke;

Voice, voice through the Charkha, his hymning,

Echo the music of the Spheres, O ye folk.

MAUDE RALSTON SHARMAN.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

The U. P.

I. *Swaraj Fund* Rs. 4,10,737. II. *Congress Membership* 3,28,966. III. *Spinning-wheels* 2,81,525. IV. *Suspensions of legal practice* 113. V. *Panchayats* 3000. VI. *Surrender of honours* [hon. magistracies, durbaridoms, war medals, village headmanships] 10. VII. *National schools* 126, students 10,500. VIII. *Resignations of professors and teachers* 76.

THOREAU ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

I heartily accept the motto—"That government is best which governs least"; and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe,—"That government is best which governs not at all"; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and weighty, and deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government. The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. Witness the present Mexican war, the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure.

This American government, -what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavouring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instant losing some of its integrity? It has not the vitality and force of a single living man; for a single man can bend it to his will. It is a sort of wooden gun to the people themselves. But it is not the less necessary for this; for the people must have some complicated machinery or other, and hear its din, to satisfy that idea of government which they have. Governments show thus how successfully men can be imposed on, even impose on themselves, for their own advantage. It is excellent, we must all allow. Yet this Government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. It does not keep the country free. It does not settle the West. It does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way. For government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone; and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are most let alone by it. Trade and commerce, if they were not made of India-rubber, would never manage to bounce over the obstacles which legislators are continually putting in their way; and, if one were to judge these men wholly by the effects of their actions and not partly by their intentions, they would deserve to be classed and punished with those mischievous persons who put obstructions on the railroads.

But to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but at once a better government. Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it.

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period

continue, to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, not because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong but conscience?—in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen ever for a moment or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. It is truly enough said, that a corporation has no conscience; but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience. Law never made men a whit more just; and by means of respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against their common sense, and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power? Visit the Navy-yard and behold a marine, such a man as an American government can make, or such as it can make of a man with its black arts,—a mere shadow and reminiscence of humanity, a man laid out alive and standing, and already, as one may say, buried under arms with funeral accompaniments, though it may be—

"Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corpse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried."

The mass of men serve the State thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, gaolers, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens. Others—as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers, and office-holders—serve the State chiefly with their heads; and as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the devil, without intending it, as

God. A very few as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and men, serve the State with their consciences also and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it. A wise man will only be useful as a man, and will not submit to be "clay," and "stop a hole to keep the wind away," but leave that office to his dust at least:—

"I am too high-born to be propertyed,
To be a secondary at control,
Or useful serving-man and instrument
To any sovereign state throughout the world."

He who gives himself entirely to his fellow-men appears to them useless and selfish; but he who gives himself partially to them is pronounced a benefactor and philanthropist.

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government to-day? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognise that political organisation as my government which is the slave's government also.

(To be continued.)

OUR WEAVING-SCHOOL.

II

I should like to add a few more facts about the spinning department, before I come to weaving.

In Askadha the students were more energetic than before. The number of regular students was 21, and these in 23 working days (there being six holidays in the month) spun 30 pounds and 24 *tolas* of yarn of about 12 counts on the average, fit for warp. At ten annas a pound, this means a wage of Rs. 19/2. The total number of hours of spinning was 1337. At 4 hours a day it should have been 1932 (23 number of days \times 21 number of students \times 4). This deficiency is not due to idleness, nor to headache. Complaints of idleness have now quite ceased. And students now understand that headache may prevent one from reading or working sums but not from spinning. They have also realised that if the arms are fatigued by fetching water or swimming, there is nothing like spinning for removing the fatigue. The thing is that those students who have mastered spinning were engaged in carding and other processes. If full time had been given to spinning, we would have turned out a proportionately bigger quantity of yarn.

The spinning power of the students is increasing every day. The student who spun 7 *tolas* an hour during the Satyagraha week is now no longer a prodigy and others are fast overtaking him. One day a girl spun 9 *tolas* of uniform and well-twisted 12-count yarn in 6 hours. At the above rate, this means a wage of 2 annas 3 pies. For 8 hours therefore the wage would be 3 annas, for 12 hours 4 annas 6 pies, for 14 hours 5 annas 3 pies. But it is hardly necessary to emphasise the pecuniary value of the work, so far as schools are concerned. The point is that by constituting spinning as a permanent part of our school curricula, we provide manual training of the highest kind and at the same time prepare for the re-advent of a day when spinning will be as much a part of our domestic economy as say cooking.

[to be continued]

REPRESSION IN BERARS.

The secretaries of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee have sent a detailed report of the cases of repression in the Province up to the 31st of May 1921. We give below an analysis of the report which has been lying with us for some time.

In the District of Amraoti alone, there were no less than 90 cases out of which 70 were pending, 5 were withdrawn and 15 were tried. As a result of these trials only 2 persons charged under sect. 341 I. P. C. were acquitted. Mr. Joshi of Amraoti was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment under sect. 124 A. I. P. C., a worker was fined Rs. 20 under sect. 341 I. P. C., while 3 persons had to execute one year's bond under sect. 107 C. P. C., 2 under sect. 443 I. P. C. and 6 under sects 186 and 353.

Among the cases pending 4 were under 141 I. P. C., 17 under 147 and 392 I. P. C., 3 under 108 I. P. C., 15 under 393 I. P. C., 11 under 107 I. P. C., 3 under 35 I. P. C., 8 under 147 I. P. C., and 5 under 426 & 4 under 452 I. P. C.

The 5 cases withdrawn were all under sect. 107 C. P. C.

The Seditious Meetings Act was applied for the months of April and May to Amraoti & its suburbs.

In the District of Akola there were 36 cases out of which 20 were pending and 16 were tried under sect. 107 C. P. C. 8 persons had to furnish a security, 7 of Rs. 1500 each and one of Rs. 6000. Under sect. 143, 7 more had to furnish security of Rs. 50 each and under sec. 144 one gentleman was deprived of his freedom of speech.

Among the cases pending, 2 were under sect. 341, 1 under 124, 5 under 107, 5 under 392, 1 under 1 (P) and 6 under 341 & 143.

In this District also the Seditious Meetings Act was applied to Mangrol Pir Town for 7 days and to Waseil Mangrol Subdivision for full one month. There were about 12 more prosecutions but the details are not available.

The District of Yavatmal accounts for 16 cases out of which 7 were tried and 8 were pending. 2 cases under 341 I. P. C. were compounded. 2 persons had to furnish a security of Rs. 1000 each under 110 C. P. C. Under sect. 144 C. P. C. one person was gagged for two months, while only 2 charged under sect. 110 C. P. C. were acquitted.

Among the cases pending were 2 under 107 C. P. C., 1 under 110 C. P. C., 2 under 304 I. P. C., 1 under the Patil and Patwari sect. 13, 1 under 143 I. P. C. and 1 under 323 I. P. C.

Here it had been settled that the cultivators should be given Tagavi by the Government, but it was refused by the local officers as the people resorted to non-cooperation and anti-drink campaign. Government have also issued circulars to that effect.

In the District of Buldhana there were 27 cases of which 14 were tried & 13 were pending. Among the 14 persons tried, there were 11 students of the National School of Chikhali charged under sect. 392 but they were all acquitted. One picketing volunteer was bound over for Rs. 200. Two Patwaris were suspended for 8 months and fined Rs. 15 each. The 13 cases pending were all under sect. 392.

As a penalty for picketing sect. 144 was applied for two months to Buldhana, Undri & Deval, But Chikhali,

Khangaon, Pimpalgon, Motale, Chaudur, Sondhijana and Mangrol also had to share the same fate though there was no picketing. At Saveti, the leaders were prosecuted for the sin of boycotting a liquor-seller but the case was withdrawn. Besides these this District has also seen several cases of prosecution, confiscation of property and further harassment for having refused to pay Labata and sanitation tax.

To sum up, there were no less than 168 cases of repression in the province. Out of these 111 were pending, 5 were withdrawn, 2 were compounded and the rest were tried. Only 15 persons were acquitted. Mr. Vamarnao Joshi's lot was 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. 2 had their mouths shut in public meetings, 3 were fined and 29 were bound over.

FALLACIES I

The *Leader's* remarks in its issue of the 5th instant, attempting to prove the failure of the spinning-wheel, on the strength of the account of the weaving school at Satyagrahashram Sabarmati in our issue of the 25th July, and attributing it to the psychology of non-cooperation, hardly deserve a refutation at this hour of the day. A word, however, is necessary to correct some of its glaring misconceptions. No one has ever said that spinning can be a means of livelihood except to the very poor. It is intended to restore spinning to its ancient position as a universal industry ancillary to agriculture and resorted to by agriculturists during those months of the year when agricultural operations are suspended as a matter of course and cultivators have otherwise little to do. For the present all people alike are invited to devote their leisure to spinning, with a view to bringing about a complete boycott of foreign cloth in course of the present year. No one asks an able-bodied labourer who can earn twelve annas a day to give up his work in order to take to spinning. However, people are so poor in many parts of the country that a daily wage of even 3 annas a day would be a veritable boon to them and enable them to tide over bad seasons. The spinning-wheel is capable of being applied as a complete insurance against famines and droughts. 3 annas again is only a most cautious and conservative estimate. If the reader turns to the second article on the weaving-school which commences to-day, he will find that the daily wage might easily be 4 or 5 annas.

As for the mental condition of the school children, we wonder if the writer in the *Leader* was ever at school himself or knows anything at all about child psychology. Children's spirits flag, they suffer from headache and are sometimes idle even in schools which have no place for spinning in their curriculum.

As for hard constructive work and persistent efforts, he who runs may read them in the gigantic effort which the country is putting up in order to end its economic bondage. But there are none so blind as those who will not see. Perhaps the *Leader* has a definition of constructive work different from ours. The writer is hopelessly behind the times.

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{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

NOTES.

A Hindi Navajivan—So many Hindi-speaking friends have been anxious for me to make myself responsible for publishing a Hindi edition of the *Navajivan*. I have myself been anxious to do so. But it has not been hitherto possible. The editing of the *Navajivan* and *Young India* is difficult enough to cope with. But there is no doubt that I am in love with my ideas and theories. I am firmly of opinion that they are good for India and if I may say it in all humility, good for all. And so I am yielding to the pressure of friends and workers to issue a Hindi edition. I know that several translations in Hindi appear in different parts of India. But the desire has been to put under one cover an authorised free translation of selected articles from the *Navajivan* and *Young India*. This is now being done. The Hindi of the edition will really be Hindustani, a resultant of Hindi and Urdu—simple words understood by both Hindus and Musalmans. An attempt will be made to avoid ornamentation. Indeed I would love to give a simultaneous transcript in the Urdu character. But that cannot be as yet. Let me not also hide the secret from the reader that it is my regard for the Marwadi friends and notably Jammalaji that hastened the issue of the Hindi *Navajivan*. Jammalaji has made the declaration as publisher, and Mr. Shankarlal Banker as printer. The Hindi *Navajivan* like the Gujarati and English editions will not contain any advertisements. It has also to be self-supporting like the other two and will therefore depend for existence on the support it receives. The subscription for the Hindi edition will be Rs. 4 yearly and Rs. 2 half-yearly. I would advise intending subscribers to send only half-yearly subscriptions. The Hindi *Navajivan* is merely a trial. I have only a limited staff. But for the exhaustless energy and resourcefulness of Swami Anandanand I would have refused to take the responsibility. We have found that it is voluntary labour that is most efficient. And it is not easy to tap that class of labour whether bodily or mental. I would therefore invite Hindi lovers of non-co-operation as a doctrine of life, to confine their patronage to six months as a trial. Needless to say the concerns are not meant for profit. Any margin left therefore will be devoted to the development of the three editions. The readers will also be interested and pleased to learn that Maulana Mahomed Ali has placed at my disposal his machinery type and other material of the *Comrade* free of charge. Thus the battle of non-co-operation with forces of evil (as

I consider the government to represent) is dependent upon closest co-operation between forces of good as I consider non-co-operation to represent in spite of all the faults and limitations of non-co-operators.

Fraudulent Imitations—A friend writes from Madras:—"The piece of cloth which I enclose herewith is a sample of what is being sold in Madras at from 10 to 15 annas per yard by the Bombay Swadeshi Stores under the name of pure Khadi, i. e. handspun and handwoven. How is one to be protected against such frauds? I have little doubt that the sample is of foreign make."

I have seen the sample and there is not a shadow of a doubt that it is neither handspun nor handwoven. It is possible that it might be a production of Indian mills, though it shows Japanese rather than Indian finish. The pity of it is that such stuff is being sold in Swadeshi Stores. But we must be prepared for such frauds. They are an eloquent testimony to the fact that the Swadeshi spirit is rising. How to detect and check these frauds is the question. The golden rule of course is that we must spin our own yarn and get a weaver to weave it under our superintendence. That time is undoubtedly coming. When we cannot spin for ourselves, we must get the spinning done by the thousands of spinners coming into being all over the country. Where we cannot do it, we must in choosing our Khadi reject every piece of cloth that looks at all like mill-made. For coarser counts it will be most difficult to distinguish between imported cloth and that manufactured by our mills. Handspun Khadi lacks the dead polish of the mills but is rougher to look at, porous, light to handle, and pleasant to the touch. It is never glossy. Another safeguard I suggest is that the cloth should be unbleached. The third alternative which is not free from danger is that in every Congress district there should be Swadeshi shops licensed by the Congress and there should be expert inspectors who should constantly inspect the stock in licensed shops. If possible, every article should be stamped. I know that we are not organised and trained enough for undertaking this work on a universal scale. But till every district has begun to manufacture all Khadi for itself, some such inspection is undoubtedly necessary, and whatever can be honestly improvised should be done.

Plague-spots of Lucknow—An English friend writes to me at Lucknow:—

I am just writing to ask you to write a word before you go to some one in authority among your supporters here in regard to the brothels in Lucknow. I was talking to the military police this morning in Aminabad, and it seems that there are some fifty of these places in that locality frequented by soldiers (some of whom have been court-martialled as it is out of bounds) Europeans and Anglo-Indians. He did not say anything about Indians but I heard the other day that they also go to these women. A word from you as to this debasing of manhood and lack of self-control would do more than anything else to counteract this evil. I will pledge myself to do all I can to help in the matter."

I wish I could share the English friend's belief that my word has the power he attributes to it. As I write this paragraph, the picture of the dear sisters who visited me at Cocanada after night-fall haunts me. They were dearer to me after I learnt of their shame. It was only by suggestion they could tell me what their life was. As the spokeswoman spoke to me, she had shame and sorrow written in her eyes. I could not bring myself to hold them guilty. I devoted my speech after this meeting to the necessity of personal purity. My heart therefore goes out to the fallen sisters of Lucknow. They are driven to a life of shame, I am satisfied that they do not go to it from choice. And the beast in man has made the detestable crime a lucrative profession. Lucknow is noted for its love of ease. But Lucknow is also the seat of a Mussalman divine. It has its full share of all that is noble in Islam. For the Hindus Lucknow is the capital of the Province where the spotless Sita and Rama roamed and reigned. It recalls the best days of Hindu purity, nobility, bravery and steadfastness to truth. Non-co-operation is self-purification, and I urge all the non-co-operators and others to deal with this moral plague of Lucknow. I hope no custodian of Lucknow's good name will remind me that Lucknow is no worse than the other cities in India. Lucknow has come in by chance as an illustration. We are responsible throughout India for the purity and the safety of our womanhood. Why should not Lucknow lead?

Some Questions and Answers—An English friend sent me five questions for answer. As they were interesting, I reproduce from memory both the questions and the answers.

(1) Do you think time will increase or decrease the divergence of views between you and Lord Reading?

Answer—The divergence is as likely to decrease as it is to increase.

(2) When do you expect to establish Swaraj.

Ans. I am trying to establish government over myself as rapidly as possible. I cannot establish Swaraj for India. But I do certainly expect her to establish it during this very year.

(3) Do you now think the Prime Minister to be more satanic or evil than ever?

Ans I must confess that the Prime Minister is an enigma to me. He certainly still owes to Indian Musalmans a debt which he has failed to discharge.

(4) Why do you not encourage the ministers born and bred in your own country who are trying to establish through the reformed councils full responsible government for India?

Ans I must respectfully refuse to encourage the ministers until they wash their hands clean of a system which uses them as tools for debasing India.

(5) Do you think a sense of humour is necessary in life?

Ans. If I had no sense of humour, I should long ago have committed suicide.

M. K. G.

THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

By C. F. ANDREWS.

The Government of India is still showing an almost criminal neglect of the provisions of the Hague Convention. It is not content to give up the revenue which it has received so guiltily from this traffic.

The Articles of the Hague Convention are as clear as possible in their desire to restrict the preparation of opium to medicinal purposes only and to put an end to that abuse of opium, by smoking and eating the drug, which is utterly demoralising to human nature and inevitably ends in death.

Thus Article 6 of the Hague Convention runs as follows.

"The contracting powers shall take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium."

It is true that the Indian Government itself does not make this prepared opium, but it is equally true, that it sends out every year abroad about 13,000 chests, which it knows will have to be thus prepared, and are thus prepared for opium. Thus it is, in the clearest possible manner, transgressing the Articles of the Convention, which in no ambiguous terms aim at the suppression of prepared opium. The only way to suppress this is to reduce the supply of raw opium. The chief producer of raw opium is still the Indian Government which offers opium chests, from the opium estates, for sale month by month,—these chests being almost universally purchased by Indian buyers.

Thus, in the first place the Indian Government is the chief offender. In the second place, the purchasers from the Indian Government (who are themselves usually Indians) are to blame. Thirdly, the purchasers abroad such as the Singapore Government and the Hongkong Government (who take Indian opium for manufacture into the prepared opium for smoking) are culpable. All these alike are deliberately transgressing the Hague Convention, which was signed by the High Contracting powers, including Great Britain. The signature of Great Britain covered both India and the Eastern dominions of Great Britain.

The words of the three British delegates at the Hague Convention are as clear as possible on this point. The Declaration below their signatures runs as follows:—The Articles of the present

Convention, if ratified by His Britannic Majesty's Government, shall apply to the Governments of British India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong and Wei-hai-wei, in every respect in the same way as they shall apply to the United Kingdom and Ireland."

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Hague Convention aims at the suppression of opium, and that the British delegates signed the Convention on behalf of British India. Yet the Indian Government have consistently sought to continue their profits and to keep up their sales. Sir William Meyer, when Finance Minister, thus declared the policy of the Government of India in his time of office:—

"First, he did not admit the wickedness of sending opium to China.

"Secondly, while owing to its amorphous condition that country could not control its affairs very efficiently, other countries could, as they knew how, like India, realise a maximum of revenue from a minimum of consumption.

"Thirdly, if you send opium to a country like that, you are really promoting the cause of temperance because the people get less under high taxation than they would by smuggling."

These views were given some years ago, and it might have been supposed that the Indian Government had moved farther since then, and that the world convulsion of the great war would have altered their mentality. But the correspondence of last year between the Secretary of State for India and the Edinburgh Anti-Opium Committee appears to show that the angle of vision is not greatly changed after all. The Edinburgh Committee suggested in their letter that the Hague Convention Articles, if carried out, would necessitate the reduction of the opium manufacture in India to medical requirements. Mr. Montagu was also asked, if the Dangerous Drugs Bill, which had recently been passed in the United Kingdom, applied to India.

The Secretary of State's reply on behalf of the Indian Government was as follows:—

"Sir,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th May 1920, on the subject of the opium traffic, as affecting India.

"2. Mr. Montagu takes strong exception to the statement that the measures adopted by the Government of India for controlling and restricting this traffic are 'by no means in consonance with the spirit' of the Hague Opium Convention.

"As the preamble states, that Convention was concluded with the object of achieving certain ends set forth therein, and the provisions of the Convention embody, in precise terms, the considered decisions of the various Governments represented as to the most suitable means to be adopted in order to attain those ends. The Government of India have accepted, and have acted on, the provisions of the Convention; they have invariably construed these provisions in the manner most consonant with the avowed objects of the signatory Powers: and, as has already been pointed out, they have in certain cases gone farther than the pro-

visions of the Convention required, and have imposed, or have attempted to impose, restrictions upon the export of opium which the terms of the Convention neither demanded, nor suggested as desirable. In these circumstances, Mr. Montagu considers that the Government of India are certainly not open to the charge that they have failed to act in consonance with the spirit of the Convention.

"3. The views of your Committee and of the Government of India, are, as you point out, well founded. The Government of India do not consider that the opium used in India, or exported, is 'abused'; they do not consider it advisable to limit the export of opium from India to the amount required solely for 'medicinal' purposes; and they do not accept the suggestion that India should prohibit the export of opium in order to force, or to attempt to force, the countries which receive their supplies from India to abandon their present opium policy. In this connexion, I am to point out that the Hague Convention contemplates, and provides for, the use of opium for other than purely medicinal purposes; it does not stigmatise the use of opium for such purposes as an 'abuse'; and it places the responsibility for regulating the import of the drug, and the derivatives, upon the importing country. The Government of India have complied with all the provisions of the Convention; they fully accept the ultimate object of the measures for which the Convention provides, as stated in the preamble thereto; and they have endeavoured in all cases to give effect to those provisions in the manner best calculated to secure the ultimate object of the Convention, which is 'the gradual suppression of the abuse of opium' and of allied and cognate drugs.

"4. The Dangerous Drugs Bill does not apply to India. I am to explain, however, that the Government of India were requested some time ago to examine their laws, regulations, departmental rules, and practice, and to arrange for such amendments if any, as might be necessary in order to bring their laws, rules and procedure into exact conformity with the provisions of the Hague Convention. It is believed that no alterations will be necessary, as the Indian law and practice have for years been in accord with the principles of that Convention—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

H. J. TOZER,

"for Secretary, Revenue and Statistics Dept."

The Secretary of the Edinburgh Committee prints the following comment on this letter:—

If the view taken in the above letter of the objects of the Hague Convention is to prevail, Britain will continue to lead in an opium traffic which is every whit as 'morally adfensible' as that which she abandoned for her own sake and China's—a traffic which the League of Nations in Article 23 couples with that in "women and children." We are, in order to raise £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 of revenue, to continue using 300,000 acres of the best land of India (now the number has risen again lately) for growing opium, 8000 chests of which are consumed in India, several thousands more than what is needed for medicine, and 13,000 of which are exported to countries for a "peracious luxury" which cannot be indulged in

without setting at naught one of the plainest provisions of the Hague Convention, and which our own Dangerous Drugs Bill visits with severe penalties.

I have received recently a letter from the General Secretary of the International Anti-Opium Association Peking in which he writes:—"While a very heavy responsibility rests on the Japanese Government and the military leaders in China and the manufacturers in Great Britain and the United States, yet it seems as if the chief responsibility rests upon the Indian Government as the chief producer of opium. This opinion is largely held here in Peking not only by members of our association, but it is held by all who take any interest in the question."

"The chief responsibility rests upon the Indian Government as the chief producer of opium." The people of India could bring this hateful traffic to an end by refusing to grow the opium and refusing to purchase the opium. When shall we do these two things?

THE KHILAFAT.

By M. K. GANDHI.

At Lucknow I found natural impatience on the part of the Musalmans regarding the Khilafat. Moulvi Salamatulla voiced in moderate language the public feeling regarding the position of the Angora Government when he said that the British attitude was becoming unbearable. There is no doubt about the growing distrust of the British declarations about friendliness towards the Turks. Nobody believes either that the British declarations are genuine or that the British Government is powerless to afford relief. In their impatient anger the Musalmans ask for more energetic and more prompt action by the Congress and Khilafat organisations. To the Musalmans Swaraj means as it must mean India's ability to deal effectively with the Khilafat question. The Musalmans therefore decline to wait if the attainment of Swaraj means indefinite delay or a programme that may require the Musalmans of India to become impotent witnesses of the extinction of Turkey in European waters.

It is impossible not to sympathise with this attitude. I would gladly recommend immediate action if I could think of any effective course. I would gladly ask for postponement of Swaraj activity if thereby we could advance the interest of the Khilafat. I would gladly take up measures outside non-co-operation, if I could think of any in order to assuage the pain caused to the millions of Musalmans.

But in my humble opinion attainment of Swaraj is the quickest method of righting the Khilafat wrong. Hence it is that for me the solution of the Khilafat question is attainment of Swaraj and vice versa. The only way to help the afflicted Turks is for India to generate sufficient power to be able to assert herself. If she cannot develop that power in time, there is no way out for India and she must resign herself to the inevitable. What can a paralytic do to stretch forth a helping hand to a neighbour but to try to cure himself of his paralysis? Mere ignorant, thoughtless and angry outburst of violence may give vent to pent-up rage but can bring no relief to Turkey. Nor can it increase the power of India

to assert herself. And the measures taken to put down violence may well lessen the speed with which we are marching to our goal.

But there is no cause whatsoever for despair. The whole of the Congress programme has been framed and measures are being adopted to meet the Khilafat crisis. There is no doubt that two months for finishing the Swadeshi work is a most intensive measure calculated to bring the best out of the nation. And if India completes the boycott by September and comes to her own in October, surely it must satisfy the most sanguine temperament and the most impatient and ardent Khilafatist as I claim myself to be.

The fact is that all the workers are not convinced of the possibility of completing the Swadeshi programme during the time fixed or of its power to effect all that is claimed for it. Such doubters have to stand out, unless they can suggest a better and quicker method and get it accepted by the country. In spite of their doubt, they should faithfully plunge themselves into Swadeshi work and give the experiment a fair trial. And does not this doubting of India's ability to go through the Swadeshi programme show, if the doubt is justified, that India has really no interest in the Khilafat or it has no desire to sacrifice anything for it? Is it a big sacrifice for every Hindu and Musalman to discard all foreign cloth and to use only Khadi? And if India is not to have that ability, will it not also be proof that India is unfit for any higher sacrifice and therefore unfit for helping Turkey? Let us all work for complete boycott of foreign cloth and the manufacture of the required quantity of Khadi and we shall be in sight of the haven.

A suggestion was seriously put forth at Lucknow that we should boycott Ralli Bros. a Greek firm, and avenge ourselves against the Greeks and should invite the labourers to stop work on the export cargo. The suggestions, it seems to me, are as absurd as they are impossible to carry out. Assume for one moment that we can in a moment extinguish the business of Ralli Bros., how can that affect the Greeks? Ralli Bros. do not send all or great part of their flour to Greece. There is a world trade. And it is more difficult to deal with their trade than with Swadeshi. Any such attempt apart from its inherent wrong, can only expose us to well-deserved ridicule. Interference with the labourers working on export cargo is equally fantastic. If we had such absolute control over the masses, we should have won our battle long ago. To stop the export of cargo requires not only a permanent or an indefinitely long stoppage of work by the existing labourers, but it presupposes our ability to stop any replacement of withdrawn labour. I fear we are not organised enough for the work. Any such attempt can only end in failure if not worse.

The only feasible suggestion is the immediate taking up of civil disobedience. I am convinced that the country is not ready for its adoption on an extensive scale. It can be safely and successfully adopted, if the country evinces sufficient organising ability, resourcefulness and discipline necessary for bringing the eminently practical Swadeshi enterprise to a successful end. Let us hope and pray that the country will.

A VENOMOUS PROSECUTION.

By M. K. GANDHI.

During my travels in the United Provinces, I have come across extraordinary tales of repression. For the present I propose only to deal with two cases of prosecution which I do not hesitate to consider venomous. Messrs. Mohansinh Darmal and Shambhunath Zamindar of Sitapur and ex Tahsildar were called upon to show cause why they should not file security for an offence described thus in the summons—

Whereas it appears from the report of the Patwari at Ramgadh that

[1] Th. Mohansinh of Ramgadh,

[2] B Shambhunath late Naib Tahsildar at present at Bhowali and Banuyadhar are taking part in anti-Government agitation and selling notes for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, as such agitation against the Government established by law is likely to eventually lead to a disturbance of the public tranquility and breaches of the peace, hence these persons are called on to show cause why they should not be bound over to keep the peace for one year in person, bonds of Rs. 1,000 each and each in two sureties in Rs. 500 each

On the face of it, the summons discloses no offence. But the painful humour of the situation is accentuated upon reading the Patwari's statement. It refers to the accused having paid the collections to Pandit Motilal Nehru and having been found in the company of such a confirmed non-co-operator as Pandit Nehru (sen.) in a place like Ramgadh sanatorium. It is true, the magistrate has not the courage to mention this very relevant fact, but as the second accused made it abundantly clear in his statement, his being with and having served Panditji was the sole offence. The accused is a well-known man in his district. He is known also to be a consumptive in the last stages. His right lung is almost gone. The other, and his bowels are badly affected. He has not taken any active part in any political work for many months. He had not made any speeches. He was in Ramgadh like Panditji himself recouping his health. Thus there was absolutely no excuse for the magistrate to arrest the accused or to go on with his trial after the arrest. The fact is, the magistrate's idea was evidently to terrorise all those who had anything to do with non-co-operation even to the extent of collecting subscriptions or helping non-co-operation in villages. It may be said that such things are really an exception and that their importance need not be exaggerated. I am unable to subscribe to the doctrine. The magistrate in the instances quoted may have adopted an original method of acting, but my observation of the United Provinces leads me to the conclusion that there is subtle terrorism going on in the United Provinces as nowhere else except perhaps in Sindh, designed solely to kill non-co-operation activities, no matter how non-violent and otherwise innocent they might be. A most unscrupulous use is being made of the statement of regrets issued by the Brothers. The users know the manner and the method of the Brothers' apology. But for them distortion of a brave act is the least wicked among the wickednesses that they resort to for the sake of

bending non-co-operators and weaning others from their ways. I am satisfied that the poorer people who dare to accept the banner of non-co-operation are molested in order to prevent them from joining Congress Committees, and they are by equally questionable methods made to join the so-called peace-promoting organisations which are as a matter of fact anarchical in the sense, that the methods adopted for promoting them are both illegal and immoral. The United Provinces Government are doing in a clever and cowardly manner what Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government did in an honest blunt manner. He followed up the logic of his policy and had the courage to arrest all the leaders and to create an atmosphere for an open Jallianwala. I have drawn attention elsewhere to the fact that tragedies worse than Jallianwala had been enacted in the Punjab during the recruiting period, but they passed unnoticed because leaders were not arrested. The U P. Government will not arrest leaders of the front rank except in isolated cases like Mr. Sherwani's. They have arrested Mr. Ranga Iyer. They have not as yet touched Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or Mr. Joseph, though all the three issued their challenge simultaneously. I have taken the trouble of reducing to writing the results of my observations in the United Provinces, because I saw Mr. Chintamani's speech energetically defending the measures of his Government, and because I was pressed to encourage ministers who were working out the reforms to the point of complete responsible government. In my humble opinion the Reforms and the Reforms ministers are being used, wherever possible, for sustaining the clever but miscreant bureaucracy. That the ministers are unconscious and unwilling instruments, does not lessen the evil of the policy, though it is an extenuating circumstance in favour of the ministers. I am loth to believe that Raja Sahab Mahmudabad and Mr. Chintamani know what they are doing. I am inclined to think that they are irresistibly drawn into the bureaucratic net, and the plausibilities put before them induce them to excuse what they would otherwise condemn without any hesitation. The Raja of Mahmudabad is stated by the *Independent* to have defended the action of a District Judge who suspended an acting munsarim in East Badaun for failing to produce a written declaration of loyalty by his son who had been served with a notice under section 144. He was suspended on the 10th May pending production of the required declaration. No doubt the son was living with the father. The result was, that on the 6th of June the father produced the son's application to join an Aman-sabha and procured reinstatement by selling his son's liberty of action. If we could but peep behind the scene we would probably find confidential despatches seeking to justify the suspension of the poor munsarim. Be that however as it may, we have here the melancholy fact that pressure is being put upon Government servants in order to compel their boys to withdraw from the non-co-operation movement. I have no doubt that the Raja Sahab of three years ago would have written and spoken far more energetically against such wicked demoralisation of officials and their families than I am doing. What is however still more to the pur

pose than the drawing of attention to the fact that ministers are being made tools in unscrupulous hands, is that non-co-operators must not be disheartened over the illegalities and the immoralities referred to here, but that they should realise that such repression and even worse must be expected by us and cheerfully accepted as the lot of reformers all the world over. The persecutors really believe that we are in the wrong, that we are harming the country and that means do not matter so long as the movement for which we stand is crushed. Repression, therefore, must be treated by us as a prelude to victory and must therefore be welcomed and be utilised by us for making our determination still more rigid.

A CONFESSION OF ERROR.

By M. K. GANDHI.

God only knows how often I have erred. Those who charge me with infallibility simply do not know me. My own experiences have taught me to be humble enough to know and to appreciate the fact that life consists in struggling against errors. When I launched out lightheartedly on civil disobedience in 1919, I saw that I erred grievously. As soon as I perceived at Nadiad the want of foresight, I called it a Himalayan miscalculation. It was not an exaggeration. And if India has not lost in moral growth thereby, it is because I had the wisdom to make a clean and full confession. I wish similarly to make another confession during these few weeks of concentrated Swadeshi work. I have already made the confession in my talks with students and professors. But a more definite and more public confession is necessary as well for my mental peace as for the present propaganda. All these nine months' experience has confirmed the correctness of the boycott of government educational institutions. But I was weak about the alternative suggested, and I was weak because I distrusted my ability to carry conviction. I erred for the consequence instead of leaving it to God. And therefore in my weakness I said the boys, after leaving schools, could roam about the streets, follow the same course of instruction or best of all take to handspinning till Swaraj was established. I discovered soon after the Nagpur Congress resolution that I had erred in suggesting several alternatives. But the mischief was already done. It started in September last. I began to retrace my steps in January, but repair is always patch-work. And so the spinning-wheel remains more or less an excrescence or an idle pastime in most non-co-operation schools. I should have boldly said the whole truth and suggested hand-spinning and hand-weaving as an integral part of the proposition regarding boycott of educational institutions. It is true that probably fewer students would have come out. But they would have done far greater work than all the thousands who have left schools and colleges without a definite notion about the alternative. They would by this time have become experts in hand-spinning and in hand-weaving, and our Swadeshi work would have been easier. I know that the students and the

professors of non-co-operation schools are doing their best. But it must be admitted that they are labouring under a handicap. They did not come with any conviction about hand-spinning or Swadeshi in general. They simply considered the question, as they had a right to, from the educational standpoint. It was enough for them that they diminished the prestige of the Government by withdrawing from its educational institutions. It is hard on them now to be told that their boycott to be complete involved manufacture of yarn and Khadi, that the preliminary training for the new method—the Swaraj type-of education meant during the war period the learning of hand-spinning and the other processes of cloth manufacture and actual production.

But the mistake having been made, I at least must pay the penalty of trying patiently to convince the doubters that it would have been better to have insisted on hand-spinning as a necessary part of the educational item in non-co-operation. I invite those who share my belief to hasten to repair the mistake and earnestly take up the work of production of yarn and Khadi in all national institutions which they influence. They will not ask me to supply them with teachers. I have far too few. But I jot down for them the processes that bale cotton which is what we usually have to-day has to go through. It must be first carded. There is no district in India which has no carders, i. e. *pinjaras* or *dhanuas*. They can card and a mere watching them for a day or two enables one to understand the process. A week's practice at the rate of six hours per day will enable one to card moderately well.

The carded cotton has to be turned into slivers or *pinna*, an incredibly simple and easy process.

The cotton is now ready for hand-spinning, which can be learnt from any spinner. Yarn to be yarn must be free from dirt, even and well-twisted. If it is not well-twisted or even, it cannot be woven.

The next process is sizing. It is rather difficult to practise. I have no scientific formula giving the quantity of ingredients. It must be learnt from an experienced weaver.

Joining the thread is also a process to be separately learnt. It requires like cycling a little knack which is easily acquired.

Lastly comes weaving which is purely a matter of practice. One learns the principle in a day. The reader must not be surprised at the ease with which I claim processes can be learnt. All natural and necessary work is easy. Only it requires constant practice to become perfect, and it needs plodding. Ability to plod is Swaraj. It is Yoga. Nor need the reader be frightened of the monotony. Monotony is the law of nature. Look at the monotonous manner in which the sun rises. And imagine the catastrophe that would befall the universe, if the sun became capricious and went in for a variety of pastime. But there is a monotony that sustains and a monotony that kills. The monotony of necessary occupations is exhilarating and life-giving. An artist never tires of his art. A spinner who has mastered his art, will certainly be able to do so.

tained work without fatigue. There is a music about the spindle which the practised spinner catches without fail. And when India has monotonously worked away at turning out Swaraj, she will have produced a thing of beauty which will be a joy for ever. But it cannot be without the spinning-wheel. Therefore the best national education for India is undoubtedly an intelligent handling of the spinning-wheel.

OUR WEAVING SCHOOL.*

III

Since we introduced the thin spindle, we have been keeping a number of them in reserve. When a student has his spindle bent, it is not corrected there and then but he is at once given one of the spare good ones, so there is no delay. Afterwards all the spindles that have gone wrong are collected and corrected together.

The *sadi*, i. e. the wrapping on the spindle which serves as a pulley, is often cut by itself and has sometimes to be cut off in order to correct the spindle. A new *sadi* has to be wrapped and for this a bottle of thick gum is kept ready at hand. It must be made of fine strong yarn, and be wrapped very tight. If it is loose, the string which revolves the spindle (*mala*) sinks in it and cuts it asunder, and at once the spindle stops. If the *sadi* is made of coarse yarn, it becomes rough, and so the *mala* does not run smoothly, and the spindle throbs and causes breakage of the yarn while it is being spun.

Pairs of *chamarakhan* (leather-bearing) also are kept in reserve. When these become too soft by an excess of oiling or by rough handling, they must be changed. Now-a-days we make them from raw hides and not from leather or bamboo, and so they keep longer.

Formerly a round piece of wood or cardboard used to serve as a rest for winding the cone. But now we have substituted a piece of horn which is more durable. Wax is kept in stock for treating the *mala*. Besides these things we have a small oil-can, a pen-knife, a hammer, a chisel, and a small anvil.

The students bring the hank twisted hard in the shape of a stick. The hank weighs two *tolas*, which is the standard weight of the silver provided. A bigger hank causes trouble while we open it, and the yarn is spoilt. The yarn spun by each student is kept separate with his name upon a wooden tag attached to it. Every student is asked to stick to one particular count all along till he has spun out enough for a length of warp; and then the yarn is sent to the weaving department. Every one is anxious to see when his yarn is sent out for weaving. Three such lengths of warp are being woven at present. About seven are ready waiting to be woven. An eleven year old girl will soon get a piece 20 yards long and 42 inches wide out of yarn spun by herself in the course of three months. This will provide her with two suits of clothing, consisting of two small *sadis*,

2 blouses and 2 petticoats. Her father had put in a pound of yarn spun by himself, to finish up the piece, and in return for this, she is going to spare a *dhoti* for him too. She is as much pleased to see the cloth woven from her own yarn as most girls would be to see brocade. Two other girls have combined their stock of yarn and are daily asking for it to be woven. Those students who have passed out from the spinning class are engaged in other departments, and have not much time to spare for spinning; so they work on holidays and prepare wool for their own warps, which are waiting to be woven. So in the second month, the spinning department is in full swing.

(To be continued.)

MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

REPRESSION IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

The following note was prepared for me by Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru, now over two months ago reviewing repressive measures in the United Provinces to the 30th May. Other matters having absorbed my attention, I have not been able to deal with Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru's notes. They however read as fresh to-day as in June. And the reader will find in them almost a complete answer to the official repudiation of the charge of repression.

M. K. G.

Repression in the U. P. has on the whole not been of the flashy type—the arrest of prominent leaders etc.—but it has been very thorough and there are few who have not felt the force of it. It may be considered under three heads.

1. In its relation to the Kisan movement,
2. The trial and conviction of young workers,
3. The use of Security Sections & Sec. 144.

1. The Kisan movement

A very determined and persistent effort has been made by Government to kill this movement. Early in February, Ramchandra, Kedarnath and Deo Narain were arrested. There was no disturbance of any kind and Government was emboldened to take concerted action to crush the Kisans. Columns of cavalry, artillery and infantry were marched through the principal districts and people were forced to supply *rasad* etc. to the troops. In one place schoolboys were made to salute the European troops.

In Rai Bareilly and Fyzabad large numbers of Kisans were arrested ostensibly for the part they took in the looting in January. Most of these Kisans were innocent and their sole offence was that they were poor. Hundreds were kept in jail and then released without trial. Hundreds are still in jail awaiting trial.

At some weeks ago there were nearly 700 Kisans in the Fyzabad jail. They had been there for three months without trial. Prisoners who have been released say that the men in jail are given such bad food that cholera has broken out and they are dying in numbers.

In Sultanpur and Pratapgarh districts there was no disturbance of any kind. But even here hundreds of panches and sarpanches are in jail or have been made to give security. The usual offence charged against them is *तुम सभाके सम्मान हो और लोगोंको सम्मान करके होने पर मजबूर करते हो*. Sometimes it is added that

* Previous instalments in our issues of 21st July and 11th August.

नियोजी बन्ध दीये कर गये हैं. There was some truth in these allegations in December last and in January. But since then there has hardly been a single case of social boycott in these districts. False cases are started on these allegations and conviction almost invariably follows. Most of these cases are instituted by private parties at the instigation of the local police or Zamindar.

The Seditious Meetings Act has been in force in Fyzabad, Pratapgadh, Sultanpur & Rai Bareilly. Before this act was applied, all meetings were prohibited under Sec. 144 in some of these districts. This order was obeyed and no meetings were held. In spite of this the Seditious Meetings Act was enforced.

Our workers in these districts are harassed in a variety of ways. A host of C. I. D. men and uniformed policemen follow them and precede them. Villagers are threatened lest they join the Congress or help us in any other way. They have been told orally that to use a charkha is against the law, to shout "Mahatma Gandhiji jai" is a heinous offence, to sign the Congress form is illegal, &c. &c. Men who have signed are threatened with legal proceedings and bribes are extorted to hush matters up.

Six young student workers in Pratapgadh were sent to jail for distributing leaflets. They were asked to give security but they refused to do so. A similar case was started against six others at Sultanpur but it has been withdrawn. Two workers have been sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment on a false charge of breaking the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act. One of these was beaten and kicked by a policeman.

It is difficult to give a proper idea of the hundred and one methods by which Government has tried to crush the Kisans. The Zamindars and the few local persons who call themselves Moderates have allied themselves to the Government and have succeeded in making the life of the average Kisan a burden almost too great to be borne.

In the other districts of the U. P. a similar attempt, but on a much smaller scale, has been made to put an end to the Kisan movement.

2. Conviction of workers.

A considerable number of Congress and Khilafat workers have been proceeded against and sentenced. None of the leaders of the movement have so far been touched but many of their efficient lieutenants have gone. Among the more prominent persons against whom sedition cases have been started may be mentioned Pandit Dev Ratan Sharma of Dehra Dun.

Hamid Ahmad, a Khilafat worker in Alahabad has just been sentenced under Sec. 121 A to transportation for life and forfeiture of property. His offence was having made a speech in which, after enjoying non-violence for the present, he said that if N. failed, Muslims would resort to the sword.

A number of Congress officials in the districts have also been sentenced under Sec. 105 or 124 A.

Some Volunteers have been sent to jail in connection with the anti-drunk campaign.

3. Security Sections and Sec. 144.

There has been an extraordinarily wide use of the sections and there is hardly a prominent worker who has not been served with a notice under S.

144. Even Maulana Mahomed Ali has received such a notice. I have a list of over a hundred with me and this is very incomplete.

Sec. 144 has also been used to prohibit whole districts and prohibit meetings there. It has been made to serve the purpose of the Seditious Meetings Act.

In one case at least a notice under Sec. 144 ordered that no Khilafat receipts should be sold and the person concerned should not belong to any such organisation.

Security Sections are also taking the place of the Press Act. Securities amounting to 30,000 Rs. were demanded from the editor and printer of the Pratap for certain articles written therein. The securities have been given.

4 Miscellaneous.

Many gas licences have been confiscated. Government servants have been threatened with dismissal because their relatives were non-co-operators. Orders have been issued prohibiting the use of the Gandhi cap. Notices have been issued threatening those who collect and those who pay subscriptions to the Swaraj Fund.

Congress and Kisan Sabha offices have been raided by the police.

In Benares, some students and others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

BERARS

- I. Resignations of Hon. Magistracies 2.
 - II. Resignations of nominated memberships in Taluka and District Boards 2.
 - III. Withdrawals from Government schools 350. [150 Buldhana, 200 Amraoti Akola reetmal.]
 - IV. National schools 41. [21 Amraoti, 6 Akola, 1 reetmal, 3 Buldhana.]
 - V. Suspensions of legal practices 11.
 - VI. Panchayats 131. [125 Amraoti, 6 Buldhana.]
 - VII. Arbitration Courts 14. [3 Amraoti, 10 reetmal, 1 Karanga.]
 - VIII. Congress membership 29,500. [Amraoti 14,000, Akola 4,500, reetmal 8,000, Buldhana 5,000.]
 - X. Lak Swaraj Fund Rs. 17,200. [Amraoti 10,000, Akola 2,200, reetmal 3,000, Buldhana 2,000.]
 - XI. Spinning-wheels 8,850. [Amraoti 3,500, Akola 4,100, reetmal 700, Buldhana 850.]
 - XII. Handlooms 8,850. [Amraoti 2,000, reetmal 3,000, Akola 2,000, Buldhana 1,850.]
- P. S. Rs. 51,109 have been collected up to 30th June.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to the Manager, Young India, Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

TO AGENTS.

Agents are requested to clear their accounts with Young India office for every month before the 10th of the next month.

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{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

NOTES.

Non-co-operation in Andhra—I am writing these notes at Mr. Mazharul Hak's Sadakat Ashram in Patna situated on the banks of the Ganges. I have always considered Bihar to have done the best for non-co-operation. Andhra I have put next. But it is difficult to say which province will do better. Any way the local Government are certainly assisting the people in their discipline. This is what Mr. Konda Venkantappayya says in his latest letter.

"In my last letter I informed you that after the arrests of myself and three merchant friends of mine, the pleaders of this city resolved to boycott the courts till the 31st December. After our release the Bar at Bapatla, the next important town in the district, has also resolved to do the same. Mr. Prakasham and myself are proceeding to other stations in this district to have the courts similarly boycotted by the pleaders. The city of Guntur has one District Court and two Sub-Courts besides two District Munsifs' Courts and several Magisterial courts. In Bapatla there is a Sub-Court and two District Munsifs' Courts. At present all these courts stand abandoned except by a few. We hope to have the courts in other stations in this district similarly abandoned. Arbitration boards to hear and dispose of both original suits and appeals have been formed and the first sitting of these courts will commence the day after to-morrow (i.e. Monday, the 5th instant). It is aimed to have all the suits and appeals now pending in the courts to be withdrawn from the British courts and referred to the arbitration courts. After regular establishment of parallel courts and the paralysation of the administration of justice in the British courts in this district, I have every hope that other districts will soon follow the example. Our aim is to complete this work in our district and next proceed to other districts if they do not begin to do it themselves in the meanwhile.

"The merchant community in this district, particularly in this city, have had a remarkable awakening. On the day of Lokamanya Tilak's anniversary almost every one of them wore the new Swadeshi clothes and attended the procession and the meeting. The cloth merchants here are willing to deal in Swadeshi cloth, provided they are shown a way to dispose of the foreign goods now in stock with them. In the whole of this district, there is 29 lakhs worth of foreign cloth and yarn. Of this, about half is got from Indian M.L.s. In this

town of Guntur, the merchants have with them 3 lakhs worth of foreign cloth and yarn. They are willing to re-export the stock to any place outside India, and to deal solely in Swadeshi cloth and yarn.

"I therefore request you kindly to refer me to some friends in Bombay who may be willing to inform me as to what the cloth merchants in Bombay propose to do with their foreign stock, and if there is any way of helping our merchant friends here to get rid of their stocks without loss to them by export to places outside India.

I hope that the enthusiasm of the pleaders will prove true and lasting. This boycott of law courts even by way of protest will do good to them and the country. Regarding the difficulty of the merchants, all I can advise them is that they should themselves devise a method of sending out the stock through the principal dealers. I wish, too, that the merchants in Bombay will come to the assistance of the dealers throughout India and try to re-export as much stock as is possible. But supposing no arrangement is arrived at, the dealers in foreign cloth and yarn should not force the sale of their stock but sell only to customers who insist on buying foreign cloth. I do not expect that the whole of India will all of a sudden understand and accept the duty of renouncing the use of foreign cloth. There is still more than a month left and much can be done during that time if no further purchases of foreign yarn or cloth take place.

Hindu Muslim Unity—Mr. Sayyad Mahammad, President Khilafat Committee Unao, writes as follows to the editor—

"I have read with pain and anxiety occasional remarks in your paper about the Muslims not joining the Congress. It is a matter for regret that the Hindu leaders in districts generally feel a sort of estrangement from their Muslim neighbours and both the Hindu and Muslim workers in small districts are riddled with the ambition of personal advertisement and claim a superiority which is the most dangerous poison to real unity. The result is that the Hindu workers hardly take any active part in the Khilafat movement, and the gulf thus gets wider. The Congress Committees are doing nothing so far as the propaganda work is concerned, and they think that their work is quite different from that of the Khilafat Committees. This evil in small districts is most deplorable, and

in spite of my most earnest endeavours to bring about a complete union, matters have not gone beyond a surface unity. Once the Hindus understand and realize this power of unity, I can confidently say that the cow sacrifice in this district will be reduced to almost nothing. Our great impediment is their aloofness.

I should be very sorry, indeed, if the Hindus of Unao are apathetic to the Khilafat cause. I have no doubt that the more interest the Hindus take in the Khilafat, the nearer comes Swaraj. Let us not ignore the fact that it is not yet possible to induce Musalmans to take interest in Swaraj except in terms of the Khilafat. It is sad but it is true. The two communities have remained so long estranged the Musalmans had unconsciously almost come to think that India was not their home. The peril to the Khilafat has opened their eyes. The Hindus can take note of the fact, help their Musalman countrymen and help themselves, and thus for all time cement Hindu Muslim union. Happily for both, whatever may be true of Unao is most certainly not true of many other places where the Hindus are doing all they can to help the Khilafat movement. There can be no real progress, if the awakening is not general among both the communities.

Tamil Sisters again—A South Indian lawyer sends me the following note:

'*Khadi* is not as widely used in the Tamil province as in the other provinces, mainly because the women-folk do not wear it. The spinning-wheel is not much in evidence for the same reason. Plain white cannot be worn by married women here. They can only wear dyed *sadis*. In former times cotton was the only wear of ladies. Now except by the poorest cotton *sadis* are discarded, and silk *sadis* form the daily wear. Silk *sadis* were at first locally manufactured at Koranadu (near Mayavaram) and later on at Conjeevaram, and dyed with Indian dyes. They cost from 10 to 30 Rs. They were only occasionally used. Lately the market has been exclusively captured by Bangalore *sadis* dyed with German or English dyes, the least of which costs about 50 Rs. This presses on the poor Brahmin householder, specially as he has to clothe the members of his family only with these; and when it is the daily wear, he has to go in for a number of them. On marriage occasions the minimum cost of a *sadi* fit for presentation is above 100 Rs. Many a decent family is ruined by a marriage, mostly on this account. This ruinous habit, which was confined to the Brahmins, has spread among other classes also.

"Besides the question of expense, there is the other aspect of comfort and convenience. Silk is non-absorbing and heavy, and working or cooking in it is martyrdom. It is always hot here except for one or two months of the year. There is also the peculiar insanitary habit of not washing the more costly *sadis*, lest they

should lose colour and get crimped. The perspiration and smell emitted are awful.

"Many a householder on the verge of ruin would feel grateful to you if you would bring about a return to economy, simplicity and comfort."

I hope the workers in Madras will deal with the evil complained of in the correspondent's letter. I dread my forthcoming visit to Madras. I share the correspondent's feeling that the Tamil woman is over-fond of her silk *sadi*. There is no more unwholesome garment than silk in a hot climate like that of Madras. And one hundred rupees for a *sadi* is a criminal waste of money in a poor country like India. Men are no better, for they are proud of their handwoven *pagris*, *dhotis* and *uparnas*, little thinking that the yarn used for these things is all foreign. Strange as it may appear, absorbent *Khadi* is cooler than the fine garments which are so prized by men. I am hoping, however, that my faith in the spirituality of Tamilians will be realised even in the difficult matter of Swadeshi, and that they will perceive the spiritual necessity of complete renunciation of foreign cloth and return to the *Charkha*. In the melting plains of Madras and Andhra, I can imagine no industry so helpful as the gentle-moving *Charkha*. Dravida land is responsible for sending out the largest number of emigrants to a life of servility and exile. Restoration of the *Charkha* automatically solves the difficult problem of enforced emigration. Land alone cannot support the poor peasantry of India even if there was no assessment to be paid.

Practising Lawyers—Letters continue to pour in regarding practising lawyers holding offices in Congress Committees. Ever since my arrival in Bengal, the question has been still more pressingly put to me. An ex-student from Dhubri writes to ask whether I expect the movement to succeed under the leadership of practising lawyers. I cannot conceive the possibility of the movement, which is one of self-sacrifice, succeeding if it is led by lawyers who do not believe in self-sacrifice. I have not hesitated to advise that electors rather than be ably led by such lawyers should be content to be more humbly guided. I can certainly imagine a brave and believing weaver or cobbler more effectively leading than a timid and sceptical lawyer. Success depends upon bravery, sacrifice, truth, love and faith; not on legal acumen, calculation, diplomacy, hate and unbelief.

The Bread Problem—The same student says that many Bengalis cannot do national work or leave slavery because of the bread problem. It is not so much the bread problem as the bread labour problem. We the educated classes have lost the art of labouring for our bread. With the wages of weavers, carders and spinners rising daily, there is certainly no bread problem. Any man who weaves for eight hours a day may earn even at the commencement at least one rupee per day. Accomplished weavers to-day earn two rupees per day. We must not think of earning a livelihood by deskwork merely.

Non-violence as a Policy—His last question is the most important of all. "Do you hope, that this non-violent war which is based on love and soul-force will succeed with those who take it merely as a matter of policy? Pure non-violence necessitates more courage and love of country. But as a weapon of the weak, it will breed fear in the face of coming repression." The questioner has partly answered the question himself. Non-violence may succeed, even if it is adopted as a matter of policy rather than creed, if it is combined with courage and real love for the country or the cause. Hatred of the wrong-doer does not necessarily mean love of the country. Our difficulty arises from the fact that many people make a pretence of non-violence without having in it even as a policy. The Ali Brothers believe in it purely as a policy, but in my opinion there are no two truer believers in non-violence as a policy than they. They do believe that violence can only hurt the cause, and that non-violence if extensively practised can entirely succeed. A man who honestly practises truth as a policy certainly gains its material results, but not the one who feigns truth.

..

Voluntary Obedience—If we are to achieve Swaraj during this year, we must show signs of its coming in every department of life, most of all in the working of Congress organisations. Unless we conform to laws and rules that we ourselves now make, we are not likely to do better when we have attained Swaraj. The Treasurer bitterly complained to the Working Committee at its last meeting that several Provincial Committees had not yet sent in 25 p. c. of their collections. Some were reported to be withholding, because other provinces had not made their returns. On the contrary I would suggest that each province should vie with every other in being most exact in discharging all its obligations. Thus and thus only may we expect to become self-governing, and command respect for our demands. If the Congress organisations are to work efficiently, all the instructions of the Working Committee should be faithfully and promptly carried out. The Committee has come to the decision that not less than one fourth of the total provincial collections should be devoted to Swadeshi, i. e. handspinning and handweaving. Twenty five lacs is not a large sum to spend throughout India, if we are to cope with the demand for *Khadi*. Indeed the more a province spends on this head, the better it will have done.

..

Christians and Non-co-operation—An Indian Christian from Basrah North writes:—

I am sorry to say that you do not take us Indian Christians as the people of India, as I have seen many times *Young India* mentioning Mussalmans, Hindus, Sikhs, etc., but omitting the Christians.

I should like you to believe that we Indian Christians are also the people of India, and take much interest in India's own affairs.

I am sure, there are very few who have followed N. C. O. as Indian Christians have. I have much sympathy for my motherland's affairs. I am also a follower of N. C. O.

I promise to give some news about the state of India in Mesopotamia now and then."

I assure the correspondent and other Indian Christians that non-co-operation is no respecter of creeds or races. It invites and admits all to its fold. Many Indian Christians have contributed to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. There are some noted Indian Christians as non-co-operators in the front rank. There is constant mention of Mussalmans and Hindus, as they have hitherto regarded one another as enemies. Similarly there always has been some cause when any race has been specially mentioned in these columns.

My Ambition.—A persistent correspondent from Simla asks me whether I intend to found a sect or claim divinity. I have answered him by a private letter. But he would have me make a public declaration for the sake of posterity. I should have thought that I had in the strongest terms repudiated all claim to divinity. I claim to be a humble servant of India and humanity, and would like to die in the discharge of such service. I have no desire to found a sect. I am really too ambitious to be satisfied with a sect for a following. For I represent no new truths. I endeavour to follow and represent Truth as I know it. I do claim to throw a new light on many an old truth. I hope that this declaration will satisfy my inquirer and others like him.

M. K. G.

A MOCK TRIAL.

By M. K. GANDHI.

I have already dealt in a previous issue with the disgraceful behaviour of a Karachi crowd on 25th July last upon the receipt of the news that Swami Krishnanand, a popular preacher, reformer and the soul of the picketing movement in Karachi, was arrested, tried and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment inside of three hours. The court house was surrounded by the military, and the trial took place practically with closed doors. The Swami was arrested on the 20th but set free after an hour's detention. He was without a warning re-arrested on the 25th on the same charge. He was charged with having assaulted a constable 'in the discharge of his duty.' Prof. Vaswani who was in touch with the Swami and who was present at the court, testifies that the Swami never assaulted the constable, but that on the other hand he the Swami was fairly severely assaulted by the latter for having refused to move on whilst he was engaged in a conversation with a friend. The crowd believed implicitly in the innocence of the Swami. And in its madness, it selected every European passer-by and every one with a European hat for venting its wrath. Among the Europeans assaulted was Mr. Price, M. L. A. Whatever the provocation, however great the Swami's innocence and whatever his status, the crowd had

no business to lose temper. Victory is impossible until we are able to keep our temper under the gravest provocation. Calmness under fire is a soldier's indispensable quality. A non-co-operator is nothing if he cannot remain calm and unperturbed under a fierce fire of provocation. We must be on the bed chosen by us. We must not expect the Government to remain calm in all circumstances. It has its creed as we have ours. It is calm up to a point. It will sit still so long as we seem to play. Its creed is to strike terror immediately we are serious. The Swami and his following were serious, and the Government delivered the blow. It was at this stage that our creed was put upon its trial and we failed. It is true but it is irrelevant, that Prof. Vasvani and other staunch workers tried to curb the fury of the mob and even partly succeeded and prevented worse things from happening. The fact that matters very much is, that the crowd lost self-control at all. There was no occasion for it to gather. Having gathered it ought to have remained cool-humoured throughout. It was entitled to vent its anger by discarding all foreign cloth, by making up its mind to turn to weaving and picketing liquor-shops. That would have been a death blow to the Government. As it was, its impotent rage was very near a death-blow to the movement for which the crowd ostensibly stood.

There should be no mistake. There is no civil disobedience possible, until the crowds behave like disciplined soldiers. And we cannot resort to civil disobedience, unless we can assure every Englishman that he is as safe in India as he is in his own home. It is not enough that we give the assurance. Every Englishman and Englishwoman must feel safe, not by reason of the bayonet at their disposal but by reason of our living creed of non-violence. That is the condition not only of success but our own ability to carry on the movement in its present form. There is no other way of conducting the campaign of non-co-operation.

Let us bear the Swami's farewell message in mind: 'carry on the anti-liquor campaign and help the Bhangi.' He could not have delivered a better message. If we banish liquor and raise the Bhangi to our level, low as it is, we are very near Swaraj.

Of course the Sindh authorities have lost their head. I see proclamations prohibiting people from walking where and as they like, from carrying anything but walking-sticks.

The European residents too have lost self-control. I do not wonder. They are a handful in the midst of many. Prof. Vasvani wrote a dignified letter of sympathy to Mr Price regretting the incident. He had met Mr. Price before. Mr. Price wrote a splenetic letter in reply. Prof. Vasvani wrote again. Mr. Price was still angry. I reproduce elsewhere two typical letters out of the interesting correspondence that passed between the two,—one from Mr. Price by no means his worst, and one from Prof. Vasvani calm and dignified. The latter is also valuable as a cogent statement of a non-co-operator's position.

The lesson of the 'mock trial' as Prof. Vasvani has truly called it and the aftermath, is that we must expect more mock trials as the heat of non-co-operation grows and the closing months approach, and that we must be prepared calmly to face the imprisonment of innocence without retaliation and fury or we must be prepared to court well deserved disaster. It will be a cruel pity if, when we are so near the cherished goal, we should fall back by our inability to control crowds.

THE SERFS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By C. F. ANDREWS.

Under this heading, Dr. Frank Watson, the Bishop of Zanzibar, has challenged the criminal imperialism of Great Britain in East Africa. His words are full of fiercely burning moral indignation owing to the things which have recently been done by the Government of British East Africa. Under the orders issued by the East African Government itself last year, any work which the Governor decreed to be of a 'public nature' (in addition to Government transport, railways, roads etc.), could be performed by forced labourers working 60 days each year. The 60 days under this regulation might easily reach to 70 days, or more, on account of the time taken in coming and going to the work. In addition to this, the African was made liable to at least 24 days of local compulsion. Furthermore, district officials and tribal headmen were ordered by Government to "encourage" Africans to work under European planters. Failure to do this on the part of headmen was to be reported to the Governor, the tribal headmen being informed that such reports to the Governor would be regularly sent in. Women and children were to be "encouraged" to work on European plantations near their own villages. It must be carefully remembered, that all this was arranged and ordered, not by some private individuals, but by the British government itself.

Dr. Frank Watson has exposed this policy of exploitation as follows:—(I paraphrase this account)

(I) Forced labour is immoral. To summon an African man or woman to work like a serf, for the enrichment of a small band of commercial foreigners, is indefensible.

(II) The doctrine, that Europeans are justified on commercial grounds in making serfs of the Africans, is immoral in the extreme.

(III) Forced labour leads to social immorality. The enforced absence of the husbands from the home means, that the women are left unprotected. The men themselves cast off all their natural ties and live vicious lives, in European commercial centres, and on European plantations. Venereal diseases are spread broadcast in consequence.

(IV) Forced labour always involves cruelty. The pressgang system, for men and women, inevitably is accompanied by incredible cruelty. There is the herding of men together like cattle who are forced away from their own homes; the impossibility of carrying out medical inspection; the irresponsible conduct of the overseers, etc. Personally, speaking

from practical experience, (the Bishop writes) I maintain that Government cannot carry out these 'forced labour' proposals without great individual cruelty. In East Africa, as every one knows, the lash is freely used by the overseers on the European plantations.

(V) Forced labour is a degradation of manhood. It takes away all self-respect from a man to be treated continually as a slave, without any will or initiative of his own.

(VI) Forced labour places terrible powers in the hands of the subordinate officials. When Government regulations definitely order the head-men of the villages to "encourage" African labourers to go to the European plantations, it is quite clear (to any one who knows the ways of the subordinates) that all sorts of influences will be used, and bribery and corruption will be rampant.

The Bishop of Zanzibar then points out, that even the slaves in East Africa in the old slave days, only gave 104 days of slave labour, during the year, to their masters. This new forced labour gives very nearly the same amount of days; and yet Great Britain takes pride in having set the slave free. Dr Watson ends with these significant words, "We hold forced labour apart from war, as in itself immoral; and we hold that, forcing Africans to work in the interests of European civilisation, is a betrayal of the weaker to the financial interests of the stronger race."

It is a matter of thankfulness, that no Indian employer, (as far as my own experience goes), has ever claimed 'equality' with the European in the use of this forced labour. Indeed, the very opposite has been the case. The Indian community has again and again protested against this exploitation of the African labourer. What is even more significant, the Indian employers have proved up to the hilt that, by the payment of a fair, living wage, African labour can be had in abundance without any compulsion at all. I have lived on the *Shamba* (plantation) of my friend, Abdulrasul Asladina Vishram, where the labour force was over a thousand strong. I never saw any sign of the use of the lash. The labourers appeared to me happy and contented; and the manager told me, that he had far more applicants for work than he could possibly provide work for. He paid considerably above the European rate, and yet, he told me, he was able to make substantial profits.

But it may be said, "What does all this mean for Swaraj, in India itself?" To me, it means everything. It means, first of all, that the exploiting spirit is not dead in my own country of Great Britain. It means that the British Empire is an imperialism, tainted with the same evils as those of all past imperialisms,—the evils of the perpetual commercial exploitation of weaker races. It means, that these evils will continually persist in weakening India herself, until India obtains Swaraj.

Secondly, it means, that we must look nearer home than Africa, in our consideration of the evils of forced labour; for forced labour in one form or another has been the age-long curse of India herself, more deadly

in its effects even than the commercial exploitation which has gone on, under British rule, in the interests of Great Britain. Forced labour has not been an importation from without: it has been a running sore within. It is, to-day, most strongly entrenched of all in the Indian States, especially in Rajputana. It has gradually reduced the brave Rajputs themselves to a condition of virtual slavery, as far as a great part of the agricultural population is concerned.

The only ultimate way to get rid of 'forced labour' is to refuse to give it. In certain states of Rajputana, a wonderful struggle has been going on for years, in which the defenceless villagers have revived all their past bravery, in a still nobler form, in the form of passive resistance. They have even been shot at and have not flinched from that last terrible ordeal. They have remained, even then, non-violent. It is my hope to go among these brave people before long. I intend to visit them before going out to Fiji, and to learn something of their courageous endurance. I shall write about what I see with my own eyes when I am on the spot.

CHIRALA-PERALA.

By M. K. GANDHI.

Chirala Perala is in fact one village not far from the sea, with a nice climate and containing a compact population of about 15,000. The place is situated in the Andhra Province, and possesses in Mr. Gopal Krishnayya a talented and self-sacrificing leader, who has by his perseverance and sacrifice been able to hold the people together without difficulty. Municipal government is a transferred department. The minister in charge began last year to make his presence felt by these brave people. A vexatious trading licence was imposed upon them. They retorted by trading without a licence. The result was a prosecution and convictions against the resisters, who, including an old woman, went to gaol. The Government has been endeavouring to impose a municipality on the people, who protested against the measure. But what could a minister who had accepted office in the teeth of public opposition do but seek to impose his will upon the people and show that he cared little for it?

Let us see what the municipality meant to the people; certainly not better sanitation, for the place was unusually well kept by the people themselves; certainly not more education, for the people were non-co-operators. It meant more taxation, more interference with their liberty. This was an intolerable evil for the people.

They therefore decided to remove to a bare place of ground near by outside the municipal area. They erected huts there for residence and evacuated Chirala Perala about May last. Nothing daunted, the minister has sought and received the assistance of the Revenue Department which has levied penal cesses in respect of the sheds on the ground that they were erected on Government waste. The rate for each shed is Rs. 10-2-6, whereas the value thereof is only Rs. 25. If this payment is not made, the occupants have to vacate the sheds.

The commencement of repression is thus described in its note by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee:—

In the repression at Chirala-Perala, the rod of honour is lengthening. Already 12 men and one woman have served out their term of imprisonment for refusing to pay the municipal taxes. Three men are now undergoing rigorous imprisonment in the Central Jail at Rajamahendravaram, six more are awaiting orders of incarceration. It is extraordinary that these six were sentenced to imprisonment nearly a month ago and the sentence held in abeyance. We have not heard of any other instance in which convicted persons are quietly told that they might go home and await orders, not even bail bonds being taken from them. Many more in Chirala-Perala are prepared to fill the prisons. The struggle is being carried on with remarkable vigour and persistence, though the dislocation of business caused by the evacuation and the loss of living in the case of poorer inhabitants have entailed serious hardship.

The property of the convicted persons has been attached and brought to sale a number of times at Bapatla and at Guntur for realising the amount of fine levied on them. But no bidders have come forward in either place. This is an eloquent testimony to the sympathy generally felt for the sufferings of the Chirala-Perala patriots.

Here we have a concrete instance of the meaning of the reforms and responsibility. I doubt not that the minister believes that what he is doing is good for the people. Did not the English officials, whenever they imposed anything on us even the Rowlatt Act, seek to justify the imposition on the ground of public weal? What non-co-operation is fighting among other things, is the spirit of patronage. We must have the liberty to do evil before we learn to do good. Even 'liberty' must not be forced upon us. The democratic spirit demands that a most autocratic minister must yield to a people's will or resign office. He must be patient enough to carry enlightened public opinion with him even in the most perfect measures of amelioration.

The brave people of Chirala Perala have challenged the Government to do its worst and refused to have a municipality. They need not have done so. They might have waited for Swaraj. But they chose to do otherwise. The responsibility is entirely theirs. They may not now yield in any circumstance whatsoever. Nor must they under provocation lose their heads. They must cheerfully let the Government subject them to any penalty it chooses to inflict upon them. By their meek and unyielding suffering they will cover themselves and India with glory, and will give an object lesson to the country in non-violence.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to the Manager, Young India, Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

For Young India must be sent strictly in advance by money order. The paper is not sent by V. P.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

[Out of the correspondence between Prof. Vasvani and Mr. Price, we take the following as typical.]

TO PROF. VASVANI.

Sir,—Your letter of date to hand. I note you think a meeting would be useless. I agree your friend's sentence seems very severe but I did not hear the case and I am not prepared to condemn off-hand the action of an Indian Magistrate carrying out his duty in very difficult circumstances. If, however, the Magistrate has erred in being too severe, there are means open to you for getting revision. Why not take them? Are you working really to get your friend's sentence revised or reduced, or merely to use his unhappiness for the purposes of political propaganda? There is a clear course before you, either to help your friend or to leave him to his fate. Which course are you following? If the latter, I shall regret it the more because I am now told by a more reliable Indian gentleman that your friend, apart from this political frenzy which caused him to lose sight of reason, was a kindly and charitable man.

There is unrest, as you say. Would you deepen or lessen it?

Reverting now to your letter of 29th, I did not know you were not leader in the non-co-operation faction. I conceived you addressed me either in that capacity or on behalf of Mr. Narayandas. I see now you wrote only to express your regret at this breach of your ideal by the crowd, for which I again thank you, and to protest your friend's action.

As to your remarks about "Imperialist Government," an Imperialist Government, as I understand it, is one that expends blood and treasure to increase its borders. This Government would be Imperialistic if it had plans for subjugating, say, Persia. Far from that, the one object of our Government is to administer its existing territories peaceably, without extension either by craft or force, and to develop among its peoples the art of self-government and unity centrally. And the civilised world watches the effort, admires the magnitude of the task and wishes India a God-speed. What's wrong in that? You talk of suppression. Now without any rhetoric, I ask you to mention to me the country where the individual has greater liberty of thought, speech, action and movement than in India. I have travelled a great deal, and studied a good deal, and honestly I do not know one. If you mention one, I shall be glad to test your facts.

I have written a short letter to the Daily Gazette, trying to show the true ideal of personal liberty by some simple instances of its operation. If you think my instances are wrong, I hope you will correct me in that paper. But I do ask you, Sir, to make your criticism as I understand it. I must admit that there are passages in your letter so elaborate that I find it difficult to form the idea. As a severely practical man, also, I value ideas only for their worth in practical application to daily life.

Yours truly,
E. L. PRICE.

PROF. VASVANI'S REPLY.

Dear Sir,—Your letter dated 30th reached me by post yesterday.

I could have no objection to a friendly meeting. I am still of opinion that a meeting in the mood reflected in your letters will be fruitless. In your last letter, indeed, you seem to suspect that I am an 'agitator' using that mock-trial as a 'political dodge', and 'the unhappiness of my friend' for 'the purposes of political agitation.' For the love and esteem I have for friends in Europe, for the reverence I have for her poets and prophets of freedom, I must bear with what my European brethren in this country may say of me and my motives.

I am glad you say the sentence passed upon my friend seems to be very severe. I am an optimist; and I yet hope when you look into the matter carefully, you will agree with me, that the sentence is *absolutely unjust*. Justice demands his *acquittal*.

The 'decision of an Indian magistrate'—you say. As I sat in that room hearing the case and then the judgment, I felt my Great Motherland was insulted. It looked as though conviction was pre-arranged. It, certainly, was not a judicial trial.

You say:—"There are means open to you for getting revision (of the sentence). Why not take them?" *The only just revision would be the Swami's acquittal.* But he will not appeal to the higher court. Why not? You ask. Then let me quote you this from a letter of the Poet Tagore:—"I remember when in my school days I used to get blows and insults from a teacher who was particularly foul in his language and unjust in his dealings, I refused to complain or to cry. In fact I tried to maintain my dignity by ignoring my punishment and thus I had my moral victory." Doesn't it explain the Swami's attitude? And the longer he is locked up, the smaller must look the Government in the eyes of honest men.

Yes,—there is unrest—and deeper than you may know of. The way to lessen it? I indicated it in my last letter. Sindh officials must be just and responsive to the New Spirit. You value ideas, you say, for their worth in practical application. And it is in practical application that the ideas of freedom and equality and justice professed by the official class have failed us again and again. From my point of view, indeed, *the true idealist is practical and the man sincerely practical is an idealist*; there is *idealism* in his action. In the sentence inflicted on the Swami, I see the desire to show strength. *Such strength is weakness*. For power which tramples upon justice is weakness,—*the weakness of violence*.

Your culture and travels notwithstanding, you justify, so it seems to me,—the policy of Government, I can account for this only in one way,—you know nothing of the humiliation and sufferings experienced by a subject-nation. Dyer shot down between 300, and 400 Indians; and he enjoys a pension of £ 900 a year and his European admirers presented him a purse, I believe of about £ 30,000! But innocent Indians, like the Swami, are rotting in jail—for loving their country! There was a time British officials were credited with great virtues,—tolerance, sympathy, justice; and even in 1914 when the War broke out, the National Congress resolved that "India would stand by the Empire in all cases and at all hazards." To-day,

the Congress is boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales,—for no fault of His Royal Highness! Why? The unrest is deepening everyday. Why? The gulf between the State and the Nation, Government and People, is widening day by day. Why? Government is only too anxious to brandish the big stick; Government has faith in force.

Do you know how many of our young men are in jail to-day for political opinions? Writing on the Tilak Day, can I forget that some of the best among those who have worked for India have had their patriotism paralysed at one time or another? Tilak the Scholar, Tilak the Patriot was sent to jail,—more than once. Annie Besant was interned, Lala Lajpat Rai was deported. Bipin Chandra Pal was not allowed to enter the Punjab. They were no rebels. But they loved India! How many young men in Bengal were sent to jail for the politics of national freedom? And some of them, how were they sent to jail. A Bengali professor was interned,—without being convicted of any crime! He was interned in a distant jail,—without the knowledge of his mother. She took long to know of her son's plight. She petitioned for a proper inquiry into her son's case. She was informed that her son was in solitary cell and had become insane! Two ladies were arrested in a village by police. They were sent to jail. The press exposed the police *salam*. Government confessed the mistake and ordered the release. But the ladies were still detained in prison,—for a fortnight! A telegram ordering their release had been mislaid! And after their release, no policeman was punished! Only last week, the police fired upon an unarmed crowd in Matur, a village in Sindh; one man died; about a dozen were wounded; a white-washing official version ran round the press; a non-official version was held back by the telegraph authorities in Sindh as 'objectionable'! The story of Jalian-wala is known to you. Where, I ask, where in any civilised European country will such things be permitted, to-day? Deportations, internment, and imprisonment of innocent men! Flogging and whipping and shooting of innocent men! This is the story of India for years as of no other country in Europe which I have seen and known. The reason is not far to seek. *They are free India is in bondage*.

I speak of British Imperialism. I said it was in conflict with the Spirit of Man in Asia. In Persia, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in India—its dominant motive has been economic control of the East, and here in this country we are trying by peaceful *Swadeshi* to resist its 'peaceful penetration'. In Egypt and India and now in Muslim lands,—as in Ireland,—the Empire is in conflict with the principle of nationality. But this is a subject which needs a separate dis-

You refer your letter to the "true ideal of personal liberty" and ask for my remarks. I saw it in the *Gazette*—most hurriedly, I regret; and it is not before me at this moment. But I suppose your idea is to show that picketing the liquor shops is in conflict with the true ideal of personal liberty. I speak,—subject to correction. I should be sorry, indeed, if you really thought picketing

inconsistent with personal liberty. Personal liberty is an ideal dear to the Frenchman. It is not in conflict with picketing as the Swami practised it. His picketing was moral persuasion. Drinking is disallowed in Hindu and Muslim scriptures. In a country like India, a National Government would pass a measure of prohibition. The Government here resists popular opinion and national instincts; and the people wish to achieve by picketing what a national Government easily would, by prohibition. Gokhale, I believe, started picketing at Poona years ago and some of the most earnest reformers regard picketing a moral duty. Picketing, however, may like several other innocent things be abused and become coercion. All intimidation, coercion, social boycott, violence is in conflict with my ideal of personal liberty. I do not know if the Swami would, in theory, subscribe entirely to my view of personal liberty. I know many of my friends would not; they would not object to putting an end to the scandal of liquor-traffic by means of social boycott. One thing I am sure of. The Swami was always for persuasion, never for intimidation or coercion. One thing I repeat with emphasis. He did not assault a policeman, he did not use any criminal force. I asked him the question, his answer was an emphatic 'no'; he would not tell a lie; and I would believe him against all your policemen. He did not assault any one, I say, and he used no criminal force. But he did something more dangerous! He carried on his anti-drink campaign with energy! He threatened to reduce revenue derived from an immoral traffic! And a giddy Government clutching at a policy of coercion have sentenced him to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment to 'create impression.' The sentence has created 'impression.' For as the news will spread from town to town, India will know how justice and common sense are mocked in India—in this 'new era' of 'reforms'!

Yours truly,
T. L. VASWANI

A MODEL WEAVING SCHOOL.

By MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

III *

The working of the spinning class having been fully described in the first two articles, the process next to be taken up is carding; but having received a number of queries as to the working of hand-looms, I propose to deal with this before going into intermediate processes.

Questions are asked as to which will be the most useful loom for weaving handspun yarn. Some want our opinion about the automatic looms; others insist upon the necessity of inventing a new swift-working machine, while still others ask for monetary help to prepare such after their own designs.

My humble but firm opinion is that the old pit-loom is the best, especially for weaving handspun yarn. No doubt it is the slowest working instrument but it is the surest of all, and just as our old spinning-wheel in spite of its being the slowest instrument is absolutely capable of spinning out all the cotton that India produces to-day, so the old pit-loom is perfectly capable of weaving out all

the yarn that India can produce by means of the spinning-wheels and the m.l.s.

It is not the time to enter into figures in support of my statement. I shall only try to show the usefulness of the pit-loom. The fly-shuttle loom has its place in the sphere of home-industry as well as of the factory, but the automatic looms have no room in this industry. Its drawbacks can only be realized by a study of the facts and figures regarding concerns which employ such looms. People who newly take up this industry should beware of flashy advertisements. They should not be misled by professed calculations of the working of such looms.

The fly-shuttle looms have varying adjustments. In the Muzaffarpur spinning and weaving exhibition held in May last, a party from this school was present with its wheel and loom. Of all the fly-shuttle looms exhibited, the one from this school was selected as the simplest and lightest of all. It is all made of wood, with the exception of nails and screws required for joining. The pickers are also made entirely of wood. The shuttle and perns are home-made. Other looms had iron bars in their boxes, were operated with foreign shuttles, and their perns were unwieldy. Our loom is modelled upon a type of loom working in thousands in the Madras presidency. The whole loom with a wooden frame to fit on a pit, with the exception of hilds and reed costs 45 Rs. These latter things are not supplied, as there is no fixed standard of the yarn to be used on it.

I wish some public-spirited person or firm will come forward in Madras or elsewhere in that presidency and undertake to supply the fly-shuttle loom as described above promptly and at reasonable rates. Any one desirous of taking up this work may correspond with the Head of the Khadi Department, Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee Ahmedabad.

Thus far as regards the fly-shuttle loom. I suggest to new manufacturers that they cannot do better than start with the old-fashioned pit-loom. It is our experience that on account of less breakage of yarn, especially handspun yarn, the output of a pit-loom almost equals and in some cases even exceeds that of the fly-shuttle loom. In weaving broader width, however, the fly-shuttle is certainly more convenient. And when the handspun yarn is of good test, it enjoys a decided advantage over the old loom in point of swiftness. But we have to remember that we have got to deal with handspun yarn which is not likely to have a good test for some time to come. It is therefore that the old loom is the safest and surest weaving instrument to go on with for the present.

(To be continued)

* Previous instalments in our issues of July 21st, August 11th and 18th.

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{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

NOTES.

Lovely Assam.—I am writing these notes at Tezpur on the banks of the mighty Brahmaputra. Tezpur was known as Shonitapur and is reputed to have been the capital of the demon Banasur, whose daughter Usha was married to Aniruddha. Devotees can point out the place where Hari and Hara fought. Assam is a land of magnificent vegetation. Some of the river scenery is hard to beat throughout the world. I have seen the gorgeous scenery on the Thames. But I cannot recall anything as superior to the lavishness with which nature has decorated the great stream on whose banks I am writing these notes.

Upper Assam alone has a population of over 37 lacs. Every woman of Assam is a born weaver. No Assamese girl who does not weave can expect to become a wife. And she weaves fairy tales in cloth. Some of the old patterns that our host Mr. Phookan showed me were of matchless beauty. And as I saw these beautiful patterns, I could not help shedding a silent tear over India's past glory and her lost art. Where is to be found in all the fine rich foreign *sadis* in India, that beautiful blending of soft colours so pleasing to the eye? The vegetable dyes of Assam are almost extinct. When Assam became a British possession, its women ceased to spin and sinfully took to weaving foreign yarn. And now, what the women of Assam are saving through weaving, they are losing through buying foreign yarn. And the *sadis* I see to-day are not anything to be compared to the old patterns I have seen for beauty or softness. Assam, if its workers do their duty, can play a most important part in developing Swadeshi. Its women can weave much more than enough for themselves. Forty thousand acres are under cotton cultivation to-day, an acre yielding on an average 133 lbs. But of course Assam can grow much more. Some of the cotton I saw was very beautiful and long-staple. And fine spinning is still in existence in isolated homes as in Andhra. Every one admits that the Assamese have ample time at their disposal. I have elsewhere reproduced an extract from an English writer's observation confirming the view. Assam has plenty of wood, sound and durable, just the kind for making spinning-wheels. Let us hope that Assam will rise to its full height in the matter of Swadeshi.

The Assamese are cursed with the opium habit, but the movement against vice has spread

throughout the length and breadth of India. I am told that many people have given up the habit altogether and that abstinence is on the increase.

I understand that some Government officials have made use of a slip I have committed in my booklet 'Hind Swaraj', in which I have bracketed the Assamese with the Pindarees and other wild tribes. I have made ample amends to the people. It was certainly on my part a grave injustice done to the great Assamese people, who are every whit as civilised as any other parts of India. They have a fine literature, some of which is written on bark of *agaru* tree with beautifully coloured illustrations said to be very old. And of course I fell in love with the women of Assam as soon as I learnt that they were accomplished weavers. Being weavers, they have used economy in their dress without impairing its beauty or its efficiency as cover. And to me it is a sign of very high culture to see the Assamese women and girls wearing little or no jewellery. They are like women all over India naturally shy and modest with extremely refined and open faces.

My stupidity about the Assamese rose, when about 1890 I read an account of the Manipur expedition, when the late Sir John Gorst defended the conduct of the officials towards the late Senapati, saying that Governments always liked to lop off tall poppies. Being an indifferent reader of history, I retained with me the impression that the Assamese were *jungals* and committed it to writing in 1908. However my slip has afforded consolation to some officials, amusement to my audience before which I corrected the slip, and a splendid opportunity to me of paying a tribute to the simple and natural beauty of the Assamese sisters and of enlisting them on the side of India and Swadeshi.

I must not omit to mention the fact, that out of nearly seventy eight Assamese pleaders, fifteen have suspended practice, probably the highest percentage throughout India.

Lastly, I must congratulate the Congress Committees on the excellent order preserved at all the meetings. All rush and noise have been avoided with wonderful discipline.

Officiousness.—The officials in Assam are evidently unused to large demonstrations and gatherings. They have forbidden to the demonstrators the use of public grounds. The Nowgong officials however positively irritated the people,

The Deputy Commissioner would not allow a little platform with a canopy to be erected on the football ground, and after having allowed its use had it dismantled because, he said, the chairman of the committee was guilty of a breach of faith in that he had erected the platform. The committee in disgust held the meeting on private ground. Nor was this all. The Deputy Commissioner endeavoured to control the attendance at the railway station and wanted the names of the chosen few who were to go to the platform. He would not allow any procession for fear of disturbance. As a matter of fact, the crowds have been nowhere so restrained or well-behaved as in Assam, even in the demonstration of their affection. And any experienced official could have seen, that affectionate demonstrations, no matter how noisy, could not possibly end in trouble or mischief. But Assam is a place, where, I understand, officials will not tolerate any awakening among the people. Only the other day, at Tezpur an official summarily and forcibly had certain quarters evacuated by the residents, because their buffaloes interfered with his sport. Another official during the war-period carried fire and sword among a little border tribe called Kukis, and slaughtered them like goats, sparing neither women nor children. I understand, that the whole of this shameful massacre was suppressed from the public, though it is common knowledge among the people. No wonder that in Assam things have been carried so far, that its permanent capital is 4,000 feet above the sea-level. It has no capital on the plains at all. Shilong is, I have been told, to all intents and purposes a European settlement. And the Government never descends from its inaccessible heights.

A Municipal Model—The Raipur (C. P.) Municipality has adopted by a majority the following proposals:—

That all the boys reading in the Municipal Schools should have the national uniform of *Khadi* coat or *kudia* and *Khadi* cap from the 1st August 1921.

That the 1st August 1921 should be declared a holiday in all the Municipal schools and offices in honour of the late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

That this Committee expects its servants to use country-made cloth.

That all dresses supplied to Municipal servants should be of *Khadi*.

It is a wise use the Raipur Municipality has made of its powers. Indeed all the municipalities can carry out all the constructive permanent features of non-co-operation without being wholly non-co-operationist. There is not one among the foregoing proposals, to which reasonable exception could possibly be taken by anybody. Any municipality, which adopts Swadeshi, the vernacular of its province as the medium of its proceedings, the amelioration of the suppressed classes, the abolition of the drink traffic, prostitution and such other things, will assist the work of national purification, and thus justify its existence.

How to kill Swadeshi—We are familiar with the official ban put upon the *Khadi* cap in various parts of India. In Bihar, I heard that a magistrate actually sent hawkers to sell foreign cloth. Mr. Painter of Dharwad fame has gone one better, and has issued an official circular in which he says:

'All officers subordinate to the Collector and District Magistrate are desired to take steps to make people realise, that in as much as India produces less than her population requires, a boycott of foreign cloth and its destruction or export must inevitably lead to a serious rise in prices, which may lead to a serious disorder and looting, and that these consequences will be the result, not of any action on the part of Government but of Mr. Gandhi's campaign.'

In two other paragraphs means are indicated of combating the Swadeshi propaganda, i. e. by holding meetings, and by dealers who are opposed to boycott attending the Collector's office at stated hours. The Madras Government have issued a still more pedantic circular. The meaning of these circulars is obvious. Pressure is to be put upon the dealers and others not to countenance boycott. The subordinate officials will take liberties which the authors of circulars may not even have contemplated. Fortunately for the country, these threats now produce little or no impression upon the public, and the Swadeshi movement will go on in the teeth of the official opposition, be it secret or open, unscrupulous or honourable.

The officials are so ignorant and obstinate, that they will not take the only effective course for avoiding the feared 'disorders and looting', viz. making common cause with the public and stimulating production. Instead of recognising the agitation against foreign cloth as desirable and necessary, they regard it as an evil to be put down. And then it is complained, that I call a system which seeks to thwart healthy public agitation, satanic. Why should there be any dearth of indigenous cloth? Is there not enough cotton in India? Are there not enough men and women who can spin and weave? Is it not possible to manufacture all the required number of wheels in a few days? Why should not each home manufacture its own cloth, even as it cooks its own food? Is it not enough in times of famine to distribute uncooked grain among the famine-stricken? Why should it not be enough to distribute raw cotton among those who need clothing? Why this hypocritical or false alarm about the dearth of cloth, when it is possible in India to manufacture enough for India's needs in a month even without the aid of the mills? The people have been purposely or ignorantly kept in the dark hitherto. They have been wrongly taught to believe, that all the cloth needed cannot be manufactured in India's homes as of yore. They have been figuratively amputated and then made to rely upon foreign or mill-made cloth. I wish the people concerned will give the only dignified answer possible to these circulars. They will forthwith burn or send out all their foreign cloth, and courageously make up their minds to spin and weave for their own requirements. It is incredibly easy for every one who is not an idler.

Bogus Advertisements—I continue to receive complaints about bogus advertisements in Swadeshi. The Manager of Satyagrahashram who has handled almost all the so-called improvements and inventions, writes to say that he has lately received an advertisement from Calcutta, which beats all previous record. He is of opinion that as yet nothing has been found to beat the original *Charkha* in simplicity, ease of output, and warns all spinners against investing in any of the new designs. He advises all Congress Committees to scan all such advertisements in their respective jurisdictions, and after giving each machine at least a month's trial to pronounce an opinion upon these designs. Whilst Swadeshi is taking root, fraudulent inventions are bound to come before the public. Congress Committees therefore must guide it in all such matters.

A Tunis correspondent writes to say, that Bombay buyers have gone to Andhra Desha to buy fine cloth. He says, that in spite of his warning, cloth woven out of foreign yarn was sent by some merchants from Bezvada. He warns all buyers against buying such cloth. He says that practically all Swadeshi stock is exhausted. The moral is of course clear. 'Beware of fine cloth.' Fine handspun yarn cannot be had in abundance, and therefore it is best for Congress workers to avoid buying fine *Khadi*. As Sbrimati Sarojini Naidu said at Farrukabad, it is better to cover ourselves with leaves than to wear foreign cloth. Those who are fired with such a spirit will not fall into the dangerous trap of fine cloth as yet. A time will soon come, when there will be no dearth of fine handspun that is capable of being woven.

A Seasonable Publication—Dr. Syed Mahmud of Patna has rendered a service to the Khilafat by bringing out his booklet on the Khilafat and England. It is easy reading, and make out for the busy man a fairly complete case for the Khilafat. Dr. Mahmud has been careful to support every one of his propositions by copious extracts. He proves the treachery of British ministers from their own writings and speeches. He has had no difficulty in showing that that England, even when she was regarded as Turkey's friend, was a friend out of necessity, because she was Russia's foe. The history of England's relationship with Turkey has been one of betrayal, of secret treaties hostile to Turkey's interests, the brave and trusting Turks always believing in England's promises. Here are Lord Palmerston's reasons for the support of Turkey in his days: "We support Turkey for our own sake and for our own interest." When these very sound reasons ceased, Turkey was sold. It was at the time of the Berlin Congress of 1877, that the secret leaked out that Britain had exacted the cession of the island of Cyprus from Turkey. Disraeli and Salisbury, the two English plenipotentiaries, kept the secret from the Congress, although they were under an obligation to disclose it. 'They stood convicted of nothing less than a direct and recorded lie!' Did the discovery lead to the return to Turkey of Cyprus? Not at all. England placated out-

raged France by recognizing the latter's right at the first convenient opportunity to occupy Tunis, by recognising her special interest in Syria and giving an equal share to her in the financial spoliation of Egypt. No wonder Mr. Blunt has said; 'to the Cyprus intrigue are directly or indirectly referable half the crimes against Oriental and North African liberty our generation has witnessed.' Dr. Saiyad Mahmud traces the treacherous dealings of England regarding Egypt, Tripoli and the Balkan War, and shows clearly that Turkey was practically driven out of the alliance with England. Is it any wonder that no Musalman trusts British ministers' friendly professions? They will forfeit all title to be called followers of Islam, if they rest themselves before compelling England to do the right thing by Turkey and India.

Punjab Prosecutions—Maulvi Saiyad Habib has been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for three years, avowedly for his writings in his paper, the *Siasat*, but in reality for the influence he exercises over the Musalmans. Mr. Zafaralkhan's son, Mr. Akhtaralkhan, and his cousin Mr. Gulamkadar are under trial. The conclusion is foregone. Thus every Musalman and every Shikh non-co-operator of note are to be put 'out of harm's way.' They would not apologise, they would not withdraw anything for there was nothing to withdraw. Disaffection in their writings certainly there was. But a non-co-operation journal to be worthy of the name has to preach disaffection. I therefore congratulate these gentlemen upon their well-earned honour. I can only hope, that the Musalmans and the Shikhs will appreciate the Government action by completing their part of the Swadeshi programme. The people will have deserved these trials and convictions, if they generate enough power to be able to discharge these friends from gaols long before their period is over.

An Indictment—A friend has sent me a copy of the notice served on Pandit Radhamohan Gokulji of Nagpur, calling upon him to file security for good behaviour or to go to gaol. The Pandit is safely lodged in gaol. But I have before me the extracts that were attached to the notice, and said to be from his speeches delivered at various times. I have read and re-read the extracts. I now present them to the reader in the order in which they were given in the notice:—

SPEECH DATED 20TH JUNE 1921 AT SEONI

(1) We are fighting against a tyrannical Government. Seehow long can the tyrant Government.....prosecute us? The Western people are not Christians.

(2) Unless all the jails in India are full of Indians, you cannot achieve your object.

To the last child.....let the struggle for liberty be continued

(3) When the Romans were ruling over England, they became cruel and supercilious. Once they whipped Queen Boadicea, the result is, where is Rome to-day?

(4) Close the slave houses (schools) of the Satanic Government

(3) In the face of two laws, one for Indians and another for Europeans, we cannot help remarking, the Government are dishonest and wish ill to the people.

(6) So long as you are fighting against the tyrant Government, do not produce children

SPEECH DATED 21ST JUNE 1921 AT SEONI

(1) He then referred to the non-co-operation movement, by means of which a bloodless revolution could be caused, this oppressive system of Government could be broken and Swaraj attained

(2) It is our duty to destroy a Government, which is capable of acting so dishonestly

(3) What did we get in return for the money and men we gave to the bureaucracy? The Rowlatt Act which provides neither for appeal nor for argument.

(4) Imperial Preference is being forced on us to-day. We cannot buy at a cheaper rate outside the British Empire, nor can we sell at a better price to an outsider.

(5) The laws on which our very honour depends are made and discussed in a foreign language.....at a distance of thousands of miles. We are certainly not bound to obey such laws.

(6) You should be prepared to undergo transportation and to get yourself beheaded like Robert Moore.

(7) Do you deserve to be called human beings, if you do not consider it your duty to destroy that ill-born Government, which has caused sticks to be introduced into the private parts of women?

SPEECH DATED 5TH JULY 1921 AT NAGPUR.

(1) The sinful British Government taught the Chinese to smoke opium and Indians to drink [alcohol].

(2) The Government... cut up the Turkish Kingdom but left European Kingdoms intact.

(3) The Indian (Marwadi) traders are dacoits who rob for the benefit of the bigger dacoits.

(4) The British and Japanese Governments are demons and both are devilish. As the British imprisoned people, so the Japanese executed non-co-operating students in Korea.

(5) The Government is so sinful, that its sins will recoil on its own head and it will perish like the Roman and the Egyptian Empires.

There is in the foregoing extracts nothing, that hundreds of speakers including myself have not said on various occasions and from a thousand platforms. There is only one sentence to which an objection may properly be taken, and that is No. 7 in speech No. 2. The charge does occur in the statements made before the Congress Committee. But it is against individuals and not against a whole corporation. The Government could not properly be described to have 'caused' the infamous barbarity, as the Government can be said to have made India crawl on her belly in that lane in Amritsar. But it is not for the inaccuracy or the over-colouring that the Pandit has been sentenced. His is a severe but accurate indictment covering eighteen charges in three speeches. And almost every one of them can be sustained. The speaker has been impartial in his condemnation, as shown by his reference to the Marwadis and the Japanese. It must moreover be remembered, that the speaker spoke in Hindi, and the extracts

are given without their context. The lesson, however, for us workers is to continue to do our work fearlessly and earn imprisonment, even as Pandit Gokulji and many others have done.

The Nagpur Pleaders—The pleaders of Nagpur have come well through the ordeal to which its Sessions Judge subjected them. He required non-co-operating pleaders to show the consistence between their suspension and their oath as lawyers. All of them said, that they had suspended in obedience to the Congress call. Mr. Mahomed Samiulla Khan added, that his declaration of allegiance was subordinate to allegiance to God and His Prophet, which latter nothing could override. Mr. Narayanrao T. Vaidya said, that times had very much changed, that the oath of allegiance would have to be changed to suit the circumstances and that otherwise no self-respecting lawyer would care to practise in any British Court. The lawyers deserve congratulations on their fearless attitude. Times are indeed gone, when people could be frightened into slavish submission. Man does not live by bread alone. He has at his disposal a sustenance far richer than the richest bread can afford.

M. K. G.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

So many strange things have been said about my views on national education, that it would perhaps not be out of place to formulate them before the public.

In my opinion the existing system of education is defective, apart from its association with an utterly unjust Government, in three most important matters:

(1) It is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusion of indigenous culture,

(2) It ignores the culture of the heart and the hand, and confines itself simply to the head,

(3) Real education is impossible through a foreign medium.

Let us examine the three defects. Almost from the commencement, the text-books deal, not with things the boys and the girls have always to deal with in their homes, but things to which they are perfect strangers. It is not through the text-books, that a lad learns what is right and what is wrong in the home life. He is never taught to have any pride in his surroundings. The higher he goes, the farther he is removed from his home, so that at the end of his education he becomes estranged from his surroundings. He feels no poetry about the home life. The village scenes are all a sealed book to him. His own civilization is presented to him as imbecile, barbarous, superstitious and useless for all practical purposes. His education is calculated to wean him from his traditional culture. And if the mass of educated youths are not entirely denationalised, it is because the ancient culture is too deeply embedded in them to be altogether uprooted even by an education adverse to its growth. If I had my way, I would certainly destroy the majority of the present text-

books and cause to be written text-books which have a bearing on and correspondence with the home life, so that a boy as he learns may react upon his immediate surroundings.

Secondly, whatever may be true of other countries, in India at any rate where more than eighty per cent. of the population is agricultural and another ten per cent. industrial, it is a crime to make education merely literary and to unfit boys and girls for manual work in after-life. Indeed I hold that as the larger part of our time is devoted to labour for earning our bread, our children must from their infancy be taught the dignity of such labour. Our children should not be so taught as to despise labour. There is no reason, why a peasant's son after having gone to a school should become useless as he does become as agricultural labourer. It is a sad thing that our schoolboys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt. Moreover, in India, if we expect, as we must, every boy and girl of school-going age to attend public schools, we have not the means to finance education in accordance with the existing style, nor are millions of parents able to pay the fees that are at present imposed. Education to be universal must therefore be free. I fancy that even under an ideal system of government, we shall not be able to devote two thousand million rupees which we should require for finding education for all the children of school-going age. It follows, therefore, that our children must be made to pay in labour partly or wholly for all the education they receive. Such universal labour to be profitable can only be (to my thinking) hand-spinning and hand-weaving. But for the purposes of my proposition, it is immaterial whether we have spinning or any other form of labour, so long as it can be turned to account. Only, it will be found upon examination, that on a practical, profitable and extensive scale, there is no occupation other than the processes connected with cloth-production which can be introduced in our schools throughout India.

The introduction of manual training will serve a double purpose in a poor country like ours. It will pay for the education of our children and teach them an occupation on which they can fall back in after-life, if they choose, for earning a living. Such a system must make our children self-reliant. Nothing will demoralise the nation so much as that we should learn to despise labour.

One word only as to the education of the heart. I do not believe, that this can be imparted through books. It can only be done through the living touch of the teacher. And, who are the teachers in the primary and even secondary schools? Are they men and women of faith and character? Have they themselves received the training of the heart? Are they even expected to take care of the permanent element in the boys and girls placed under their charge? Is not the method of engaging teachers for lower schools an effective bar against character? Do the teachers get even a living wage? And we know, that the teachers of primary schools are not selected for their patriotism. They

only come who cannot find any other employment.

Finally, the medium of instruction. My views on this point are too well known to need restating. The foreign medium has caused brain-fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought, and disabled them for filtering their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. It is the greatest tragedy of the existing system. The foreign medium has prevented the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the powers of a despot, I would to-day stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium, and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text-books. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy.

My uncompromising opposition to the foreign medium has resulted in an unwarranted charge being levelled against me of being hostile to foreign culture or the learning of the English language. No reader of *Young India* could have missed the statement often made by me in these pages, that I regard English as the language of international commerce and diplomacy, and therefore consider its knowledge on the part of some of us as essential. As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

Nothing can be farther from my thought than that we should become exclusive or erect barriers. But I do respectfully contend, that an appreciation of other cultures can fitly follow, never precede an appreciation and assimilation of our own. It is my firm opinion, that no culture has treasures so rich as ours has. We have not known it, we have been made even to deprecate its study and deprecate its value. We have almost ceased, to live it. An academic grasp without practice behind it is like an embalmed corpse, perhaps lovely to look at but nothing to inspire or ennoble. My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living my own.

ETHICS OF DESTRUCTION.

By M. K. GANDHI.

The reader, I am sure, will appreciate my sharing with him the following pathetic and beautiful letter from Mr. Andrews :—

"I know that your burning of foreign cloth is with the idea of helping the poor, but I feel that there you have gone wrong. If you succeed in boycotting all, or a greater part, of foreign cloth, it seems to me self-evident that the price of mill-made cloth will rise and it will hit the poor. But there is besides a subtle appeal to racial feeling in that word 'foreign' which day by day seems to me to need checking and not fomenting. The picture of you fighting that great

p. 10 including beautiful fabrics, shocked me intensely. We seem to be losing sight of the great beautiful world to which we belong and concentrating selfishly on India, and this must (I fear) lead back to the old bad selfish nationalism. If so we get into the vicious circle from which Europe is now trying so desperately to escape. But I cannot argue it out. I can only say again, that it shocked me and seemed to me a form almost of violence, and yet I know how violence is abhorrent to you. I do not at all like this question of foreign cloth being made into a religion.

I was supremely happy when you were dealing great giant blows at the great fundamental moral evils, drunkenness, drug-taking, untouchability, race arrogance, etc., and when you were, with such wonderful and beautiful tenderness, dealing with the hideous vice of prostitution. But lighting bonfires of foreign cloth and telling people it is a religious sin to wear it, destroying in the fire the noble handiwork of one's fellow men and women, one's brothers and sisters abroad, saying it would be 'defiling' to wear it—I cannot tell you how different all this appears to me. Do you know I almost fear now to wear the *Khadder* that you have given me, lest I should appear to be judging other people as a Pharisee would, saying, "I am holier than thou!" I never felt like this before.

"You know how, when anything that you do hurts me, I must cry out to you and this has hurt me.

"I wrote the *Modern Review* articles which I have enclosed with such eager joy, because I felt certain that I had found your own life's meaning. But now my mind cries out to you that you are doing something violent, distorted, unnatural. You know that my love is stronger than ever, just as your love for your brother was when you felt he was doing something wrong. Do tell me what you mean. What you said in *Young India* about burning did not convince me a bit."

It is so like him. Whenever he feels hurt over anything I have done (and this is by no means the first such occasion), he deluges me with letters without waiting for an answer. For it is love speaking to love, not arguing. It is the outpouring of an anguished heart. And so it has been over the burning of foreign clothes.

What Mr. Andrews has put in loving language, correspondents already out of tune with me have written in coarse, angry and even vulgar words. Mr. Andrews' being words of love and sorrow have gone deep down in me and command a full answer, whereas the angry ones I was obliged to lay aside save for a passing reference. Mr. Andrews' being non-violent, charged with love, have told. The others being violent, charged with malice, took no effect and would have evoked angry retorts, if I was capable of or disposed to such retorts. Mr. Andrews' letter is a type of non-violence we need in order to win Swaraj quickly.

This is however by the way. I remain just as convinced as ever of the necessity of burning. There is no emphasis in the process on race feeling. I would have done precisely the same thing in the sacred and select family or friendly circles. In all I do or advise, the infallible test I apply is, whether the particular action will hold good in regard to the dearest and the nearest. The teaching of the faith I hold dear is unmistakable and

unequivocal in the matter. I must be the same to friend and foe. And it is this conviction which make me so sure of so many of my acts which often puzzle friends.

I remember having thrown into the sea a pair of beautiful field-glasses, because they were a constant bone of contention between a dear friend and myself. He felt the hesitation at first, but he saw the right of the destruction of a beautiful and costly thing, a present withheld from a friend. Experience shows, that the richest gifts must be destroyed without compensation and hesitation if they hinder one's moral progress. Will it not be held a sacred duty to consign to the flames most precious heirlooms, if they are plague-infected? I can remember having broken to bits when a young man the loved bangles of my own dear wife, because they were a matter of difference between us. And if I remember right, they were a gift from her mother. I did it, not out of hate but out of love—ignorant, I now see in my ripe age. The destruction helped us and brought us nearer.

If the emphasis were on all foreign things, it would be racial, parochial and wicked. The emphasis is on all foreign cloth. The restriction makes all the difference in the world. I do not want to shut out English lever watches or the beautiful Japanese lacquer work. But I must destroy all the choicest wines of Europe, even though they might have been prepared and preserved with all the most exquisite care and attention. Satan's snares are most subtly laid and they are the most tempting, when the dividing line between right and wrong is so thin as to be imperceptible. But the line is there all the same, rigid and inflexible. Any crossing of it may mean certain death.

India is racial to-day. It is with the utmost effort, that I find it possible to keep under check the evil passions of the people. The general body of the people are filled with ill-will, because they are weak and hopelessly ignorant of the way to shed their weakness. I am transferring the ill-will from men to things.

Love of foreign cloth has brought foreign domination, pauperism and what is worst, shame to many a home. The reader may not know, that not long ago hundreds of 'untouchable' weavers of Katmawad having found their calling gone, became sweepers for the Bombay municipality. And the life of these men has become so difficult that many lose their children and become physical and moral wrecks; some are helpless witnesses of the shame of their daughters and even their wives. The reader may not know, that many women of this class in Gujarat for want of domestic occupation have taken to work on public roads, where under pressure of one sort or another, they are obliged to sell their honour. The reader may not know, that the proud weavers of the Punjab, for want of occupation, not many years ago took to the sword, and were instrumental in killing the proud and innocent Arabs at the bidding of their officers, and not for the sake of their country but for the sake of their livelihood. It is difficult to make a

successful appeal to these deluded hirelings and wean them from their murderous profession. What was once an honourable and artistic calling is now held by them to be disreputable. The weavers of Dacca, when they wove the world famous *sublime*, could not have been considered disreputable.

Is it now any wonder, if I consider it a sin to touch foreign cloth? Will it not be a sin for a man with a very delicate digestive apparatus to eat rich foods? Must he not destroy them or give them away? I know what I would do with rich foods, if I had a son lying in bed who must not eat them but would still gladly have them. In order to wean him from the hankering, I would, though able to digest them myself, refrain from eating them and destroy them in his presence, so that the sin of eating may be borne home to him.

If destruction of foreign cloth be a sound proposition from the highest moral standpoint, the possibility of a rise in the price of Swadeshi cloth need not frighten us. Destruction is the quickest method of stimulating production. By one supreme effort and swift destruction, India has to be awakened from her torpor and enforced idleness. Here is what Mr. Allen, the author of the Assam Gazetteer, wrote in 1905 of Kamrup:

"Of recent years, the use of imported clothing has been coming into favour,—an innovation which has little to recommend it, as the time formerly spent at the loom is not as a rule assigned to any other useful occupation."

The Assamese, to whom I have spoken, realise the truth of these words to their cost. Foreign cloth to India is like foreign matter to the body. The destruction of the former is as necessary for the health of India as of the latter for the health of the body. Once grant the immediate necessity of Swadeshi, and there is no half-way house to destruction.

Nor need we be afraid, by evolving the fullest Swadeshi spirit, of developing a spirit of narrowness and exclusiveness. We must protect our own bodies from disruption through indulgence, before we would protect the sanctity of others. India is to-day nothing but a dead mass moveable at the will of another. Let her become alive by self-purification, i. e. self-restraint and self-denial, and she will be a boon to herself and mankind. Let her be carelessly self-indulgent, aggressive, grasping; and if she rises, she will do so like Kumbhakarna only to destroy and be a curse to herself and mankind.

And for a firm believer in Swadeshi, there need be no pharisaical self-satisfaction in wearing *Khadi*. A Pharisee is a patron of virtue. The wearer of *Khadi* from a Swadeshi standpoint is like a man making use of his lungs. A natural and obligatory act has got to be performed, whether others do it out of impure motives or refrain altogether, as they do not believe in its necessity or utility.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to the Manager, Young India, Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

REPRESSION IN THE MARATHI C. P.

The following note kindly prepared by Dr. Munje cannot fail to be of interest, although it brings the history to the 31st May last. We know now, that Dr. Cholkar has been discharged, and Pandits Sundarlal and Gokulji have been convicted.

I. Warrants under I. P. C. Sec. 147 were issued against certain members of the Nagpur Khilafat Committee in connection with the beating of Mr. Husain Beg, a member of the local Council from West Berar Rural Constituency by some ruffians at the Congress time. Two sons of K. B. Amankhan Salimkhan were made accused.

II. Notices were served on the local cotton brokers to appear before the D. C. in connection with the National Fund, that was collected from the cart-owner, the purchaser and the broker, each paying one anna. The D. C. threatened the brokers, that their commission which they got from the seller and the purchaser would be stopped. One of the brokers tried to explain, that the object of the Fund was to start hand-spinning and hand-weaving factories for the benefit of poor starving people. The D. C. would not believe it, and said that Dr. Munje and Cholkar had induced them to collect the fund, and that the object was to help the non-co-operating students. The D. C. further advised the brokers to have nothing to do with the Brahmans who according to him created all the trouble.

III. Public notification under Cr. Pro. Code, Sec. 144 was issued by the City Magistrate, prohibiting any annoyance to the owners of liquor-shops or to the persons visiting such shops. In the order he said, that the anti-liquor movement started by the people was ostensibly for putting a stop to the vice of drinking, but the real object was to handicap the Government by depriving it of its excise revenue.

Dr. L. V. Paranjpe, head of the volunteers, had deputed some of them to advise people by peaceful means not to visit liquor shops. He was summoned to the court by the City Magistrate to appear and to show cause why he should not be ordered not to cause trouble to the contractors and the drunkards. Proceedings under Cr. P. C. 144 were taken against him. This order to be in force for 2 months was published by beat of drum.

Dr. Paranjpe appeared before the court and made a statement to the following effect:

"The anti-liquor movement is not ostensibly against the vice but it is truly against it. Loss of excise revenue is only secondary. It is a matter of great regret, that Government should be indifferent to the welfare of the people, and that is why people have themselves taken up the question. Even if the excise revenue may have suffered, application of Sec. 144 is quite wrong. I am a follower of non-violent non-co-operation. There is no possibility of any breach of public tranquility. I do not understand why Government is so afraid. Is it because of the fall in excise revenue?"

The case came off for hearing on 26-2-1921 when the order was made absolute for 2 months.

IV. Dr. M. R. Cholkar, Vice-President Nagpur Municipality, who had gone to attend the above case of Dr. Paranjpe, was shown a warrant of arrest as he was sitting in the Bar-room, and was taken to jail in motor on 22-2-'21. He was charged under Sec. 124 A for a speech in the Town Hall in the National Education

lecture series. That afternoon and the following day complete *haddal* was observed, and the same evening a public meeting of protest was held. He was released on bail later on. The case has now almost come to a close, arguments are proceeding and judgment is shortly expected.

V. Two volunteers were arrested at Sitabuli for preaching against drink, but they were subsequently released.

VI. On the night of 21st Feb. 1921 two other volunteers named Lalkhan and Sherkhau were arrested under I. P. O. Sec. 393 on the charge of dacoity in respect of a liquor bottle and the cap of a Christian boy. They were sentenced to one day's imprisonment till the rising of the court, and fined 100 Rs. each. Appeal was dismissed and fine confirmed.

VII. Prosecution under Secs. 147 and 342 was started against 8 persons of Dhawlapur (Taluka Katol) for harassing one Gundarrao Gond who was drunk. The complainant said, that he was made drunk and his signature was taken on the complaint in intoxication. The case was withdrawn under Sec. 404.

VIII. Sec. 144 Cr. P. O. was applied to the city of Nagpur for one month from 23-2-21, during which five or more people were not to hold a meeting and no one was to attend or take part in any such meeting.

Notices under Sec. 144 were served on Drs. Munje, Paranjpe, Khare and Hedgewar; Messrs. Abhyankar barrister, Alekar, Bobde, Ogale, Harkare, Kekkar, Chorghade, Dekate, Natik, Smulla Khan, N. K. Vaidya, R. J. Gokhale and Balkrishnapant Badode; Mahatma Bhagvandin and Pandit Sunderlal.

No one was allowed to go to the Civil Lines without any specific purpose.

IX. Owing to certain misunderstanding among the Mahars and other classes in Vela Taluail Umrer, a quarrel ensued upon which the D. O. Nagpur went there. On the 24th January *haddal* was observed, and the Malguzar could not make proper arrangements for the D. O., for which he was fined Rs. 40. Later on prosecutions were started against 7 influential persons under Sec. 107. This led to public discontent. At the same time the property of 2 persons was attached, when the police abused the women inmates of the house. A quarrel arose and the police received slight injuries. Punitive police were consequently set up for the next six months and the village had to pay for them. Sec. 144 was applied prohibiting any public meeting in Vela and the surrounding area of 5 miles. Messrs. B. G. Pandit, M. B. Niyogi and S. A. Ghadge brought about compromise between the parties.

X. Mahatma Bhagvandin, Manager Satyagraha Andram was arrested under Secs. 124 A and 153 A for a speech at Beoni. He did not defend and was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 18 months for each offence to run concurrently.

XI. A Gond peon in the Judicial Commissioner's office was dismissed for wearing a *Khadi* cap.

XII. Mr. M. S. Dekate, the leader of weavers, was served with a notice under Sec. 107 for a speech in the Town Hall. On his denying that he ever advocated violence and giving an undertaking that he would not advocate violence, the case was withdrawn.

XIII. The Judicial Commissioner Nagpur issued a notice that clerks in his office should not attend any non-co-operation meeting and should have no sympathy with the movement by way of wearing the *Khadi* cap etc.

XIV. There was firing at Nagpur on the 28th Feb. '21 morning. 10 people were killed and some 12 were wounded. Among the killed there were some

of 13, 14 and 20 years old. Public meetings were prohibited in the city of Nagpur and the surrounding area of 10 miles for 2 months. Thirty people were arrested as if concerned with the breaking of liquor shops. All were released except 5 who were convicted. A case against 3 is still pending.

XV. The Sub-Div. Magistrate Wardha stopped the pension of Mr. Anandrao Ambade Police Pensioner Arvi for making speeches. He was also threatened with prosecution under Sec. 124 A.

XVI. During the Bhandara Distt. Conference, the D.S.P. Bhandara informed the Secretary of the Conference that he would stop the meeting under Secs. 144 & 353 if his reporters were not admitted free. On the following day threat under Sec. 144 was given in case 5 more policemen were not admitted.

XVII. Eight persons were arrested in the liquor shop breaking case at Tamsar Distt. Bhandara. They were released on bail.

XVIII. Sec. 144 was applied to Paoni and the surrounding area of five miles for breaking a liquor shop. 30 Punitive police have been set up.

XIX. Pandit Arjunlal Shethi was arrested at Ajmer and prosecuted under Sec. 124 A, brought to the C. P. and tried at Wardha. He refused to offer defence and was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

XX. Three volunteers of Tamsar (Distt. Bhandara) were arrested under Sec. 440 I. P. O. for attempting murder or grievous hurt, for requesting grain merchants not to export Juwar as the local rates were going very high. The complainant admitted that the volunteers were simply requesting him, and so the case was withdrawn.

XXI. Fifty punitive police have been set up for six months at Paoni and Vela from 12th April. Prosecutions under Sec. 147 have been started against 3 persons.

XXII. Swami Kumaranand was arrested under Sec. 124 A by the warrant of the Distt. Magistrate Wardha, and was subsequently transferred to Chanda for trial under Sec. 108 Cr. P. O. and released on bail. The case has been withdrawn on his giving an undertaking that he would not make any speech in the C. P. for one year. No proceedings have been yet started against him under Sec. 124 A by the Distt. Magistrate of Wardha.

XXIII. Public meetings in Turmassar and the surrounding area of 10 miles were prohibited for 2 months under Sec. 144 Cr. P. O. Five and more persons should not meet.

XXIV. In Distt. Chanda at Armori, Garohiroli Baghnur and Jaolghat, prosecutions were launched against some volunteers. Two have been fined Rs. 200 each and the rest Rs. 5 each.

XXV. Ramji Tel of Hinganghat was arrested on the charge of breaking the liquor bottle of a drunkard. He is released on bail. Armed police were called in for help. Sec. 144 was applied to Hinganghat and the surrounding area of 2 miles, where meetings have been prohibited.

XXVI. Pandit Sunderlal was arrested under Sec. 124 A by the District Magistrate of Wardha and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for one year.

XXVII. Period of prohibition of meetings at Nagpur has been prolonged to last now till the end of June.

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{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

NOTES.

The All Bros.—I hope that the rumour about the impending prosecution of the Brothers is untrue. If the Government really desire that the issue between them and the people should be decided on merits and by the ripening of public opinion, they will leave the Brothers alone. I shall certainly hope, that the people will remain calm, dignified and firm, in spite of their prosecution and incarceration. But their incarceration will make the task of preservation of peace more difficult than it already is. No two men have so successfully restrained the Musalmans as these two patriots have. They have, in season and out of season, in private and in public, preached and practised non-violence. And even in respect of the speeches, some parts of which seemed to bear a contrary interpretation, I know that they never meant violence. The prosecution of the Brothers would, therefore, mean an intention to strangle the ever-growing Khilafat agitation in India, and would amount to a direct challenge to the Indian Musalmans, and indeed, to the whole of India. For the Khilafat has become an Indian question. It is no longer merely a Musalman grievance.

But I write this more to warn the people than the Government. If the people have understood the message of the brave Brothers, it is that they must stand the gravest provocation for the sake of their religion and country, that they must be prepared to suffer for either to the utmost, that the interests of Hindus and Musalmans are identical and therefore they must sink or swim together, and and that they must be true as steel and brave like lions and must tell the truth as they know it even on the gallows. The greatest honour the people can do to the Brothers, is to follow the non-co-operation programme to the letter and win Swaraj during this year. Anger over their incarceration will be madness. We have dared openly to desire and to prepare for the end of the existing system of Government, and challenged its administrators to do their worst. We must neither be surprised nor angry, if they treat us seriously and take up the challenge. For they must, some day or other, take us at our word and put us to the invited test, or mend in accordance with our will. We shall be committing a grievous breach of the laws of the game, if we are found wanting when we are weighed in the scales of our own make. The only prescription for non-co-operators when any one is

arrested, is to put forth redoubled zeal in the prosecution of our programme, i.e. boycott of foreign cloth and manufacture in our own homes of the cloth we need. There must not be any *hartal*.

..

A Threatened Infliction—I have just heard, that Mr. Painter, who has distinguished himself by his wanton provocation of the people of Dharwad, is to be promoted and inflicted upon Gujarat as Commissioner. An official, who in the public estimation has disgraced himself, earns rewards from the Government for meritorious services. I hope, that Gujarat will mark in a suitable and special manner its disapproval of the insult sought to be offered by the Dharwad collector being imposed upon it. Gujarat will have, if the rumoured appointment is actually made, a unique opportunity of showing how such insult can be dealt with in a non-co-operation spirit. We must distinguish between the man and the Commissioner. We must boycott the latter and render social service to the former. We must therefore permit him to receive all he may reasonably need as man for creature comforts, but if we have the people with us, the Commissioner Mr. Painter may not get a blade of grass for the upkeep or the dignity of his office. We must therefore inculcate among the people the habit of refusing *saloom* to him in virtue of office. They must not send any applications to him. They must not, whilst he is touring in the country, supply him with any convenience whatsoever. He must be made, in every dignified and peaceful manner, to feel that he is not wanted as an official in Gujarat. The municipalities containing non-co-operators should refuse to recognise him as Commissioner in every way possible. If we have developed the spirit of real independence and manliness, we would refuse to put up with an official who has forfeited public opinion as Mr. Painter has. What, for instance, would be said of us, if Col. Frank Johnson or Gen. Dyer were imposed upon us? We have to pass through certain rigid tests as proof of our capacity for self-government. One of them is refusal to submit to national insults. Indeed, if we had evolved that capacity sufficiently, I would expect even the employees, who would come under Mr. Painter's direct control, to resign by way of protest. We have such mortal fear of loss of livelihood, that the employees are the last to be expected to develop that sense of self-respect, which is so necessary for national existence. But

their reluctance will not materially interfere with attainment of Swaraj. This year, if the general public is responsive enough, it is time for them to assert themselves individually as well as collectively. We must begin our battle with a disciplined and complete *hartal*, when that gentleman enters Ahmedabad if he does. And to that end, seeing that there is ample time, the Provincial Congress Committee should secure permission from the Working Committee for declaring a *hartal* all over Gujarat in the event of Mr. Painter being sent to Gujarat in any official capacity. If a *hartal* becomes necessary, I need hardly say that it must be completely voluntary. The labourers should participate after due notice and permission.

Hypocrisy Unmasked—Hitherto official letters have been noted for their reserve and unornamental style. If offence has been intended, it has been covered under severely restrained language. But officials have now begun to throw off the mask, and like ordinary mortals they have taken to expressing their pleasure or anger in so many words, instead of allowing their acts only to speak for themselves. I have noticed this in the official correspondence in Assam. But the most refreshing illustration comes from Gujarat. The editor of the *Prajabanhu* wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of salt and excise, drawing his attention to grave irregularities committed by his subordinates in dealing with picketing. The editor's letter contains nothing offensive. He adopted simple dignified language. He did not argue. He only put a question. But the Deputy Commissioner was prejudiced against picketing, and he thus gave vent to his pent-up feelings.—

"Since you send me an extract from your paper, and press for a reply, I give you one. Your so-called picketing campaign, undertaken with the avowed object of injuring the lawful Government, cannot be called a genuine social measure undertaken for the good of the people. It is like the washing of an elephant. Owing to the violence of the persons engaged in your campaign, I understand, that the Excise staff in Ahmedabad are far too busy in preserving order and avoiding a breach of the peace, while carrying on their ordinary duties, to be able to spare time in investigating your complaint of some technical infringement of the licence conditions. I presume, that you are only making the complaint (believed to be an unfounded one) with the object of further harassing the Government officers, and I shall certainly not lend my authority for any such purpose. If, however, you have any other motives, you can renew the complaint after restraining the objectionable conduct of your adherents."

The only remark I need make is, that the editor is not conducting the campaign of picketing, he claims no adherents. He simply discharged a public duty by drawing attention to serious, not technical, breaches of liquor-licensing law on the part of or at the instance of liquor dealers.

M. K. G.

THE MEANING OF THE KHILAFAT.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

I continue to receive letters from far and near, warning me against my interest in the Khilafat. Here is a typical letter from an old friend from New Zealand.—

Just a few lines to say I do not forget you. Were I in danger of so doing, the cables that often appear in our papers would prevent me forgetting. I see, you have a mighty problem you are trying to solve in regard to India. Whether you are facing it in the wisest way I cannot say, for I am not in a position to judge. I would esteem it a favour, if you would hand enclosed post office order for 10/- to the publisher of your paper, *Young India* I think it is called, if it is published in English, or to the publisher of any paper in English representing your side of the case. Perhaps as an old friend, I may be borne with if I speak freely, even although I should be speaking without full knowledge. It always grieved me, that you should be an arch-supporter of the Turkish Empire, and that the Khilafat question should be turned to political ends to undermine and cripple and confuse the administration of British Government in India. Turkey's crimes against Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians call to heaven for judgment. I wonder, how far the Moslems in their All-India Khilafat Congress during recent years protested against those atrocities, and dissociated themselves from the Turkish policy of extermination of a noble, excellent, industrious and gentle race (the Armenians). The blood of these martyrs will cry to heaven for justice, and not one can be forgotten by Him who marks the sparrow's fall. If Turkey's history has been one of rapine and massacre, is it not therefore to be shorn of its power as no longer worthy to be trusted with it? If political power is not to be used to maintain justice, freedom and fraternity of tributary races, but is to be used for oppression, persecution, extermination, robbery and rapine, is such a nation not to be judged by other powers and deprived of her power to continue a malevolent sway? To be shorn of political power need not deprive Islam of its spiritual weapons, if it has such. By its spiritual force let it live, or die if it has not such. Political power is a curse to any religion, and history shows, it has often been used tyrannically, e.g. the Roman Catholic Church.

I do not know what are exactly the aims of the non-co-operators, but it would appear they have come to object, *in toto*, to any British officials in the country. Rome was not built in a day, and a constitution cannot be framed ahead of the conditions of a country. Suppose all British officials were to leave bag and baggage to-morrow and Natives put in their place, would the administration be as pure as it is, would justice be done everywhere through the courts of your great country? I understand, that the Indians fear the native police, and their officials (natives) are peculiarly open to bribery and corruption. Before a people can be self-governing, there must be a basis of national character on which to build and with which to build, and has the day come, when there are forces running through your various spheres of social, educational and political life that are regenerative and purifying?

Political propaganda, if revolutionary, may easily attract the basest and most malevolent among men, and if they capture the control of machinery of organisation, the blind and more than blind will lead those who follow their dictum to the pit. I am sure, that you personally have not departed from your noble ideals and unselfish spirit of patriotism and justice, and freedom of soul, but there may be great slumbering forces awakened in the state of society around you, that may carry you far beyond the points of wisdom and measures that make for true national well-being. Your country has all the elements that might make India a Russia, a Sinn Féin Ireland, a land of civil war, intertribal bloodshed. Division may easily spread through a land like India, your independent princes become arrayed on opposing sides, and no strong controlling unifying power be forthcoming to preserve peace, conserve progress, lead the way to fuller national life. Your pathway must be surrounded by snares and pitfalls which you can only escape by a clear vision of the will of God and unfaltering adherence thereto. As long as you coincide with the wishes of the popular clamour, there will be many who will cry "Hosanna" and will strew your path with palm leaves, but if you adhere to the high principles of the vision of God, the same people will cry, "crucify him, away with him." You know the parallel. He unfalteringly followed the will of God and they rejected Him. His aims were too pure, His Kingdom too spiritual, His methods too divine. He died, but God raised Him up and made that resurrection the life of the world's thought, made Him meet the need of all the men as Saviour, High Priest to represent, King to rule over

Courage, brother; do not stumble,
Though thy path be dark as night;
There's a star to guide the humble:
Trust in God and do the right.
Let the road be rough and dreary
And its end far out of sight,
Foot it bravely, strong or weary,
Trust in God, and do the right.
Perish policy and cunning,
Perish all that fears the light!
Whether losing, whether winning,
Trust in God, and do the right,
Trust no party, sect or faction,
Trust no leaders in the fight,
But in every word and action
Trust in God and do the right.
Trust no lovely forms of passion,—
Friends may look like angels bright.
Trust no custom, school or fashion,
Trust in God and do the right.
Some will hate thee, some will love thee,
Some will flatter, some will sligh;
Gaze from man and look above thee,
Trust in God and do the right.
Simple rule, and safest guiding,
Inward peace, and inward might,
Star upon our path abiding,—
Trust in God, and do the right.
Courage, brother, do not stumble,
Though thy path be dark as night;
There's a star to guide the humble,
Trust in God, and do the right.

The great thing is to have Divine wisdom, the deep insight into principles and far-seeing wisdom of true statesmanship. You are doubtless familiar with the life of Abraham Lincoln, his clear-sighted vision, his absolute integrity, tender-heartedness, humility, humour, humaneness.

I often say to my friends, "If you heard Mr. Gandhi's side and the great grievances that exist under the present order of things, you would understand his opposition."

The question is, what is the best way for the welfare of India to correct existing abuses. Strikes, violence arouse passions, and a hundred discontents and ill-feeling, and in most cases defeat their own ends. Reforms must come along constitutional lines, if the gain is to be accompanied by good feeling and unity and peace. Gains by revolutionary means cannot be a natural evolution. From my distant corner I can only earnestly pray, that God may guide and direct and bless you, and make you an instrument for the true well-being of India.

The warmth and the sincerity are unmistakable. I know the friend to be a devout God-fearing Christian. But it must be evident to any one who knows anything about the Turkish question, that my correspondent is strongly prejudiced against the Turks. His pictures of the Armenians as 'a noble, excellent, industrious and gentle race' betrays the extent of his ignorance about the question. He cannot be blamed for it. The Turkish side has been sedulously kept from the English-reading public. All these good Christians scattered about in different parts of the world have only one class of reading presented to them. The missionary journals are fanatically, I was going to say, criminally anti-Turkish and anti-Islam. The very word charity about which St. Paul wrote so magnificently is absent from the minds of the writers in the missionary journals, when they write about Islam and Turkey. The Turk is to them the arch-infidel created by God only to be cursed. It is this prejudiced but honest attitude that stands in the way of Truth and Justice.

I have no desire to defend Turkey against the Armenians or the Greeks. I am not prepared to deny Turkish misrule or misdeeds. But the Greeks and the Armenians have an infinitely worse record. What is more, the defence of the Khilafat is the defence of a pure ideal. It is not necessary to defend the conduct of individual Popes in order to support the institution of Papacy. Oppose all Turkish misrule by all means, but it is wicked to seek to efface the Turk and with him Islam from Europe under the false plea of Turkish misrule.

What is still worse is, that the defeat of the Central Powers should be utilised to crush Islam. Was the late war a crusade against Islam, in which the Musalmans of India were invited to join? To say that the Musalmans may have any one they choose as their spiritual head, but that they may not interfere with the disintegration of Turkey, is not to know the Khilafat. The Khalifa must ever be the Defender of the Faith of the Prophet, and therefore nobody can become or remain Khalifa, immediately he is deprived of or loses the power of defending Islam against the whole world. One may dispute the ethics of the doctrine in the abstract, but England is not engaged

in a war against Islam because it is unethical. In that case England has to renounce her association with millions whose faith is divorced from ethics.

As a matter of fact, is there anything immoral in a religion seeking to sustain itself by possession of temporal power? In practice has not Christianity been sustained by temporal power? And even in Hinduism, have not Rajput Kings been custodians of Hinduism?

What I venture to commend to the many Christians who honestly think like my friend, is to join the defence of the Khilafat as an ideal, and thus recognise that the struggle of non-co-operation is one of religion against irreligion.

For my part I have the clearest possible conscience in this matter. The end to me is just. I fight to bolster up no fraud or injustice. The means are equally just. In the prosecution of the fight, truth and non-violence are the only weapons. Self-suffering is the truest test of sincerity.

THE TWO INCOMPATIBLES.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

Violence and non-violence are two incompatible forces destructive of each other. Non-violence for its success therefore needs an entirely non-violent atmosphere. The Moplah outbreak has disturbed the atmosphere, as nothing else has since the inauguration of non-co-operation. I am writing this at Sylhet on the 29th August. By the time it is in print, much more information will have reached the public. I have only a hazy notion of what has happened. I have seen only three issues of daily papers containing the Associated Press messages. One cannot help noting the careful editing these messages have undergone. But it is clear that Moplahs have succeeded in taking half a dozen lives and have given already a few hundred. Malabar is under martial law. The reprisals on the part of the Government are still to follow. The braver the insurgents, the sterner the punishment. Such is the law of governments. And I would not have minded the loss of ten times as many lives as the Moplahs must have lost, if only they had remained strictly non-violent. They would then have brought Swaraj nearest. It is any day worth all the price we can pay in our own lives. For the Moplahs it would have meant too the immediate redress of the Khilafat wrong. God wants the purest sacrifice. Our blood must not contain the germs of anger or hate. It is not a sacrifice freely given that exacts a price. The Moplahs have demanded a price. The sacrifice has lost much of its nobility. Now it will be said, that the Moplahs have received well-merited punishment.

There would have been no martial law, if only the Moplahs had died. And if there had been, it would have been thrice welcome. It would have ended the system of Government which is decimating the land.

Of course now-a-days it is the fashion to make non-co-operation responsible for every affliction, whether it is a famine, a coolie exodus or a Moplah

rising. It is the finest tribute that can be paid to the universality of non-co-operation. But nothing has been produced by the Madras Government in support of the charge.

Our own duty is clear. Non-co-operators must wash their hands clean of all complicity. We must not betray any mental or secret approval of the Moplahs. We must see clearly, that it would be dishonourable for us to show any approval of the violence. We must search for no extenuating circumstance. We have chosen a rigid standard for ourselves and by that we must abide. We have undertaken to do no violence even under the most provoking circumstances. Indeed we anticipate the gravest provocation as our final test. The misguided Moplahs have therefore rendered a distinct disservice to the sacred cause of Islam and Swaraj.

We may plead, as indeed we must, if we have acted honestly, that in spite of our efforts we have not been able to bring under check and discipline all the turbulent sections of the community. The choice for the people lies between the gentle and self-imposed rule of non-violence and non-co-operation, and the iron rule of the Government. The latter is now demonstrating its power and ability to counteract all the forces of violence by its superior and trained violence. We have no answer, if we cannot show that we have greater influence over the people. We must be able quite clearly to see for ourselves and show to the people, that display of force by us against that of the Government is like a child attempting with a straw to stop the current.

I am painfully aware of the fact, that we have not as a people yet arrived at the settled conviction, that India cannot attain immediate Swaraj except through complete non-violence. We do not even see, that Hindu-Muslim unity must vanish under the strain of violence. What is at the back of our mutual distrust, if it is not the fear of each other's violence? And Swaraj without real heart-unity is an inconceivable proposition.

What is it that hinders attainment of Swaraj, if it is not fear of violence? Are we not deterred simply through that fear, from taking all our steps at once? Can we not, if we can be sure of non-violence, issue to-day an ultimatum to the Government either to co-operate with us or to go? Do not the Moderates keep aloof, mainly because they distrust our ability to create a non-violent atmosphere? Their timidity will derive nurture from the Moplah outbreak.

What then must we do? Certainly not feel despondent. We must go forward with greater zeal, greater hope because greater faith in our means. We must persevere in the process of conversion of the most ignorant of our countrymen to the doctrine of non-violence as an indispensable means as well for redressing the Khilafat wrong as for attaining Swaraj.

The Moplahs are among the bravest in the land. They are God-fearing. Their bravery must be transformed into purest gold. I feel sure, that once they realise the necessity of non-violence for the defence of the faith for which they have hitherto

taken life, they will follow it without flinching. Here is the testimony given to Moplah valour by the writer in the Imperial Gazetteer of India. "The one constant element is a desperate fanaticism; surrender is unknown; the martyrs are consecrated before they go out and hymned after death!" Such courage is worthy of a better treatment. The Government dealt with it by passing years ago a special act against them. It has already set its machinery in motion for the present trouble. The Moplahs will no doubt die cheerfully. I wonder, if it is possible for us to transmute their courage into the nobler courage of non-violence. It may be impossible to achieve the miracle through human effort. But God is noted for His miracles. Many consider, that attainment of Swaraj this year, if it is realised, must be counted a miracle. It has got to be preceded by a miraculous conversion of India, not excluding its bravest sons, to the doctrine of non-violence at least in its restricted scope, i. e. as an indispensable condition for securing India's freedom.

THE WAY TO SAVE THE COW.

The visit of Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Azad Sobhani and myself to Bihar was undertaken in order to check the growth of misunderstanding on the cow question. We delivered many speeches at many places. The substance of one speech of mine I am able to give to the reader by the courtesy of a friend who took down the notes.

At the commencement of his speech Mr. Gandhi referred to the touching of the feet which had become embarrassing, and said: "people do these things in a spirit of hero-worship, and in Bihar particularly there is an abundance of that spirit. People even talk of an *avatar*. As a Hindu, I believe of course, in *avatars*. I believe, that in the pursuit of his plan, God sends His special messengers on earth, upon whom the effulgence or the glory of God specially shines, and who in our *Shastras* are known as *avatars*. But that is not the case here. In my view, the condition of India is such, that there can be no coming of an *avatar* at this time. We must first purify ourselves and the country by hard, strenuous work on right lines, before we can even think of an *avatar*. And in India, what we want now is not hero-worship, but service. We want more and more servants for the country. The Swaraj that we want does not mean, that on the destruction of the present raj, somebody else's will be established, whether he be a Gandhi, or to take the names of my brothers, a Maulana Shaukat Ali, or a Maulana Mahomed Ali. We know, that whatever may have been the case in past days, India is so wide-awake now that there can no longer be any repetition of these things. We do not want that there will be one man to rule and every one else to be his slave. We have had enough of slavery. What we want is to inspire the people with our own faith, and a living desire to serve the country. We want that every Indian be transformed into a Gandhi, a Maulana Shaukat Ali and a Maulana Mahomed Ali; and then the Swaraj of our dream will be realised in

its entirety. My submission to you, therefore, is, that you do not put obstruction in the way of the easy prosecution of our work by the touching of feet, or unnecessary shoutings and *Jayajayakars*. It is unthinkable, that a whole crowd of people can touch me. But when those who are near me begin to fall at my feet, the crowd is tempted to follow suit, and indescribable confusion follows. So those who are near me should never touch my feet. They should not even bow low before me. Not only do I not like these things, but there is a possibility of my getting seriously hurt. I desire the country to move with a speed greater than the speed of the Punjab Express. We have got to attain Swaraj within this year, so that we may celebrate its attainment in December next. I implore you once again not to do anything that may hinder the smooth progress of our work, for it means nothing but so much loss to the country.

"I now come to the question which has really brought us to your place. As soon as I set foot here, I inquired whether there was peace between the Hindus and Musalmans of this place. It was no small gratification to me to hear, that there was no misunderstanding between the two communities at Sasaram. But I am told, that there is no earnestness about Congress work here. The Congress Committee and the Khilafat Committee that are in existence do very little work. My request to these two Committees is, that they put more energy into their work. I wanted to inquire about many other things, but I was so tired that I could not do so. On the question of cow-killing, I say that with the Hindus it is their *dharma* to protect the cow. The Hindus have many differences amongst them as regards religious belief, and religious and social customs and practices; but on the matter of the protection of the cow all Hindus are united. And I go so far as to say, that the cow-question is the central and common fact in Hinduism, which differentiates it from all other religions of the world. In India the need for the cow is very great. Not only do the people drink her milk, but her male offspring is used for cultivating the land. The Hindus reverence the cow as they reverence the Brahman. But the case is not so outside India. So there is no prohibition in the religion of our Musalman brothers against the slaughter of cows. And if a Musalman brother slays a cow, for instance during *Id*, on what ground can a Hindu raise his hand to strike him? Is he enjoined by the *Shastras* to kill a fellow-man in order to save a cow? There is really no such injunction in the *Shastras*; but on the contrary it is against the *Shastras* to do so. No Hindu raises his hand against an English brother because he eats beef, nor does he prevent thousands and thousands of cows being led to the slaughter-house for the use of Englishmen in India. What I mean to say is this; in order to save the cow you can only sacrifice your own life, you cannot take another's life, nor can you even cherish anger against him. My brother

Maulana Mahomed Ali in one of his speeches to-day said one thing on this matter, which I realise as very true. He says, that three fourths of the responsibility for cow-slaughter in India lie with the Hindus; and the Musalmans are guilty of only one-fourth. For the cows that are slain really come from Hindu custody. I have actually seen in Bombay ship-loads of cows being sent out from India for slaughter in other lands. It is the Hindus that do cow-selling business, and not the Musalmans. And my brother's suggestion that if an artificial price of say a hundred rupees for each cow could be set, cow-slaughter will automatically diminish, seemed to me to be very practical. It all depends upon us. In Bombay one cow given for the Tilak Swaraj Fund was sold for five hundred rupees, and another for a higher sum. If the *Shraddha* of both the buyer and the seller is sufficiently roused, all this is quite easy and practicable. My submission to the Hindus, therefore, is, that if you are really anxious to save the cow, do not quarrel with our Musalman brothers, but live with them in peace. Do not try to force their hands. Give yourselves up wholly to their service in this hour of their sore need without asking for a return. I look upon the Khilafat problem for the Musalmans in the same light as the cow problem for the Hindus. It is my firm belief, that the solution of one will automatically lead to the solution of the other. I do not say this in a spirit of bargain. If our offering of service to our Musalman brethren be genuine and spontaneous, if we really sacrifice our lives for the safety of their religion, I have no doubt, that another law higher than the law of contract will operate, and solve the cow-problem in India.

"I wish to touch on another matter, before I close, I have come to know, that there are about five hundred families of Musalman weavers in this place. But as they are looked down upon by fellow-Musalmans, there is a tendency amongst them to give up their calling. It is absolutely necessary, that we check this tendency. Amongst us, Hindus, social distinctions based on *Karma* do exist. But so far as I know, Islam does not recognise such differences. Musalman society is based upon the theory of perfect equality. So it does not at all appear to me reasonable that these *Jalahas* should be discredited in society. There is nothing dishonourable in the profession of weaving. In my opinion, the two most essential things in India, the things on which the existence of India depends, are agriculture and weaving. They are like the two lungs of a living being. If one goes wrong, if it is diseased or rotten, the other lung may do duty for a time no doubt, but cannot keep up life for long. So it has been with India. She has been weakening in proportion to the decay of her weaving industry. And the programme of Swadeshi, which we have started, is like the cure of a diseased lung, so that waste may be repaired, and new blood may flow into it making it healthy and strong. The moment we come to realise this absolute importance of agriculture and weaving for India, we shall lose all sense of contempt for

the agriculturist or the weaver. We shall, then, see that they are objects of the highest regard. We must recognise, that without the help of our weavers, there can be no success of Swadeshi in India. By Swadeshi I mean that every province must produce its own cloth. If you depend upon Bombay for your cloth, that will be no Swadeshi for Bihar. My appeal to the Congress Committee, therefore, is, that it should lose no time in distributing *charkhas* to every home in Bihar. When that is done, every home becomes a spinning factory at our disposal. And with the production of yarn on this scale we can easily hope to see every lane transformed into a weaving factory. The question is very urgent for the whole of India, but more especially for Bihar. For of all the provinces of India Bihar is the poorest. I have included Orissa under Bihar here. But if we take them separately, Orissa comes to occupy the lowest place, and Bihar comes just above it. I gathered my idea about the extent of poverty in Bihar, when I was engaged in my work at Champaran. I came to know then, that the women in Bihar had in most cases to be satisfied with a single piece of cloth; indeed, they had no cloth other than the one which they wore. They told my wife, — they felt ashamed to tell me so directly, — that if I went to their houses, I would find nothing but old, worn out and tattered rags. They also said, 'Gandhi asks us to bathe every day, but if we are to remain naked after washing the piece of cloth that covers our nakedness, we can't do so even for the sake of Gandhi'. Such is the extent of poverty in Bihar. And if these women are given *charkhas* to work and paid two annas each for their daily labour, I have no doubt that they will take up the work in right earnest and pursue it with energy. I have known the indigo planters get work from them at the rate of six pice per head per day, and in that place if they find that the *charkha* yields them two annas daily, the thing will catch on automatically without any effort at preaching. These are the lines on which we have to start work immediately. I expect much from Bihar. I have some special claim upon her. I hope Bihar will not deny me that claim. I expect you all to explain the thing I have said to men of the villages. The villagers are not likely to understand these things, but you who live in towns have wider experience of the world. So it is your duty to make these things intelligible to the villagers. Three things are vital to this movement for Swaraj, without the fulfilment of which we can never hope to make any headway in our struggle. First, there must be absolute Hindu-Muslim unity. There must be a feeling of brotherliness amongst the Hindus and Musalmans. This is the first condition of the success of this Swaraj movement. Secondly, this peaceful and non-violent movement must always be kept peaceful and non-violent. It is easy for a man who bestows even the least thought on the subject to realise that we shall never succeed by violence. If we draw the sword, that will be simply to our own undoing, if only because we

do not possess the modern implements of warfare such as aeroplanes, etc. So you must under no circumstance disturb the peace. We must observe peace with English and among ourselves, co-operators and non-co-operators, zamindars and ryots in thought, word and deed. And thirdly we must immediately boycott all foreign cloth and manufacture for our needs in our own homes and villages. Then we attain the power to achieve the three ends."

A MODEL WEAVING-SCHOOL.

BY MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

" III.

Questions are asked as to the production of cloth in an old-fashioned loom from handspun yarn. The experience in our school is, that a well-practised worker weaves on a pit-loom one yard cloth of 30 inches width and of fairly thick texture in one hour. Cloth of greater or smaller width varies in proportion. Our fly-shuttle pit-loom has not exceeded this figure in handspun yarn so far. When formerly we used mill-made yarn, it yielded about half as much cloth again as the old pit-loom. However in weaving *dhotiyans* and *sadis* from handspun as well as mill-made yarn the fly-shuttle is very handy.

Then there is a question as to the necessity of beaming the yarn. We believe, that where there is no question of room, beaming should be dispensed with. Hand-loom weaving factories situated in thickly populated towns where rates of house-rent are very high, have reason to resort to beaming; but where space allows stretching of the yarn as practised by the professional weavers, it is a time-saving method and is artistic as well. There is an argument in favour of beaming that it allows of the handling of warp as long as 200 or even 300 yards. But if such length of handspun yarn can be prepared, it is equally easy, if not easier, to stretch it in the old style.

IV

SIZING HANDSPUN YARN.

It is said, that the difficulty of sizing handspun yarn is a serious handicap from which the movement suffers. As a matter of fact, the method of sizing it should be no different from that of sizing mill-made yarn. It is slipshod spinning which is at the bottom of this difficulty. The best way out of it is to organise and improve the production of handspun yarn. It is a superstition to say that the yarn spun on the *charkha* cannot be strong and even. Where proper care is taken, it does improve and even surpass mill-made yarn in some respects. Panjab and Marwad, where spinning has been carried on from past times, have also to improve their yarn. Not that the spinners there do not know their work, but they as well as the merchants who purchase their yarn are careless about the quality of the yarn turned out. Unless this work is taken up by men imbued with the true Swadeshi spirit, the condition is not likely to improve. The spinners should be visited at their work from time to time, and proper instructions as to the required twist and test to be given to the yarn should be imparted to them. The payment of a reasonably higher wage than the present is another way of improving the yarn. The wages we have arranged for our guidance are given below in the form of a table. Where living is cheaper than in Gujarat, they can be adjusted accordingly. The yarn having improved, the difficulty of sizing will disappear.

When a country weaver shows inability to weave handspun yarn, it means that he cannot weave it in the same reed space as he uses for the mill-made yarn. This is quite evident. The handspun yarn not being even, it requires wider reed space. The table given below also shows the number of ends of different counts to be drawn in an inch of a reed. Then if the cloth to be woven is meant for shirting or coating and not for *dhotiyans* or *sadi*, and if the yarn has a good test, two to four ends can be added to the number denoted in the table.

* Previous instalments in our issues of July 21st, August 11th, 18th and 20th

Count	Test	Wage per pound	Approximate twist per inch	Rounds on 4 peg hand frame	Number of ends in an inch of reed.	Number of ends or 16 in an inch	Rates of weaving per square yard.
							Rs. As. Ps.
6	Warp.	0 4 0	10	96	24 to 28	18 to 22	0 4 0
6	Weft.	0 3 0	8	"	"	"	"
9	Warp.	0 6 0	12	144	26 to 32	20 to 24	0 4 6
9	Weft.	0 4 6	10	"	"	"	"
12	Warp.	0 10 0	14	192	30 to 34	22 to 26	0 5 0
12	Weft.	0 8 0	12	"	"	"	"
16	Warp.	0 12 0	16	256	34 to 38	24 to 28	0 5 6
16	Weft.	0 10 0	13	"	"	"	"
20	Warp.	1 0 0	18	320	40 to 44	28 to 32	0 6 0
20	Weft.	0 13 0	15	"	"	"	"

If the yarn is very weak and uneven, it should be woven with two ends in warp as well as in web. This will give a strong texture to the cloth, making the process of weaving easy at the same time. The proportion in this case of ends to be drawn in an inch of the reed space is also given in the above table. If this course is adopted, heaps of handspun that have accumulated all over the country can be woven out without much difficulty.

As a fact, the method of sizing traditionally followed by the weavers cannot be improved upon. Their selection of the sizing material is appropriate to the climate, season and circumstances. For the most part they use the staple corn, Jawari and maize being the cheapest are used in many parts. In the rainy season, however, they use wheat flour as a stronger sizing material to counteract the over-softening influence of the moisture present in the air. In the Madras presidency, a coarseal called *Raji* with a yellowish flour is used for coarse counts, while rice is used for finer counts. Rice and wheat are the best ingredients for sizing. The proportion used is from 10 p. c. required for fine yarn to 20 p. c. for coarse yarn.

Different preparations of various sizing materials are as follow: -

Wheat: Weigh the warp first. Then according to its fineness or coarseness, take fine wheat flour or *Menda* from 10 to 20 p. c. of its weight knead it well with water to form a thin paste, taking care that no lump remains. Boil some water just enough to soak the warp, then add the paste previously prepared and keep on stirring till the granules are well-cooked and the whole substance is reduced to the form of thin gruel. To every such preparation of one pound of flour, one ounce of sesamum or sweet oil should be added. This will give softness and smoothness to the threads of the warp and keep them from sticking to one another. Coconut or castor oil is also used as a lubricant. Any of these is good, except only that the castor oil will give a bad odour and a dull colour to the warp. The size thus prepared is then slowly poured on to the warp which is kept folded on a gunny cloth or a clean slab. The warp is beaten with both the hands, while the process of pouring is going on, and when it is thoroughly saturated all over, it is spread out in the open and brushed repeatedly in one direction, often bringing the down side up till it gets dried. One or two or more persons according to the length of the warp are engaged in brushing, while several others are joining broken threads and shifting the sticks in the warp from one lease to another.

This is the most thorough of all the methods of sizing. The ends of fibres lying loose on every thread of the warp are straightened, and stuck fast round the thread by the process of brushing. The thread is rendered smooth and strong like wire, and the work of weaving is made all the easier by it. Thus swiftness in weaving is ensured. To master this requires long practice but it is worth the while of every student to do so. For an energetic youth about three hours' work under an expert every morning for two months or so is sufficient. With two assistants or more he will then be able to manage the brush-sizing himself without the aid of an expert. A less active person will take four or six months practice.

The preparation of size from jawari and maize flour is just the same as from wheat flour, except that the flour of these cereals not being so fine as wheat flour, a larger quantity is required in their case.

Some people advise that wheat flour should be soaked for at least two days, before it is boiled with water. It is said that the adherent quality of the flour is enhanced by this process.

Rice. The preparation from rice is simpler still. The required quantity of rice is boiled well with a quantity of water larger than that used for ordinary cooking and is allowed to remain for 12 to 24 hours. It is then strained through a piece of cloth tied over or into the mouth of a large vessel, more water being added as required in the process of straining. The strained matter is then reduced to consistent thinness; then oil is added to it in proportion as described above.

Rice is sometimes preferred to wheat, as it gives besides strength a fine gloss to the warp.

The thing to be borne in mind is, that the yarn meant for preparing warp must be made thoroughly absorbent beforehand. For this, all the hanks must be constricted in the form of one chain. It is then folded together, placed into a big vessel, whether of earth or metal, containing water enough to soak the yarn and then well pressed with both the feet for some time. It is left in this condition for two or three days, during which period it is beaten with a wooden club on a slab twice everyday. It should be remembered, that unless it is beaten, it does not soak through for days. If it is not soaked well, it is incapable of absorbing the sizing material, and is imperfectly sized. The cotton fibre has a natural oily coating on it, which is removed by soaking it as described before or by boiling it for some time. It does not become thoroughly absorbent, till it is treated in this manner. After two or three days, when the yarn is well soaked, the chain is opened out and dried in shade, every hank being hung separately on a bamboo. Before it gets completely dried, it is well shaken with both the hands twice or thrice, so that the threads do not stick to one another. The Madras weavers are used to pouring rice water (generally thrown away when the rice is boiled) on the yarn, before it is dried out in the manner described above. This gives greater strength to the yarn, and causes less breakage in the process of winding and preparing it into warp.

The other method of sizing resorted to by the weavers is called *hank sizing*. It is an easy process, and though not so efficient as brush-sizing, it answers well if carefully performed. In this case the yarn, before it is made up into a warp, is soaked, hank by hank, into the size prepared from wheat or rice as described above, and after pressing off the size a little from the hank with the thumb and a finger, the hank, wet as it is, is wound up on a bobbin. The warp is prepared immediately, while the bobbin is wet, each thread drying on the warping sticks as soon as another is drawn out. The warp thus prepared is fit for weaving.

We have tried hank-sizing in a weak solution of ordinary gum. It works well in dry season, but makes the yarn moist in wet season on account of its absorbent quality.

(To be continued)

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NOTES.

Effect of Hartal—Mr. Konda Venkatappayya justifies the *hartal* in Guntur and gives some other valuable information in a letter I have just received. I give it below for the benefit of the reader:—

As regards the *hartal*, you hold it to be a bad step. However, please allow me to state that the awakening which the people of Guntur have had since the days of the *hartal* was almost impossible to secure even through years of strenuous propaganda. The restraint and self-discipline, which they have cultivated within this short time, are also remarkable. No doubt there was some disturbance on the fifth day of the *hartal*. But that was due to some extraneous cause. One of the workers, who was calling out students from the High School, was arrested by a Police Sub-inspector, and some students and other young men followed him as he was led to the Police Station. They collected in pretty large numbers round the station, and were excited and disposed to violence. Meanwhile some of the Congress workers including the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee hastened to the spot, pacified the crowd and dispersed it. The sub-inspector in the meantime had used his whip very freely among the boys, and caused some bleeding wounds. This had irritated the mob very much, but their feelings were calmed, no sooner our workers pointed out to them the danger of losing our cause. The most prominent of those who helped to avoid the disturbance is Sr. M. Venkatesubbayya, the Vaishya merchant in whose house you had spent the few hours of your stay at Guntur. The reward which he received for this and other similar services in the cause of non-co-operation was to be arrested and kept in the lock-up along with me. The other two friends who were arrayed along with me as co-prisoners were also Vaishyas. One is a merchant whom you may possibly remember as having accompanied you in the car as far as Chirala, and was the Secretary of the Committee appointed to arrange for your reception at Guntur. The other is a young barrister who has joined the non-co-operation movement no sooner he returned from Ireland. He never joined the profession of law. He is the Secretary of the District Congress Committee here. In the evidence brought against us, there was nothing to implicate my friends. Some attempts to prove violence during the big procession that went round the town on the day of the arrival of the two prisoners (one a barrister and the other a *vakil*) from the forest village Machoola failed miserably. There was the most formidable evidence of the Deputy Magistrate against me. He deposed that I headed a mob, which pelted him with stones, and produced a report which he had sent up to the Superintendent of Police soon after the alleged

occurrence. None of us entered any defence beyond making oral statements. Neither myself nor my barrister friend cross-examined the witnesses, as we refused to recognise the proceedings. The evidence of the Deputy Magistrate stood uncontradicted. I was sure of my sentence but to my utter disappointment I was released first, the District Magistrate having openly declared in the Court that my statement was "substantially" true and that I always helped to maintain peace. I forthwith challenged his declaration by saying, that if he had any regard to the truth and justice of my statement, he should also release my friends who were like myself working for maintaining peace. The District Magistrate replied, that he had yet to discover the fact. The same evening he released those friends also. The reason for our release is not the discovery of anything to contradict the evidence against us, but the fact that the voice of the people was against him. The merchants closed the shops, the pleaders boycotted the courts, the people assembling daily in huge monster meetings were stoutly protesting against the proceedings more than all. There was a move amongst the clerks in the Government offices to resign their appointments. Almost everybody in the town felt the injustice of the proceedings. These were the causes of our release. Under the circumstances it is difficult to overestimate the importance and the utility of the *hartal*. The driving force, which had brought about such union amongst the people, is in my humble opinion not a little due to the *hartal*, which was most willingly undertaken by the merchants and heartily appreciated by the people in general. Arrangements were made to supply necessities to the poor and the needy by keeping a few of the shops open. At a large meeting of the labourers in the factories, shops and railway goods-sheds, help voluntarily offered to them by way of relief to the needy amongst them was refused. They stated that they would most willingly suffer for the sake of the cause rather than receive any help.

The above facts have, I hope, at least disclosed some extenuating circumstances.

Something remains to be stated regarding the evidence of the Deputy Magistrate, who deposed that I was at the head of a mob and got him pelted with stones.

At the time of the disturbance at the police station consequent on the arrest of one of the workers calling out the boys from the High School, I was at home taking my meals, when a messenger ran to me and informed me of the disturbance. I at once hastened to the place but as I was going there, I found some people mostly young men and boys walking in a thin line over the *burfi* of an open compound often used

for mass meetings and lying in front of the High School but sufficiently removed from the school. On seeing the crowd I got down from the carriage I was going in, and asked the people why they were there. They said they had come there having heard of a meeting. I said there would be no meeting at that hour of the day as it was midnoon then, and asked them to go to their homes. As I was saying this, a horse *jetka* was coming up in the opposite direction and some members of the crowd were running towards it. I apprehended some mischief, ran along the line and cried to them not to run towards the *jetka* which had by this time come near to me. At this moment I found, some small stones (I believe they were dry clods of earth) were thrown in the *jetka* by some of the people in the crowd. I approached the *jetka*, shouting to the people at the top of my voice not to throw stones nor do any mischief. I found the occupant of the *jetka* was the Deputy Magistrate in charge of the Head quarters. The stones were still falling. The horse got shy and the carriage could not move. I stood at the other opening of the *jetka*, holding up both my hands to prevent as far as possible the stones striking the Magistrate. Just two small missiles struck my fingers causing very slight bruises, but nothing touched the body of the Magistrate. He cried out that I was the cause of the trouble. I said I was there to save him, and asked him to drive on. He threatened to take action against me. All this was a matter of just two or three minutes. Almost immediately after I stood near the *jetka*, stone throwing was given up. Everything was quiet. The Magistrate, immediately after he went home, appears to have sent up a report to the Superintendent of Police. It is this report which was filed during the enquiry against us. It was on the second day after this occurrence, that my Vaidya friends and myself were arrested.

On the day Mr. Lakshminarayan the barrister, who was sentenced under section 107 to one year's imprisonment, was brought to Guntur on his way to the Central Jail at Vellore, his wife met him at the railway station, and placing a garland of flowers on his neck, asked his permission for taking up propaganda work on behalf of the non-co-operation movement till his return from the jail. The permission was granted, and she has since then been vigorously carrying on the work, addressing large meetings, collecting funds and going to the houses and preaching to the women to help the movement by working at the *charkha* and weaving Swadeshi cloth. Another lady who has proved an equally valuable acquisition is Srimati Yamini Poorna Tilaka of the dancing girl caste. You may remember, this lady came to see you at Nellore, and when she asked you for some help for the movement nearest to her heart, viz. the opening of some homes for the young girls of her caste and for their education and training, you asked her to learn spinning just then. She has since been employed as a worker by the Guntur District Congress Committee and has proved to be a very powerful speaker and a sincere worker in the cause of non-co-operation.

My general opposition to *hartals* without permission of the Working Committee must still stand. That the *hartal* in Guntur bore good fruit is creditable to Guntur and its workers. But the

very description given by Mr. Venkatappayya shows, that it is attended with danger and requires skilful handling. My own analysis of the situation in Guntur is, that the arrests prior to the *hartal* galvanised the Gunturians into activity. In so far as the *hartal* overawed the Government into discharging the leaders, it was bad. I would again suggest, that it was the renunciation of pleaders and the threatened resignation of the clerks which brought about the release. And if it was the *hartal* which determined the renunciation of the pleaders, it was decidedly good. What we need is greater response to the concrete programme of non-co-operation, and if we can get it by *hartals*, I for one would always advocate them.

M. K. G.

A PROTEST AGAINST BURNING.

THE

THE EDITOR,

Young India

SIR,

Your idea that all foreign cloth collected on the 1st of August should either be burnt or sent to Smyrna, with the support it found in the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee, has bewildered me: and the issues it involves appear to me to be so far-reaching, that I have ventured to write this letter. The first of August is come and gone, and that which is destroyed can never be restored; but in our calmer moments we may reflect on our actions in a different light from that in which they were conceived, and prevent a recurrence of what on re-consideration we should find to be wrong.

The non-co-operation movement, shorn of its superfluities and the passing tangle of conflicting opinion, has always appeared to me to be a symbol of India's regeneration, and a mighty echo of the voice of its Soul, forgotten through many years of abandoned ideals, broken power, selfishness and ignorance, and the spirit of *Ahimsa* in which it was conceived was to me the unfailing cure of all ills of life, should man rise to that height of the Soul. But I cannot help thinking of the burning of all foreign cloth in honour of the memory of Lokamanya Tilak as a travesty of what, in my humble opinion, I regarded as the lofty ideals that inspired the Movement.

It is argued that all foreign cloth should be burnt, because (1) it is a mark of dependence and a badge of slavery for the rich and poor alike, and (2) it is a garb of sin forced on India by the wickedness of the East India Company and perpetuated by our own helplessness and ignorance. In both cases we can get rid of it only by destruction, and the clothing of even the poorest among us with such cloth would be as sinful as offering rotten or poisonous food to a hungry man. But, with strange inconsistency, we are told that it may, however, be sent to the people of Smyrna.

I do not wish to discuss the assumptions on which the foregoing arguments are based, but, while I realise the necessity of Swadeshi and believe in the moral and partially economic value of Khadi, the revival of the spinning wheel and restoration of the great staple industry of India, I think it would be

easy to prove that, so long as the total imports of India exceed four times the value of its foreign cloth, we are as many times dependent and so slaves for our other requirements, which, too, should on that account be burnt. It could even more convincingly be argued that books written by foreigners and in a foreign language, machinery, medicines and other products of modern science and human skill and intelligence, in which, for the present, they have advanced more than we have, are a much deeper mark of dependence and a greater badge of slavery, mental and physical, than foreign cloth, and we should get rid of these as well by destruction. And then, in the opinion of some, why not in the same way of the foreigner too—the source of all our ills?

If, again, by yielding to the wickedness of the East India Company which crippled our weavers and killed our industry, Indians of those times and through them their sons of to-day are guilty of sin, which may be atoned for only by setting fire to the cause of their crime, why not burn only *English* cloth and spare the rest? Again, if one may not offer rotten or poisonous food to a poor and starving Indian, might he offer it to a helpless Turk? To send our cast-off foreign clothes to the people of Smyrna appears to me to be much more sinful than offering them to our own countrymen, for it is dishonourable for one nation to offer its shreds and leavings to another, and the wrong done to Islam by the foreigners, the allies, is more recent and in the opinion of many, greater than the harm done by the East India Company to ourselves; and can we regard it as moral or in any way justifiable to send to the people of Smyrna cloth manufactured by these very foreigners and cast off by us as the garb of sin? Well may such charity be said to degrade both the giver and the receiver.

In conclusion I would point out, Sir, that the analogy between rotten food and foreign cloth can hardly be maintained; and so long as there are thousands of our own countrymen who are literally naked and enough *Khadis* has not been manufactured to clothe them, there are many who would regard it as a sin to burn a single yard of foreign cloth or send it out of the country when it is required more urgently at home.

I do not question the spectacular effect of destruction by fire or its efficacy to catch popular imagination and rouse quick, if temporary, enthusiasm; but I cannot think, that you have been actuated by such considerations in the face of such utter need of so many of our poor, naked and famine-stricken countrymen.

Hyderabad, Sind,

3rd August 1921.

Yours etc,

N. V. Thadani.

[I gladly print Mr. Thadani's closely reasoned letter. I have already admitted the weakness of the argument in favour of sending foreign cloth to Smyrna. But it is a concession to Musalman opinion. Nevertheless the use of foreign cloth is poison in India, certainly not in Smyrna; for the cloth industry has never been Smyrna's lung, as it has been India's. In burning foreign clothes we are burning our taste for foreign fineries. The effect upon India would have been equally disastrous, if Japan instead of England had tempted us in the first instance. The motive was to punish ourselves

and not the foreigner. We are boycotting not British but all foreign cloth. The one would be meaningless as the other is a sacred duty. The idea of burning springs not from hate but from repentance of our past sins. A moment's reflection must show the writer, that burning must make us earnest and thus stimulate, as it has stimulated, fresh manufacture. The disease had gone so deep, that a surgical operation was a necessity. The ill-clad or the naked millions of India need no charity but work that they can easily do in their cottages. Have not the poor any feeling of self-respect or patriotism? Is the gospel of Swadeshi only for the well-to-do?

M. K. G.]

CONFUSION OF THOUGHT

To

The Editor,

Young India

Dear Sir,

I have seen your arguments about the utility of picketing. The very same arguments appealed to non-co-operating students of Bengal, when they fell flat before the gates of Calcutta University College and the Senate House, and thereby hoped to dissuade the law examinees from taking their examination. With folded hands they entreated their examinee brothers not to drink the insidious poison. And you are certainly aware of the amount of success they obtained in their novel way of picketing. The examination halls wore a deserted appearance and a subsequent supplementary examination had to be held. But it was you who then disapproved of the picketing, and everything had to be given up. The results so nobly achieved were lost, and Bengal repents to-day that her youths have a tarnished fame on their brow to be proud of. When the picketing party laid themselves flat before the gateway, they did so on the very argument that "diseased persons have got to be helped against themselves." As brothers, who deemed themselves blessed in truly understanding your advice about modern education and in possessing boldness enough to leave their colleges, they thought it a duty incumbent upon them to dissuade their brothers from appearing at the examination. Lying flat on the ground is indisputably an oriental way of moral persuasion. It was nothing but humility preached in its real aspect. If I am truly inspired with the feeling that drinking is a dire vice and every one has to be saved from its clutches, shall I be deemed using physical force if I lie down in front of the drinking den and ask the intending drinker to trample over my body and get his drink? Here in this case I appeal to his heart. And by moral persuasion I understand appealing to the heart. By laying themselves in front of the Senate House, the Bengal pickets appealed to the heart of the examinees and certainly that was moral persuasion. I shall be glad to know, why you disapproved of the method of the Bengal pickets, as they used to appeal to the hearts of the examinees and did not use physical force in any way.

Benares,
18th July 1921.

Yours etc.
S. N. Ray

[The writer assumes without warrant, that I would countenance liquor-shop picketing of the type described in his letter. If the unseemly obstruction of the passage had been persisted in, there would have been a revulsion of feeling in the country, such as would have thoroughly discredited non-co-operation. Moreover, it is a farfetched analogy to compare the drink habit with education. In the matter of education, it is a conflict of ideals, and non-co-operation is for this generation a new ideal. Whereas in the matter of drink, the conflict is between abstinence and a recognised vice. A young lad considers it a virtue to go to a Government college, a drinker knows drinking to be an evil habit. The educated youth read newspapers, know all the arguments for and against. Visitors to liquor-shops read nothing, and not being in the habit of attending meetings hear nothing. Picketing, therefore, in the case of colleges and schools was not only superfluous, but in the manner it was carried out, constituted a sort of violence utterly unjustified in any event and for a non-co-operator a breach of his pledge. I am glad, therefore, that the picketing stopped, if it did, as a result of my severe criticism. M. K. G.]

OUR FALLEN SISTERS.

By M. K. GANDHI.

The first occasion I had of meeting those women who earn their livelihood out of their shame was at Coconada in the Andhra province. There it was a few moments' interview with only half a dozen of them. The second occasion was at Barisal. Over one hundred of them met by appointment. They had sent a letter in advance, asking for an interview and telling me that they had become members of the Congress and subscribed to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, but could not understand my advice not to seek office in the various Congress Committees. They wound up by saying, that they wished to seek my advice as to their future welfare. The gentleman who handed me the letter did so with great hesitation, not knowing whether I would be offended or pleased with the receipt of the letter. I put him at ease by assuring him, that it was my duty to serve these sisters if I could in any way.

For me the two hours I passed with these sisters is a treasured memory. They told me that they were over 350 in the midst of a population of about 20,000 men, women and children. They represent the shame of the men of Barisal, and the sooner Barisal gets rid of it, the better for its great name. And what is true of Barisal is true, I fear, of every city. I mention Barisal, therefore, as an illustration. The credit of having thought of serving these sisters belongs to some young men of Barisal. Let me hope that Barisal will soon be able to claim the credit, too, of having eradicated the evil.

Of all the evils for which man has made himself responsible, none is so degrading, so shocking or so brutal as his abuse of the better half of humanity to me the female sex, not the weaker

sex. It is the nobler of the two, for it is even to-day the embodiment of sacrifice, silent suffering, humility, faith and knowledge. A woman's intuition has often proved truer than man's arrogant assumption of superior knowledge. There is method in putting Sita before Rama and Radha before Krishna. Let us not delude ourselves into the belief, that this gambling in vice has a place in our evolution because it is rampant and in some cases even state-regulated in civilized Europe. Let us not also perpetuate the vice on the strength of Indian precedents. We should cease to grow the moment we cease to discriminate between virtue and vice, and slavishly copy the past which we do not fully know. We are proud heirs to all that was noblest and best in the by-gone age. We must not dishonour our heritage by multiplying past errors. In a self-respecting India, is not every woman's virtue as much every man's concern as his own sister's? Swaraj means ability to regard every inhabitant of India as our own brother or sister.

And so, as a man I hung my head in shame before these hundred sisters. Some were elderly, most were between twenty and thirty, and two or three were girls below twelve. Between them all, they told me, they had six girls and four boys, the eldest of whom was married to one of their own class. The girls were to be brought up to the same life as themselves, unless something else was possible. That these women should have considered their lot to be beyond repair, was like a stab in the living flesh. And yet they were intelligent and modest. Their talk was dignified, their answers were clean and straight. And for the moment their determination was as firm as that of any Satyagrahi. Eleven of them promised to give up their present life and take to spinning and weaving from the following day, if they received a helping hand. The others said they would take time to think, for they did not wish to deceive me.

Here is work for the citizens of Barisal. Here is work for all true servants of India, men as well as women. If there are 350 unhappy sisters in a population of 20,000, there may be 52,50,000 in all India. But I flatter myself with the belief that four fifths of the population of India, which live in the villages and are purely agricultural, are not touched by the vice. The lowest figure for all India would therefore be 10,50,000 women living on the sale of their own honour. Before these unfortunate sisters could be weaned from their degradation, two conditions have to be fulfilled. We men must learn to control our passions, and these women should be found a calling that would enable them to earn an honourable living. The movement of non-co-operation is nothing, if it does not purify us and restrain our evil passions. And there is no occupation but spinning and weaving which all can take up and out overcrowding. These sisters, the vast majority of them, need not think of marriage. They agreed that they could not. They must therefore become the true Sannyasins of India. Having no cares of life but of service, they can spin and weave to their heart's content. One million fifty thousand

women diligently weaving every day for eight hours means that number of rupees per day for an impoverished India. These sisters told me they earned as much as two rupees per day. But then they admitted, that they had many things needed to pander to man's lust, which they could discard when they took to spinning and weaving, reverting to a natural life. By the time I had finished with my interviews, they knew without my telling them, why they could not be office-bearers in Congress Committees if they did not give up their sinfulness. None could officiate at the altar of Swaraj, who did not approach it with pure hands and a pure heart.

A DILEMMA.

To
THE EDITOR,

Young India.

Dear sir,

On reading the article headed "Ethics of Destruction" in your paper, the following dilemma has occurred to me:

1. If we consent to wear cheaper foreign clothes, our people will be ruined. This is hard to bear.

2. If we consent to wear dearer Swadeshi clothes, we shall have to submit to other hardships.

In both cases it will be said with equal force by the contending parties, that we must submit to Providence.

My opinion is, that this so called submission to Providence would be in the former case submission to the wrong side, and in the latter case submission to the right side.

Shantiniketan, } Yours truly,
7th Sept. 1921. } Dwijendranath Tagore.

REPRESSION IN BIHAR.

The following note was sent by the Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee Bihar, on 3rd June.

After the Nagpur sessions of the Indian National Congress, the Government policy towards the non-co-operation movement was enunciated in the famous Rainy Circular issued to all district officers. In it the officials were asked to adopt all means in their power to combat non-co-operation. This was taken to be a *carte blanche* by certain officials, who in their zeal to crush all public spirit went to the length of forbidding meetings and speeches without the slightest justification under sec. 144 Cr. P. O., and began to threaten and prosecute several workers and sympathisers of the movement under different sections of the Cr. P. O. and I. P. O. Sections 144 and 107 of the Cr. P. O. were extensively used by these officials to put down the movement in its initial stage. Naturally the vigour of repression was most felt in those places, where the over-zealous officials regarded it as their duty to kill the growing public spirit among the masses. The measure initiated by Mr. Lee of Sitamadh, a subdivision of Muzaffarpur district, illustrates this spirit. This official showed a good deal of enthusiasm in carrying out what he thought to be the Government policy as embodied in the Rainy circular, inasmuch as he issued a chowkidari circular, authorising the appointment of

additional chowkidars, and promising rewards to persons who could supply him with information about non-co-operators and their sympathisers in his sub-division. He further authorised levy of additional taxes upon those villages where the people had adopted the programme of N.-C.-O. The circular was, however, withdrawn by the District Magistrate, when the matter was agitated in the public press.

Repression went on vigorously for some time. Sec. 144 Cr. P. O. began to be used indiscriminately. Babu Rajendra Prasad and Maulvi Mashar-ul-Haq were served with notices under this section forbidding them to enter the town of Arrah between certain hours of the day. Soon after this incident, an adjournment debate was raised in the local council by Babu Devaki Prasad Sinha M. L. O. The Government in reply to the debate restated their policy, and made their position clear by explaining the Rainy Circular, which, they said, was to be read along with the resolution of the Government of India on the subject. After this debate the situation was greatly eased. Repression gradually declined, and at the present moment, although it is going on in several districts in one form or another, it is not being pursued with the vigour and zeal that characterised its earlier stages. A good deal of attention is now being given to temperance workers, and a number of cases have been started against them in many districts. A short account of the nature and extent of repression in various districts is given below:—

Muzaffarpur District:—Repression began in this district simultaneously with several *hat* meeting cases, which, it is asserted with confidence, were inspired by local planters and in which several factory people were involved. Secs. 144 and 107 Cr. P. O. were most liberally used, but people replied with greater display of energy and enthusiasm, and the object of the authors of these measures was thus frustrated. In all 101 persons were prosecuted under different sections of the codes of whom 26 were either acquitted or discharged, and 62 convicted. The result of 13 cases is not yet known.

Champaran District:—This district was not seriously affected. Attempts were made in the beginning to threaten the villagers with prosecutions. In all 39 people were prosecuted, of whom 11 were convicted and 10 discharged, and the cases against the rest are either pending or their result is not yet known.

Saran District:—There were cases against temperance workers wherein the accused were convicted. There is however a big criminal case still pending before the magistrate in Chapra, where a large number of persons are involved. This is not purely a case of N.-C.-O., although it had its origin in it.

Darbhanga District:—63 persons were prosecuted, of whom 12 were discharged and 24 convicted. 32 cases are pending.

Gaya District:—There was a good deal of agitation in the town over temperance work. Two temperance volunteers were unjustly convicted, and this gave rise to a serious situation and violence was threatened. This was however averted by good sense prevailing on either side.

Shehabad District:—There were two cases against one of our prominent workers of this district, which created a good deal of *fitting* among the public.

Of late some temperance cases have been started at Sasaram, and the result is anxiously awaited.

Hazariabagh District:—Except the regrettable incident at Giridih and prosecution of several workers at Chatra, there is no instance of direct repression in this district. But the local officers are creating a situation of inconvenience for those who are sympathising with the movement by denying all help to them when they stand in need of them; e.g. local merchants cannot import grain or get wagons from the railway authorities without the signature of the District Magistrate.

Patna District:—There have been a few cases against temperance workers. Some are still pending.

Palamou District:—Secs. 144 and 107 Cr. P.O. have been frequently used. Workers have been prosecuted and convicted for uttering "Gandhiji Jay", and preaching temperance.

Districts Bhagalpore, Monghyr and Purnea:—These districts are comparatively immune from official attentions, except in a few early cases where workers were forbidden to deliver speeches under Sec. 144 Cr. P.O. Of late, however, in Bhagalpore district we have got a report from Madhupura sub-division, where the subscribers to the Swaraj Fund and non-co-operation panchos have been molested indirectly by local officials. As usual, a number of temperance workers have been prosecuted in Monghyr.

Districts of Singhbhum, Manbhum and Ranchi:—Usual cases under Sec. 144 Cr. P.O. and against temperance workers have occurred.

One excellent illustration of persecution is furnished by the case of Brahmachari Ramraksha. The magistrate of S. Samadhi has awarded him a barbarous sentence for a technical offence under sec. 188 I. P. C., and has passed an illegal order, which he discovered subsequently. The matter had to be referred to the High Court for rectification of the illegality, but it has not so far been done. He stands charged under two more sections, viz. 108 Cr. P. C. and 342 I. P. C. before two magistrates and is awaiting his trial. Another notable case is that of Babu Razmananda Singh, late Sub-inspector of Police, who had the courage to depose truthfully in the case against Pt. Jainandan Jha of Hajipore. He is awaiting his trial under sec. 193 I. P. C.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

On a request to bring the foregoing to date, the following was sent:—

Although repression on an extensive scale has not been going on in the province of Bihar for some time, cases are not wanting which indicate an attempt at putting down the anti-drink campaign. Orders under sections 107 and 144 Cr. P. C. have been passed which cannot be justified under any interpretation of the sections.

I will note here some of the typical cases which have been reported in the press. One S. D. O. of Jahanabad issued a general order under sec. 144 Cr. P. O., directing that "no person shall in any way dissuade any person from going to a wine or toddy shop", but he subsequently withdrew it, saying that he never "intended to encourage drinking and never intended the notice to be of a general character".

Notice under sec. 144 Cr. P. C. was served on several workers in Palamou District on the ground, that they used to "meet on public roads and at

places near about the Husainabad outstall, with the object of forcibly preventing persons from visiting the outstall and causing annoyance and injury to such persons and also to the licensee of the outstall and his employees, and such acts were likely to lead to a serious disturbance of the public peace", and they were called upon to show cause why they should not be enjoined "to abstain from such acts." In the same district notices under sec. 107 Cr. P. C. were served on people on the alleged ground, that they were "forcibly preventing the shopkeepers from selling necessaries to the complainant and other persons working at the outstall with the object of compelling them to give up their employment", and on the allegation that "they abused, threatened, and used force on people who came to the Senepor outstall in order to prevent them from purchasing wine."

A notice of quite a general nature under sec. 144 Cr. P. O. was issued at Gaya prohibiting picketing altogether. The notice ran as follows:—

"Whereas information has been given to me that the liquor shop is picketed with a view to obstruct customers desiring to enter the said shop which they are lawfully entitled to do; and as it appears necessary to take action to prevent picketing, I therefore under sec. 144 Cr. P. O. direct the public generally not to picket the said shop or to commit any action in the vicinity of the said shop likely to obstruct or intimidate any customers desiring to enter the shop".

An order under sec. 144 Cr. P. O. issued at Muzaffarpur "ordered, that every person frequenting the excise shop named below or being present within a distance of 50 yards thereof, should refrain from causing annoyance to customers and to the licensee and to such Excise and Police officers as may be posted at or near the shop to protect buyers and sellers from intimidation, insult and annoyance." The Excise and Police officers were posted not so much for the protection of the wine purchasers and sellers as for overawing the temperance workers and inducing people to drink.

At Aurangabad in the district of Gaya a notice under sec. 144 Cr. P. O. was served upon some volunteers prohibiting them from picketing or approaching liquor shops within 300 yards.

A notice issued under sec. 144 Cr. P. C. by an S. D. O. in the district of Monghyr expressly mentions the ground, that the anti-drink movement is likely to cause loss of excise revenue. A translation of the notice runs as follows:—

"Sec. 144 Cr. P. O.

Karimbaksh Kalal v. Mubammad Yusuf resident of Haseury Thana Sukhpura, District Monghyr.

Whereas it has been made to appear that you threaten the first party, so that he may give up selling wine and yourself prevent purchasers and threaten them with a view to causing loss of excise revenue to the Government, by reason of which there is an apprehension of a breach of the peace,

I do hereby order you not to prevent the sale of wine and not to prevent purchasers from going to the shop, nor should you in any way interfere so that public peace may be disturbed. Be careful. Date of hearing 17-8-21."

The action taken by the S. D. O. of Chatra in the district of Hazariabagh has beaten all record. I enclose

copy of a letter from Babu Ramnarayan Singh, B. A., B. L., who was a practising pleader at Chatra but has suspended his practice and is now Secretary to the Sub-Divisional Congress Committee, Chatra. I desire to add my own personal testimony that two *Mektars* serving under the municipality made statements to me during my visit to Chatra in the presence of a large number of persons including the local sub-inspector of Police and the sub-inspector of Excise bearing on the allegations contained in the letter regarding *Mektars*. Influence of an indirect nature has been brought to bear on the village people by local officials, particularly on small zamindars for not settling the palm trees with tapper for getting toddy from them.

BABU RAMNARAYANSINGH'S LETTER TO THE "SEARCHLIGHT."

Sir—Doubts having been expressed in certain quarters as to the truth of certain statements published in the *Searchlight* about the activities of Mr. H. D. Christian, the S. D. O. of Chatra, in connection with the anti-temperance movement in this sub-division, I, having seen with my own eyes what could be seen and having enquired into the matter, wherever an enquiry was necessary, and having been perfectly convinced of the truth of those statements and with a full sense of responsibility as an Indian National worker, am persuaded to get these facts and a few more published again in the *Searchlight* for the information of the public. It is reported to me, that Mr. H. D. Christian is also anxious to know the name of the Chatra correspondent of the *Searchlight*, so that he may be in a position to prosecute the man. I like to afford all possible opportunities to him and challenge him to disprove these facts and to establish his reputation as a worthy S. D. O. I only enumerate in the following lines the facts of his unjust and impious activities in this connection:—

(1) Mr. H. D. Christian once went to the "Kalal" (liquor shop) at Chatra, gave from his own pocket a sum of Rs. 2 to the Domes and addressing them said:—Take the money, drink wine, go and wander about in the town and utter abusive words (*Gali bako*) if anybody interferes with you, beat him, and if there is any case, I shall see to it.

(2) He ordered the opening of wine shops in the Dak Bungalows at Simaria and Barwadib. At Simaria the Dak bungalow peon was ordered to sell wine on a commission of 350 p. a. of the sale price for remuneration and the peon did it.

(3) At Simaria a certain gentleman in the Government service was unwilling to give away his land to the Kalal to build his Kalal thereon. The S. D. O. threatened the gentleman with dismissal from service and with civil cases to be instituted against his father with the help of his (S. D. O.'s) friend, Babu Haribakas Ram Sheta. The gentleman had no alternative but to part with his land.

(4) He ordered several Karpardazes to give sufficient lands to Kalals, or the rents and the civil suits of their masters pending in the S. D. O.'s court would be dismissed.

(5)

(6) At one place a Kalal was ordered to build his Kalal in the land of a certain tenant without his (tenant's) consent, and the tenant had to give personal

security not to interfere with the Kalal's unlawful and forcible possession.

(7) The Bhathidar of Dipta did not open his Banti and was missing. Through the agency of a loyal Mukt, Bhagwat Sahay has been compelled to start the Kalal merely on the pretence that the settlement of the Kalal was his, because the missing Bhathidar was Bhagwat Sahay's servant last year.

(8) A certain gentleman had his gun licence cancelled, for the Passis under him had not renewed their licences to collect and sell toddy. The gentleman compelled the Passis to get the licences renewed, and then the S. D. O. renewed his licence for gun.

(9) A Kalal at Sijua caught fire and was burnt. The S. D. O. ordered the police-inspector and the sub-inspectors of Jari, Hamterganj and Partabpur to get the Kalal re-built at once. All these officers had to remain there till the re-building of the Kalal was completed.

(10) Mr. H. D. Christian, although only an S. D. O. of Chatra sub-division, extorted Babu Rajballabh Singh and Inachmanal from the district of Hazaribagh, and he refuses certified copies of his orders.

(11) Only at the mischievous instigations of Kalals he has issued baseable and non baseable warrants of arrest against not less than 100 innocent persons. None of them have been punished as yet. Some cases are still pending in the court. All the accused are only warned and allowed to go. All this is done to terrorise people and to encourage drink.

From the conduct of the S. D. O. it appears British rule is already over in this sub-division.

REPRESSION IN SINDH.

The following note was prepared at the end of June by Mr. Ghanashyam Jethanand Shrivdasani, and like the others has lain with me unattended to during my wanderings. The reader is familiar with the Matiari shooting, and the trial and convictions of Swami Krisbnaanand and others, which took place after June.

M. K. G.

Repression in Sindh started earlier than in many other provinces; but it has not been so intensive as in the U. P. or Bihar. In its earlier stages it was aimed solely against Khilafat workers but latterly it is being aimed against the non-co-operation movement in general.

In the beginning anti-Khilafat propaganda was started through the instrumentality of officials. Official pressure was brought to bear on many *Maulvis* and *Ulamas* in order to make them sign an anti-Khilafat pamphlet. The official ways were exposed in the press, and the anti-Khilafat propaganda lost its effect.

LAHORE: 1. Mr. Mustafa Kamil, acting Principal of Larkhana Madresa was bound down by the collector not to take part in the Khilafat movement, and was summarily dismissed from the Madresa.

2. Jan Mahomed Janjo, a staunch Khilafatist, who afterwards went on Hijrat was persecuted by officials. Supply of water from canals to his fields was stopped.

3. Wadero Ali Hassan Ghaughra, *Maulvi* Gulam Farid, *Maulvi* Abdul Razak and some others were prosecuted under sections 108 and 110 Cr. P. O. Some of them gave securities, while others were acquitted.

KARACHI: 1. Kazi Abdul Rahman, editor of the *Al-Nashid* was prosecuted under secs. 124 A and 153 A for three articles. He offered no defence. He got one year's rigorous imprisonment for each article, the sentences to run concurrently.

2. Kazi Faiz Mahomed, a Khilafat propagandist who did good work in council boycott propaganda, was tried under sec. 108 Cr. P. C. He refused to give security and was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for one year.

3. Pir Mahomed Bashir of Talia was prosecuted under sec. 108 Cr. P. C. He was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

4. Security of the daily vernacular paper of Karachi, the *Al-Nashid*, was forfeited and consequently, the paper had to be stopped.

SARKAR: 1. Kazi Gulam Nabi Abdul Kadir, a retired Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, presided at a Khilafat meeting on 13th April 1920. On the 10th May he was rebuked by the collector, and on 27th May he received a notification from Government, that his pension was suspended for his misconduct, viz. having presided at a meeting at which seditious speeches were made.

2. Maulvi Ghulam Hussain and Syed Abdallah Shah were tried under Sec. 108 Cr. P. C. and given one year each.

NATASBAH: Maulvi Mohamed Sidiq of Mero was prosecuted under sec. 108, and was given one year's imprisonment. While in jail he gave security and was released.

JACOBABAD: 1. Munshi Khudabux, a petition writer, was a zealous worker in Jacobabad Khilafat Conference. On 4th May 1920 the Deputy Commissioner issued an order that no petition written by Munshi Khudabux should be accepted by courts. After two days, he was tried under sec. 110 Cr. P. C. Security was offered but it was refused, and the Munshi was given one year's imprisonment.

2. Mr. Dad Mahomed, a police Munshi, who had attended the Khilafat Conference and tendered his resignation, was called by the Superintendent of Police and was kicked and beaten under the allegation that he had invoked curses of God on the Police.

3. Wadero Basulbux, a respectable Zamindar, had helped in the Khilafat Conference. He was arrested under Frontier Regulations. Sureties were offered but they were rejected. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Fresh application for furnishing sureties was made, which was accepted, and Wadero was released after ten days' confinement.

4. Sardar Hayat Khan Rind, another influential Zamindar, had helped to make the Jacobabad Conference a success. He was called by the Deputy Commissioner Mr. Smythe and was given a severe beating with a whip. As he tried to escape, Mr. Smythe cried out and policemen entered the room. The Sardar saved his skin by jumping through a window and making good his escape. He was deprived of all his privileges of gun-licence, chair, etc., for disloyalty to Government.

5. Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor, a venerable old man of over sixty and ex-Chairman of Jacobabad Municipality, was President of Jacobabad District Khilafat Committee. The Maulvi was severely beaten

by some military men, it is believed at the instigation of officials. The press in Sindh asked for an inquiry, but instead of that, a prosecution under secs. 131-135 I.P.C. has been launched against the Maulvi.

6. Maulvi Mahomed Amin Khoso is another victim of official persecution. Persuasion was first tried with him, but when it failed, he was arrested under secs. 494 and 109. He was made to walk 44 miles in fetters. He was subsequently let off.

MIRPURKAS: Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Wadero Mahomed Makhani and Mahomed Anwar a student of 17 years were prosecuted under sec. 108 Cr. P. C. They refused to give security and were given one year's rigorous imprisonment each. Maulvi Ahmad Ali later on furnished security and was released.

HYDERABAD: Pir Mahbubullah of Tando Md. Khan was prosecuted under Secs. 124 A and 153 A for his speeches. Crown witnesses were examined, but no defence was offered. He got two years' simple imprisonment. He apologised and was let off.

1. Secretaries of Congress and Khilafat Committees of Jacobabad were prosecuted for disobeying an order prohibiting a procession in honour of Munshi Khudabux who was returning home after the expiry of his term of imprisonment. Many people had gathered at the station to greet the Munshi, and some naturally followed his carriage. The Secretaries protested, they had no hand in the so-called procession. They were sentenced to a fine of ten rupees each, and in default to 15 days imprisonment. They refused to pay the fine, and went to jail. Some one, whose name the authorities refused to give out, paid the fine, and the Secretaries were released.

2. Swami Govindananda was prosecuted under Secs. 124 A and 153 A for his speeches. He offered no defence. He was declared not guilty under the latter charge. Under the former he was declared guilty and was sentenced to transportation for five years.

3. Five persons, Messrs. Fazul Karim, Ismail Chaturbhuj, a boy of thirteen, Thakurdas and Maheraj Nathram, were prosecuted for unlawful assembly (stone-throwing) at an auction sale of liquor shops in Karachi. Maheraj Nathram was let off with a warning; Thakurdas apologised and was set free, but the first three did not defend. They were sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment each.

4. 11 persons were prosecuted at Talia for rioting on the 13th of April 1921. Some of them are mere boys of ten to fourteen years. In court they laugh and play mischief, and sometimes even lie down on the ground and go to sleep. They are very young and so the magistrate does not mind them. The case is finished but judgment has not yet been given.

5. 7 persons were prosecuted at Talia for causing obstruction on a public road. One of them is Secretary of the local Congress Committee and another President. Only four persons defended themselves. The Secretary and the President offered no defence. They were sentenced to a fine of Rs. 25 each and in default to 15 days' imprisonment. Four persons paid the fine, and the Secretary, his son and the President went to jail. Some one paid their fine against their expressed intentions, and they were set free.

(To be concluded)

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NOTES

Bengal—Bengal is a big province and the writer will not be surprised if he finds these notes predominantly devoted to Bengal doings. I have not hesitated to say in private conversations, that in point of Swadeshi, of all the provinces Bengal stands at the bottom. The mass appearance in a Bengal village or town does not bear the Swadeshi stamp. *Khadi* is least in evidence in Bengal. But the signs of a coming revival are not wanting. The *charkha* has not taken deep root as yet, as it has done elsewhere. But it is becoming general everywhere. I saw it in its diminutive form at Silchar and Sylhet. It is almost a toy. It is good enough for spinning, but its yield is very little. It was more in evidence at Chittagong, and of a better type. They have devised an ingenious little portable thing which the boys and girls like. It is neat, beautiful and cheap. But like the Silchar pattern it does not give as much yarn as the original type. In Barisal, on the other hand, we saw a clever contrivance in which you move the wheel with a pedal. They were not able to give me the yield of the machine. But I should not be surprised if it gives as much as the ancient wheel. All these inventions how that the *rentia* is growing in popularity and has come to stay. In Barisal, moreover, it was a pleasure to see very fine and even yarn, turned out by the boys of the National School. The quantity displayed was not to be despised. The weaving shed in Barisal appeared to be nice, neat and roomy. The looms were all fly shuttle after the Serampur style. The organisers have under their control nearly 50 looms. In an adjoining room they had stock worth about Rs 5000. They have not yet learnt the absolute necessity of using only handspun yarn both for warp and woof. I do urge upon all Congress organisations the paramount necessity of their using only handspun yarn for both warp and woof. The mixed thing has already become marketable. And the Congress workers need not—ought not—to waste their time over things which an ordinary trader can attend to.

But, of course, these looms and the few weavers I saw cannot clothe Bengal. And Bengal cannot help the Swaraj movement, if it has to depend upon Bombay and Ahmedabad for the cloth supply. Just as a man forced to be hungry cannot be induced to think of God, so may not millions of Bengalis forced to remain in a state of semi-starvation, think of or appreciate Swaraj. The

condition of Swaraj is, that each province becomes self-contained for its food and clothing.

But Bengal will not lag behind when once she is fully awakened. She has a fine imagination. Her villages retain their simplicity. Her sons are clever and pashful, her daughters graceful, simple and lovely. Both men and women are intensely religious. Their faith is ennobling. The memory of the *charkha* is still alive. Bengal has but to realise, that she manufactured the finest fabrics not merely for herself, not merely for India but for the outside world as well, and she will beat her own past record, glorious as it is. Bengal is beginning to realise, that if her millions of women have forgotten the art of spinning, no other activity has replaced it, and that the root cause of her poverty as well as of the rest of India, is the enforced idleness of her peasantry. I feel sure, that Bengal is about to understand the full message of the spinning wheel, and then she will take India by storm.

As a friend said, Bengal has to unlearn much. Like several other provinces, she has not a clean slate to write upon. She has for instance to unlearn that cloth woven in Dacca from foreign yarn is Swadeshi.

Of Strikes The Assam Bengal Railway and the steamer strikes were out of the ordinary, the first attempt, as I have found to have strikes out of sympathy for those outside labour unions. The strikes were therefore sympathetic, humanitarian or political. I had the pleasure of meeting the strikers all over the railway line, but specially at Ganbati, Chittagong and Barisal. Having talked to them freely, I have come to the conclusion, that the people did not fully realise the cost of their undertaking. But having embarked on the strike, they have endeavoured to surmount the consequence. It is always dangerous and uncharitable for an outsider to say what he would have done if he had the handling of a situation. But if one may hazard an opinion, I think that the labourers were not ready for a philanthropic strike. In my opinion the labourers and artisans of India have not yet arrived at that stage of consciousness, when it is necessary to make the strike a national service. We who have been in the forefront of national service have not until recently understood the wants and aspirations of these classes, nor taken the trouble of informing them of the political situation. We have hitherto believed that only those

who had passed through high schools and colleges were fit to take part in national work. It is hardly therefore proper to expect the labouring and the artisan class all of a sudden to appreciate, and sacrifice themselves for, interests outside their own. We may not exploit them for political or any other ends. The best service we can render them and take from them at the present stage is to teach them self-help, to give them an idea of their own duties and rights, and put them in a position to secure redress of their own just grievances. Then and not till then are they ready for political, national or humanitarian service.

Any premature precipitation of sympathetic strikes must therefore result in infinite harm to our cause. In the programme of non-violence, we must rigidly exclude the idea of gaining anything by embarrassing the Government. If our activity is pure and that of the Government impure, the latter is embarrassed by our purity, if it does not itself become pure. Thus, a movement of purification benefits both parties. Whereas a movement of mere destruction leaves the destroyer unpurified, and brings him down to the level of those whom he seeks to destroy.

Even our sympathetic strikes therefore have to be strikes of self-purification, i.e. non-co-operation. And so, when we declare a strike to redress a wrong, we really cease to take part in the wrong, and thus leave the wrong-doer to his own resources, in other words enable him to see the folly of continuing the wrong. Such a strike can only succeed, when behind it is the fixed determination not to revert to service.

Speaking, therefore, as one having handled large successful strikes, I repeat the following maxims, already stated in these pages, for the guidance of all strike leaders:

(1.) There should be no strike without a real grievance.

(2.) There should be no strike, if the persons concerned are not able to support themselves out of their own savings or by engaging in some temporary occupation, such as carding spinning and weaving. Strikers should never depend upon public subscriptions or other charity.

(3.) Strikers must fix an unalterable minimum demand, and declare it before embarking upon their strike.

A strike may fail in spite of a just grievance and the ability of strikers to hold out indefinitely, if there are workers to replace them. A wise man therefore, will not strike for increase of wages or other comforts, if he feels that he can be easily replaced. But a philanthropic or patriotic man will strike in spite of supply being greater than the demand, when he feels for and wishes to associate himself with his neighbour's distress. Needless to say, there is no room in a civil strike of the nature described by me for violence in the shape of intimidation, incendiarism or otherwise. I should therefore be extremely sorry to find, that the recent derailment near Chittagong was due to mischief done by any of the strikers. Judged by the tests suggested by me, it is clear that the friends of the strikers should never have advised them

to apply for or receive Congress or any other public funds for their support. The value of the strikers' sympathy was diminished to the extent, that they received or accepted financial aid. The merit of a sympathetic strike lies in the inconvenience and the loss suffered by the sympathisers.

As to what should be done now for or by the strikers who have in spite of threats and temptations manfully held out—and they are more than 50 p. c. —I have already given my opinion to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. And by that I wish to abide. If the strikers struck on the sole issue of sympathy for the outraged coolies at Chandpur and without intimidating their brethren, they had every moral right to do so, and they showed an unexpected measure of patriotism and fellow-feeling. I hope that they will refuse to rejoin service, until the Government have fully and frankly apologised, and refunded to the parties concerned the monies paid for the repatriation of the coolies.

Mischievous Assiduity—There is a District Propaganda Committee at Barisal, which certainly deserves credit, if mere assiduity is any passport to credit. Experience, however, shows, that assiduity, when it is mischievous, commands not credit but incurs discredit. Such, it seems to me, is the activity of the District Propaganda Committee of Barisal. It is avowedly against non-co-operation. When we reached Barisal, a registered letter was delivered to me containing certain questions for me to answer at the public meeting, that was to be addressed by Maulana Mahomed Ali and me. The questions were printed. They were delivered to me personally by hand also. I answered every one of the questions fully. The next day, to my surprise, I had a report of the answers presented to me for correction. The report was a caricature of my answers. Then followed a messenger, who handed me another batch of papers for reading and explaining. And yet up to to-day I do not know the author of these communications. They were all unsigned. I have never known such irresponsibility on the part of a public body. I was informed, that the work was all done by Government officials, and therefore at public expense. I missed in all this attention shown to me the slightest desire for enlightenment or attempt to convince me of my error. It would have been something, if the Committee had invited me and my companions to a discussion. It would have been still better if being a public body it had taken advantage of our presence to bring the parties together. The only thing I discovered in this assiduous attention was an unholy desire to discredit the work of local non-co-operators. I read this activity in the light of what I have seen during my Bengal tour. There seems to me to be wilful and malicious misrepresentation of non-co-operation and non-co-operators. I find misrepresentation of my views. Sentences are torn from my speeches and distorted. The latest is the exploiting of the interview I had the privilege of having with the Poet, Fanciful

and unauthorised reports have appeared in the press. Whilst there was nothing secret about it, the interview has been considered to be a secret. It almost appears to be an attempt to divide us. But it must fail. The Poet is too great to be touched. Non-co-operators must resolutely refuse to believe anything that is imputed to him. There are differences of opinion between us. They do not affect my regard for the Poet in any way whatsoever. The Poet is as good a lover of India as I claim to be, and that love is an all-sufficing bond between us. I must therefore resolutely refuse to be drawn into the controversy raging round the interview.

But to return to the questions. In spite of my feeling that the questions were mischievously put, I answered them, as I have said, at the public meeting. I do not propose to reproduce my answers here in detail. But the reader will find the questions themselves interesting as showing the manner of the precious propaganda.

Q. 1. You have denounced political strikes. Your followers here have supported the steamer strike, and spent thousands of rupees from Congress funds in feeding the strikers. Is this right?

Ans. See my remarks on strikes.

Q. 2. Many hundred boys have left schools and colleges under your orders, and now spend their time, insulting and intimidating peaceful and law-abiding people. What is going to be the future of these boys? How will they earn their living?

Ans. If the boys are insulting and intimidating, it is wrong. I do not believe many of them are. The future of the boys is bright, in that they are now free. They will earn their living by the sweat of their brow. They can still receive and are receiving literary training.

Q. 3. You have condemned *hartals*. Your followers here have declared several *hartals*, and instigated the shopkeepers to refuse to sell goods to Government officers and loyalists. Do you condemn this?

Ans. I have never condemned all *hartals*. When there is a *hartal*, no one can be served. But it would be wrong to exclude from service special classes or persons. It is true, that *hartals* should only be declared on the rarest occasions.

Q. 4. During the recent *hartal* the Non-co-operators prevented the Municipal sweepers from working for 2 days, stopped the water supply and caused great danger to the health of the people. Was this right?

Ans. I fear that the information contained in the question is at least partially true. We do not want to deprive our opponents of the necessary social services. They must be rendered to all, even as the sun gives his heat to all without distinction.

Q. 5. Babu Sharat Kumar Ghosh, after his arrest for inciting the crowd to insult loyalists, said that there must be no water, light, or sweeper service in the town, and the place should be turned into a burning ground. Was he right or wrong in saying this?

Ans. I have since read Babu Sharat Kumar Ghosh's speech supplied by the Committee. There are passages in the speech, which bear the meaning sought to be put upon it. But from the glowing accounts I have received about Sharat Babu's very high character and spirituality, I must refuse to believe, that there is violence in Sharat Babu. I feel sure, that if he has committed a slip, he will be the first person to acknowledge his mistake.

Q. 6. All these things were done in your name by persons who shouted "Gandhi Maharajki Joy" Do you approve of it? If not, how will you prevent your followers from doing such wrong in future?

Ans. My 'followers', I hope, are assimilating the spirit of non-violence. But if it ever comes to pass that they under cover of non-violence resort to violence, I hope to find myself the first victim of their violence, but if by a stroke of ill-luck or by my own cowardice I find myself alive, the snow-white Himalayas will claim me as their own.

Q. 7. 8. 9. Is there enough Swadeshi cloth in the country to clothe the inhabitants? Will not the boycott of foreign cloth raise the price? Is not the price too high already? Will not this boycott cause great hardship to the poor and inevitably lead to *hat-looting*, as happened before? Are not the inhabitants of Khulna in need of cloth already? Will this boycott help them? Is it right to burn cloth which might be given to relieve their distress?

Did not the Bombay Mill-owners make vast profits from high price of cloth during the war because foreign cloth was scarce? If there is boycott now, will not they make greater profits? Is it right to take money from the poor and give it to the rich?

All great nations depend on foreign trade. If imports are stopped, exports will also stop and Indian traders will be ruined. Do you desire this? Do you wish India to be a strong nation or a weak one?

Ans. These questions are either due to gross ignorance or malice. All these questions on Swadeshi have been answered in these pages with sufficient detail. If the District Propaganda Committee will, instead of raising such questions, simply concentrate on multiplying spinning wheels and looms, there will be enough cloth and to spare, for famines will practically be things of the past. Is it not a money famine in Kailua? If the people had money, they could get rice. They are able-bodied enough to work the wheel and the loom. Every one of them can by the spinning wheel earn enough for food. Yes, indeed, the Bombay mill-owners did make profits before. But the present Swadeshi scheme requires every province to manufacture its own cloth and spin its own yarn. Boycott of foreign cloth does not mean boycott of all foreign trade. India will certainly import what she requires for her growth, and export what she does not need. India cannot well be weaker or more helpless than she is to-day. Swadeshi, thank God, is removing that weakness.

Q. 10. How much of the crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund has been actually realised?

How much only promised? How much already promised for schools, colleges, hospitals, charity etc., and not really available for general purposes of Swaraj? How much subscribed by Bombay mill-owners in hopes of reaping great profits from foreign cloth boycott?

Ans. The accounts of the fund will be duly published. The framer of the question will be interested to know, that the Bombay mill-owners did not subscribe much. Only one, Maulana Haji Yusuf Sobani, gave a handsome sum, because he is a staunch non-co-operator and has given his son to the cause. The majority of the mill-owners gave nothing.

There is one thing I should add. I heard, whilst at Barisal, that Surendra Babu, when he went to Barisal, was hooted. I was deeply grieved to hear this. Non-co-operators cannot hoot any one—not their worst enemy. Hooting after all is a form of violence. But to hoot Surendranath Banerji is to forget ourselves. We differ from him to-day. But we may not forget his past services. He was at one time the idol of Bengal. He gave voice to our sentiments. May we now hoot him? Surely every leader who differs from us is not an enemy of the country. We may not attend his meetings. Having attended, we may even oppose him. But our opposition and dissent must be courteously and even respectfully expressed, especially when it is a veteran leader whom we oppose.

Christian Non-co-operators—A Christian student writes: 'Though we are, Christian students, you are our national leader, and we feel that we ought to learn from you what India stands for and what is her spiritual heritage. Will you therefore send me your criticism of Western Christianity with constructive suggestions regarding organisation, worship and ministry?'

My inquirer did not know that he was taking me beyond my depth. It is a pleasure to me, however, that Indian Christians are taking growing interest in the national movement. I know, that hundreds of poor Christians in Bombay paid what they could to the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. I know, that several educated Christians are devoting their splendid talents to national work. I propose, therefore, to satisfy my inquirer, not in the way he would have me to—but in the only way I can.

India of the near future stands for perfect toleration of all religions. Her spiritual heritage is simple living and high thinking. I consider Western Christianity in its practical working a negation of Christ's Christianity. I cannot conceive Jesus, if he was living in the flesh in our midst, approving of modern Christian organisations, public worship or modern ministry. If Indian Christians will simply cling to the Sermon on the Mount, which was delivered not merely to the peaceful disciples but a groaning world, they would not go wrong, and they would find that no religion is false, and that if all live according to their lights and in the fear of God, they would not need to worry about

organisations, forms of worship and ministry. The Pharisees had all that, but Jesus would have none of it, for they were using their office as a cloak for hypocrisy and worse. Co-operation with forces of Good and non-co-operation with forces of Evil are the two things we need for a good and pure life, whether it is called Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

What to do?—I have dealt with the arrest of Maulana Mahomed Ali at length in a leading article. Therein I have mentioned only those things, which are absolutely indispensable for gaining Swaraj during the year. But there are many other things which we can do to hasten the advent of Swaraj.

For instance, title-holders can renounce titles, lawyers can suspend practice, and grown up students can leave schools and colleges and take to spinning; councillors can resign their seats.

This is a war between religion and irreligion. We are therefore expected to give up drink, gambling and incontinence. Untouchability is Satan's device. We must give that up. Then there is Swaraj even before the end of October. I look upon this arrest as God's gift. Let us make the best use of it.

What not to do?—And just as these are so many things that each one of us can and should do, there are some things that we dare not do. We may not proclaim *hartal*. We may not burn public buildings, we may not kill anybody, we may not swear at anybody. We may not quarrel among ourselves, we may not be intolerant towards those who do not see eye to eye with us. Our tolerance will gain more recruits to our cause than our intolerance. 'There is no compulsion in religion' is as true in the matter of 'forcible conversions' to the doctrine of non-co-operation as to Islam. We must not fear anything and anybody except our weaknesses.

My Testimony—Friends are asking me, whether I do not consider it a breach of faith on the part of the Viceroy to have countenanced the arrest of Maulana Mahomed Ali. I cannot accuse Lord Reading of a breach of faith, because his assurance as to waiving of prosecution was gratuitous. But it is certainly up to him to show clearly the new circumstances that have arisen since his Simla speech to justify Maulana Mahomed Ali's arrest. Of course he did not expect the Maulana to seal his lips or to water down his speeches. The apology was an act of brave and fearless men. They expressed regret, if in a heated moment they had used an expression that might mean incitement to violence. I know the Brothers to be brave, honest and God-fearing. Ever since the famous statement, Maulana Mahomed Ali has been travelling with me. He has made many speeches. But whilst he has been strong in every one of them, he has been careful to preach non-violence. His work on behalf of non-violence in private has been more solid still. The brothers have been preaching the non-violence of the strong. They have practised what they have preached. The Government of Madras knew, that

we were proceeding upon an errand of peace. They knew that Maulana Mahomed Ali was bound to preach Hindu-Muslim unity. His message would have reached the Moplahs, and their fanaticism might have received a check. If he had been permitted to go to the disturbed area, he would have ensured peace without the loss of a single drop of blood. But that would have irreparably damaged the prestige of the Government, and demonstrated the triumph of non-violence.

Proof—If proof be wanted in support of my inference, it is supplied by the letter received by me from the Chief Secretary on my arrival in Madras. This is the text:—

In the event of your proposing to visit Malabar District, I am directed to inform you that the Military authorities consider that the conditions prevailing in the area under Martial Law make it undesirable that you should enter or stay therein. In this view His Excellency the Governor in Council concurs. I am further directed to tell you that the Military authorities have issued instructions, that should you go to the Martial Law area, you should be turned back.

The Government have hitherto credited me with good intentions. They have professed no distrust of my motives. Everybody has testified to the fact, that my presence has everywhere a peaceful effect. This prevention order—for order it undoubtedly is—forces upon me the inference, that the Government do not want peace, that they do not want exposure of the exaggerations indulged in their behalf, and what is the worst of all, they do not want to stop the second edition of the Panjab that is being enacted in unhappy Malabar.

..

The Crime of wearing Khadi—I propose to give only one illustration of what I mean. Respectable young men have had their *khadi* vests and caps torn from them, and had to witness their being burnt. One man had his cap spat into, and was then forced to wear it. Is there here a change of heart or of methods? I have many other stories of atrocities. But I do not repeat them for want of verification. Even men, who were known to have prevented looting etc., have been arrested, simply because they were Congressmen. So respectable a man as Mr. Keshav Menon of Calicut has been prevented from leaving Calicut. The order was served on him after my visit was announced. In what way could public safety be injured by Mr. Menon's leaving the disturbed area? From all the accounts I have received, Mr. Thomas, the author of the Malabar troubles, is copying Sir Michael O' Dwyer without possessing the latter's frankness. Perhaps he is tongue-tied. I am doing him an injustice. The Governor of Madras has taken up the position of Lord Chelmsford. He leaves everything to his lieutenant.

Picketing and Love—A writer in the public press indignantly asks; 'how can I reconcile picketing with my doctrine of love? Is not picketing a form of violence or undue pressure? It can be that certainly. It has been that in several cases, I am sorry to say. But it has been also an act of love, I know. Several

sisters and young lads have gone on picketing purely out of love. Nobody has accused me of hatred against Marwadis. Nobody can possibly accuse Sherif Jamnialah of hatred against his own caste-men and fellow merchants. And yet both he and I are countenancing picketing of Marwadi foreign cloth shops. When a daughter stands guard over her erring father, she does it purely out of love. The fact is, that there are certain acts that are common to all sexes of men. And when they are not in themselves objectionable, the motive alone decides their quality.

My own position becomes complicated by reason of my having to invite and rely upon the co-operation of those who are not all actuated by motives of affection.

..

Under Swaraj—Another writer, pointing to the Moplah outbreak, shows, that Swaraj of the non-co-operators dream can only be Moplah Raj. I suggest a better inference. What the present Government in its essence is, is most forcibly brought home to us by the Moplah outbreak. Three things are absolutely clear:

(1) In spite of all the most modern weapons of destruction at its disposal, the Government has not been able to protect life and property. It is an answer that they restored order after the event.

(2) In spite of long rule the Government has criminally failed to make Moplahs peaceful citizens.

(3) Whilst on the one hand they have failed to discipline Moplah valour and harness it for purposes of peace and God, they have taken no care to train the Hindus for self protection from their lawless countrymen.

Non-co-operators have not yet attained Swaraj. Whilst they may be charged with inability to have acquired control over all the forces of evil, they cannot honestly be credited with the happenings in Malabar. Assume that the non-co-operators fomented troubles, it was the duty of the Government to forestall them and prevent disorders. The clearest way of forestalling would have been to redress the wrongs on which non-co-operators have so successfully hung their theme.

It is however easy enough to say what Swaraj would be like under non-co-operation regime. In the first place, no cause would be given for such grave discontent to the people. In the second place, Moplahs would have been brought under healthy influence, and thirdly, in the event nevertheless of outbreaks, peace-makers would have gone out at considerable risk to themselves to restore peace. The unequal contest such as is now going on would be impossible under Swaraj.

..

'Malice aforethought'—It is usual for Governments to attribute previous malice to their critics. But in Madras I have come across a clear case of previous malice on the part of the Government. They have arrested the printer, the proprietor, the publisher and three editors of an article published in May last in a Tamil paper called *Deshabaktar*.

To an average reader the article is an exhortation to observe non-violence. The Viceregal declaration on the Ali Brothers' statement had led every one to suppose, that there were to be no prosecutions for anti-Government writings, so long as there was no violence in them. But the fact of the prosecution does not much matter. It marks, let us say, a change in the policy. After all the Viceroy's was not a declaration to bind him for eternity. What is malicious is the prosecution of the innocent printer, publisher, proprietor and all the three editors. They could have found out the actual writer and punished him. If they did not know the writer's name, they could have called upon the declared editor to disclose the name of the writer. But under the pretence of prosecuting for alleged sedition, they wanted to stop the publication of an influential vernacular newspaper. If all the six men charged were to defend themselves, they might be discharged. That would not matter to the Government. Their object was to crush *The Deshabhaktan* by any means whatsoever. They have succeeded and are happy. I call this malice aforethought. The Press Act may go. But the spirit behind it abides.

The Congress not a Show—I observe complaints about the wise action of the Reception Committee in limiting the issue of visitors' tickets to three thousand. In my opinion, even three thousand visitors are too many, if we wish to treat the Congress not as an annual show but a business assembly meeting year after year to settle the nation's programme for the ensuing twelve months. The limitation of the number of delegates presupposed a limitation of the number of visitors. It is impossible in an unwieldy assembly to carry on calm debates and take votes. I cannot therefore help feeling, that the Reception Committee was quite right in fixing a limit for visitors' tickets.

But this does not mean, that the annual gathering should lose its demonstrative character. The Reception Committee is therefore organising lectures on popular subjects not only by the prominent Congressmen but also by other noted speakers. An instructive Swadeshi exhibition is being arranged. There will be sacred concerts too for the spectators. I believe that the Committee is providing for one lac of spectators. Every encouragement will be given to the people to visit Ahmedabad during the season, and adequate instruction and amusement will be provided for them without in any way interfering with the business part of the programme. Thus the ideal the Reception Committee has kept before itself is, by separating the business from the show, to emphasise both.

Repression in Sindh—Here is a wire received from Sindh which speaks for itself. "Repression in Sindh increasing. Public firm. On 24th August Maharaj Dwarka of Dadu was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. On 9th Maulvi Fatehali of Karachi got one year. On 3rd September Sheikh Abdul Majid got 2 years and Maharaj Vishnu Sharma editor of *The Hindu* three years. Besides several pickets at Karachi and Sakkar have been sent to gaol".

Besides this, I have cuttings from newspapers describing the horrible state of repression going on in that province. I can only hope, that with the increase of repression there will also be an increase in the determination of the people to gain Swaraj during the year. Not sacrifice so much as intelligence and hard work are wanted to complete our programme.

The Impassable Barrier—The existence of untouchability must remain an impassable barrier in the path of our progress, which we must break down with supreme effort. There seems to be a lurking thought with many of us, that we can gain Swaraj and keep untouchability. They do not even see the contradiction inherent in the thought. Swaraj is as much for the 'untouchable' as for the 'touchable'. A correspondent from Narayana-varam writes; "In our parts Panchamas are very badly treated by the Hindus, especially the Brahmans. In the villages they are not allowed to go about the streets inhabited by Brahmans. They must stand at a considerable distance when speaking to Brahmans." Read Sabes for Brahmans and Indians for Panchamas, and see how you feel. And yet I have no doubt, that some Sabes are infinitely better than some Brahmans. God will not let us have Swaraj so long as we treat a brother as an outcast by reason of his birth. A man's *Karma* is responsible for what he is, they say. But my *Karma* does not compel me to throw stones at a sinner. Religion is made to uplift and not to keep a man crushed under the weight of his *Karma*. It is a prostitution of the grand doctrine of *Karma* to consign a man of lowly birth to perdition. Rama felt privileged to find him honoured by a fisherman. The Hindu religion is replete with illustrations of great men lifting their unfortunate brethren from their miseries. Will not the modern Hindus copy their own great men, and once for all rub out the blot of untouchability that so defiles Hinduism? M. K. G.

"FRAUDULENT IMITATIONS."

To

The Editor, *Young India*.

Sir, we beg to draw your attention to the matter published in the issue of the 18th August under the heading of "Fraudulent Imitations," and to request you to clear the ambiguity existing therein.

Although the Madras letter quoted by you in your above said issue only refers to "Khadi sold in Madras at from 10 to 15 annas per yard by the Bombay Swadeshi Stores," still, however, owing to the mention of the *Bombay Swadeshi Stores* therein, many of our customers inquire after it and ask for an explanation, as our Store is generally known by the name of "Swadeshi Stores" or "Bombay Swadeshi Stores."

It is quite clear to us, that the said letter does not concern us in any way, as we have neither a branch nor an agency in Madras, nor do we keep such stuff in our stores; but to remove the doubt or misinterpretation from the mind of our customers and the public in general, we approach you with this hope and trust, that I will receive your immediate attention and you will be pleased to clear the point in your next issue.

Yours etc.,
Manager,

The Bombay Swadeshi Co-operative Stores Co., Ltd.
[I gladly publish the foregoing. My note was certainly based on a complaint from Madras.

M. K. G.]

THE LAST ACT ?

BY M. K. GANDHI.

The much talked of arrest of Maulana Mahomed Ali took place at Waltair, whilst we were on our way to Madras. I am writing this in the train, just after writing out a few telegrams. The train halted at Waltair for over twenty five minutes. Maulana Mahomed Ali and I were going outside the station to address a meeting. Hardly had we gone a few paces from the entrance, when I heard the Maulana shouting to me and reading the notice given to him. I was a few paces in front of him. Two white men and half a dozen Indian police composed the party of arrest. The officer in charge would not let the Maulana finish reading the notice, but grasped his arm and took the Maulana away. With a smile on his lips he waved good bye. I understood the meaning. I was to keep the flag flying. May God help me to prove worthy of the message of a Comrade with whom it was a privilege to work.

I continued my journey to the meeting place. I asked the people to remain calm, and fulfil the Congress programme. I then retraced my steps, and went where the Maulana was being detained. I asked the officer in charge whether I could see the Maulana. He said he had orders to let his wife and secretary only meet him. I saw Begum Mahomed Ali and secretary Mr. Hayat coming out of the detention room.

Waltair is a beauty spot in Andhra. It is a sanatorium. I envied the Maulana his arrest at such a lovely place. He was contemplating staying at Waltair a few days to rest and complete his accounts of the deputation. But the unexpectedly long stay in Bengal and the Moplah outbreak had rendered it impossible.

God had willed it otherwise. He wanted to give the Maulana enforced rest. And I know that he is happy in his detention.

Here is a copy of the warrant of arrest:—

"To
F. E. Cunningham Esq.,
Deputy Inspector General of Police,
C. I. D. All India Railways, MAHARAJA'S

Whereas Mahomed Ali is to be called on to show cause why he should not be bound over to keep the peace or to be of good behaviour for a period of one year under Secs. 107 and 108 Cr. P. C., you are hereby directed to arrest the said Mahomed Ali and produce him before me. Therein fail not. Dated the 14th day of September 1921. (Sd.) J. E. HUGGINS

Dt. Magistrate, VIZAGAPATAN

Is it not funny, that he who has not only been himself peaceful but has endeavoured, and that successfully, to ensure peace among others and who has been a pattern of good behaviour, should be called upon by an insolent power to be bound over to keep the peace and be of good behaviour? A Government that is evil has no room for good men and women except in its prisons.

What has happened to the younger is bound to happen to the elder brother. They call themselves Siamese twins. They are inseparable. And if the one has misbehaved, the other undoubtedly has. I hope, that by the time this is in print, India would have learnt of the Maulana Shaukat Ali's arrest.

In imprisoning Maulana Mahomed Ali, the Government has imprisoned the Khilafat. For the

two brothers are the truest representatives of the Khilafat. They cannot rest so long as the Khalifa remains practically a prisoner and their holy places virtually under non-Muslim control. The imprisonment of either or both means a flat refusal to recognise the Khilafat claim.

The Government will however find, that they have not succeeded in imprisoning the spirit of the Brothers, and that the Khilafat struggle will rage all the fiercer for their imprisonment. The spirit of the Brothers will live in every true Hindu and Musalman who will keep the Khilafat flame steady and shining.

But the Brothers to-day stand for more than the Khilafat. They want Swaraj and the redress of the Punjab wrong equally with the redress of the Khilafat wrong. They are too honourable to sell themselves even for securing the redress of the Khilafat wrong. To them the three are inextricably mixed up. It cannot well be otherwise, for to grant or to get the one is to grant or to get the other.

For me the imprisonment is a good omen. The Government were playing with the thing so long as they were arresting the rank and file. Every Government that does not wish to yield to popular will is bound to arrest popular leaders and attempt to crush the popular spirit. With the Indian Government it has become the code of honour to arrest and imprison leaders and yield to popular will when there is no grace left in the giving.

This imprisonment therefore may safely be regarded as a preliminary to the establishment of Swaraj. Only the Swaraj Parliament can unlock the gaol gate, and relieve the Brothers and their fellow prisoners with becoming honours. For this is a fight to the finish.

The best tribute we can pay the Brothers and their fellow prisoners is to throw away all doubts, fears and lethargy. We have been doubtful as to the value of non-violence and Swadeshi for attainment of our goal, and our ability to finish the programme within the year. We have entertained fear regarding our ability to undergo the necessary sacrifice, and we have been prosecuting our programme lazily. Let us imitate the courage, the faith, the fearlessness, the truthfulness, and the vigilant incessant activity of the Brothers, and we shall certainly attain Swaraj. 'Therein fail not' were the concluding words of the Magistrate's order. Well, the officer in charge 'failed not'. Many an English officer, he it said to his credit, has lost his life in trying not to fail. The Congress and the Khilafat command, mandate advice, whatever it may be called, is 'Therein fail not'. Shall we, during the remaining period of grace, so work as to be able to report to the Congress, 'we have failed not'? The orders are clear.

(1) Be non-violent even under the greatest provocation.

(2) Preserve Hindu Muslim unity even under the severest strain.

(3) Boycott the use of foreign cloth, even though you may have to be satisfied with the merest loin-cloth, and take to hand spinning during every odd moment that can be spared.

When we have carried out these conditions, let not till then, are we ready to offer civil disobedience, that will compel obedience from the mightiest Government to a people's wish,

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NOTES.

Afflicted Madras—Madras is suffering from many afflictions. It has its Brahman and non-Brahman problem, it has its Panchama problem, it has its labour problem, it has repression of a severe type such as is always to be met with where a Governor is amiable but hopelessly weak and dependent purely upon his advisers. The Chirala Perala repression I have already noticed. Now the Government is trying to exact from an unwilling peasantry a grazing tax which it can ill afford to pay. I understand that in its mad pursuit after collection, the Government impounded about 200 cattle, some of whom were torn from their calves. The cattle were taken to a pound where there was neither sufficient water nor fodder. That took place in the Andhra country. Near Trichinopoly where I am writing these notes, there is a place called Karur with a population of about 20,000. Its people have done good work in the cause of temperance. Now about 40 persons, all members of the local Congress Committee, have been arrested for alleged complicity in an investment of a theatre by the rowdies of the place, consequent upon its manager's refusal to pay the subscription to a charity or to the Tilak Swaraj Fund—I do not know which. This investment took place some time ago. The crowd was dispersed. But now these men have been arrested. All over there is talk of repression. And possibly there will be still more after the arrest of the Ali Brothers. The people however have kept calm, brave and non-violent. The Malabar trouble is out of the ordinary, but it has filled its cup of woe.

Panic has so far possessed the Government, that one does not know what they will do next moment. There is a Pudukkottai Raj near here. I had to go to a group of villages. I was to pass through the Raj on my way. Even this was too much for the Raj, and I received the following letter:—

We have reason to believe that you are intending to proceed on the 20th inst. from Trichinopoly to Chettinad, we are further informed that you propose to travel by road through this State.

Assuming that this information is correct, I write to say that you will not be allowed to pass through this State. If you attempt to do so, you will be stopped at the frontier by the Police.

I merely wrote as follows in reply:—
I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th. instant. I had

intended to pass through the Pudukkottai State on my way to Chettinad. But on view of your letter I shall alter my route.

I regard everything that these States do as an indirect act of the Government. But as I consider them to be more helpless than the direct British subjects, I have always thought it necessary for non-co-operators not to give battle to them. It would create needless complications. But one cannot help noticing the insanity of refusing even a passage through a place. And what could I have done to the subjects of the State but preach on temperance, Swadeshi and untouchability?

The Panchamas—But I must resist the temptation of dealing with the varied problems. As in all my Madras speeches, I have dealt most with the Panchama, i. e. the untouchables problem, I propose to deal briefly with it in these notes. Nowhere is the "untouchable" so cruelly treated as in this presidency. His very shadow defiles the Brahman. He may not even pass through Brahman streets. Non-Brahmans treat him no better. And between the two, the Panchama as he is called in these parts is ground to atoms. And yet Madras is a land of mighty temples and religious devotion. The people with their big *tilak* marks, their long locks and their bare clean bodies look like Risbis. But their religion seem almost to be exhausted in these outward observances. It is difficult to understand this Dyerism towards the most industrious and useful citizens in a land that has produced Shankara and Ramanuja. And in spite of the satanic treatment of our own kith and kin in this part of India, I retain my faith in these Southern people. I have told them at all their huge meetings in no uncertain terms, that there can be no Swaraj without the removal of the curse from our midst. I have told them, that our being treated as social lepers in practically the whole world is due to our having treated a fifth of our own race as such. Non-co-operation is a plea for a change of heart, not merely in the English but equally in ourselves. Indeed, I expect the change first in us and then as a matter of course in the English. A nation that can throw away an age-long curse in a year, a nation that can shed the drink-habit as we shed our garments, a nation that can return to its original industry and suddenly utilise its spare hours to manufacture sixty crores worth of cloth during a single year is a transformed nation. I strain

must react upon the world. It must constitute even for the scoffer a convincing demonstration of God's existence and grace, and so I say, that if India can become transformed in this wise, no power on earth can deny India's right to establish Swaraj. In spite of all the clouds that are thickening on the Indian horizon, I make bold to prophesy, that the moment India has repented of her treatment of the 'untouchables' and has boycotted foreign cloth, that moment India will be hailed, by the very English officials who seem to have hardened their hearts as a free and a brave nation. And because I believe, that if Hindus will, it is possible for them to enfranchise the so called Panchamas and extend to them the same rights that they claim for themselves, and it is possible for India, if she wills, to manufacture all the cloth she needs even as she cooks all the food she eats, I therefore also believe that Swaraj is attainable this year. This transformation cannot take place by any elaborately planned mechanical action. But it can take place if God's grace is with us. Who can deny that God is working a wonderful change in the hearts of every one of us? Any way it is the duty of every Congress worker everywhere to befriend the untouchable brother, and to plead with the un-Hindu Hindus, that Hinduism of the Vedas, the Upanishads, Hinduism of the Bhagavadgita and of Shankara and Ramanuja contains no warrant for treating a single human being, no matter how fallen, as an untouchable. Let every Congressman plead in the gentlest manner possible with orthodoxy, that the bar sinister is the very negation of Ahimsa.

..

Cobblers v. Lawyers—Babu Motilal Ghosh, whose mind is fresh like that of a youth though he is too frail even to move, summoned Maulana Mahomed Ali and me chiefly to urge us to invite the lawyers to the Congress fold and in effect to restore them to their original status of unquestioned leadership of public opinion. Both the Maulana and I told him, that we did want the lawyers to work for the Congress, but that those who would not suspend practice could not and should not become leaders. Moti Babu said, that my mention of cobblers in the same breath as lawyers had offended some of them. I felt sorry to hear this. I remember the note in these pages, and it was certainly not written to offend. I have said many hard things about lawyers, but I have never considered them to be guilty of caste prejudices. I am sure, that the lawyers have appreciated the spirit of my remark. I hope I am never guilty of putting a sting in any of my writings. But I certainly meant no offence in the paragraph referred to by Moti Babu. Having been myself a lawyer, I could not so far forget myself as wantonly to offend members of the same profession. Nor can I forget the brilliant and unique services rendered to the country by lawyers such as Pherozeshah Mehta, Ranade, Taiyabjee, Telang, Manomohan Ghose, Krishnaaswami Iyer; not to

speak of the living ones. When no one else had the courage to speak, they were the voice of the people and guardians of their country's liberty. And if to-day the majority of them are no longer accepted as leaders of the people, it is because different qualities are required for leadership from what they have exhibited hitherto. Courage, endurance, fearlessness and above all self-sacrifice are the qualities required of our leaders. A person belonging to the suppressed classes exhibiting these qualities in their fulness would certainly be able to lead the nation; whereas the most finished orator, if he have not these qualities, must fail.

And it has been a matter of keen satisfaction to me to find the lawyers all over India, who have not been able to suspend practice, readily assenting to the proposition and being content to work as humble camp-followers. A general will find his occupation gone, if there were no camp-followers in his army.

"But", said Moti Babu, "there is a great deal of intolerance that has crept into our movement. Non-co-operators insult those lawyers who have not suspended practice." I fear that the charge is true to a certain extent. Intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit. Arrogant assumption of superiority on the part of a non-co-operator who has undergone a little bit of sacrifice or put on *Khadi* is the greatest danger to the movement. A non-co-operator is nothing if he is not humble. When self-satisfaction creeps over a man, he has ceased to grow and therefore has become unfit for freedom. He who offers a little sacrifice from a lowly and religious spirit quickly realises the miserable littleness of it. Once on the path of sacrifice, we find out the measure of our selfishness, and must continually wish to give more and not be satisfied till there is a complete self-surrender.

And this knowledge of so little attempted and still less done must keep us humble and tolerant. It is our exclusiveness and the easy self-satisfaction that have certainly kept many a waverer away from us. Our motto must ever be conversion by gentle persuasion and a constant appeal to the head and the heart. We must therefore be ever courteous and patient with those who do not see eye to eye with us. We must resolutely refuse to consider our opponents as enemies of the country.

Lawyers and others who believe in non-co-operation but have not, from any cause, been able to non-co-operate in matters applicable to them, can certainly do silent work as lieutenants in the matter of Swadeshi. It requires the largest number of earnest workers. There is no reason why a practising lawyer should not make *Khadi* fashionable by wearing it even in courts. There is no reason why he and his family should not spin during leisure hours. I have mentioned one out of a variety of things that can be done by practising lawyers for the attainment of Swaraj. I hope, therefore, that no practising lawyer and for that matter no co-operating student will keep

himself from serving the movement in every way open to him. All cannot be leaders but all can be bearers. And non-co-operators. I hope will always make it easy for such countrymen to offer and render service.

A Pertinent Question—I paraphrase below what a friend writes regarding the influence of the Moplah outbreak on Hindu Muslim unity.

I am a staunch believer in Hindu Muslim unity. But this Moplah outbreak has raised doubts in me. Success in the Khilafat means strength to Islam. Strength to Islam means attempts at conversion. Have we not often been given the choice between Islam and the sword? Can people such as Moplahs learn the beauty of non-violence? And even if they appreciate non-violence for the sake of their faith, will they not use violence for the sake of spreading their faith? My belief in the necessity of Hindu Muslim unity is there. But do not you think that the questions I have raised are relevant?

The questions are indeed relevant, if only because they have occurred to one so sane as the writer is. But in my opinion there is a misunderstanding about the whole question. Our advocacy of the Khilafat would be wrong if Islam were based on force. There is nothing in the Koran to warrant the use of force for conversion. The holy book says in the clearest language possible, 'There is no compulsion in religion. The Prophet's whole life is a repudiation of compulsion in religion. No Musalman, to my knowledge, has ever approved of compulsion. Islam would cease to be a world religion if it were to rely upon force for its propagation.

Secondly, historically speaking, the charge of conversion to Islam by force cannot be proved against its followers as a body. And whenever attempts have been made to convert by force, responsible Musalmans have repudiated such conversions.

Thirdly, the conception of Hindu Muslim unity does not presuppose a total absence for all time of wrong by any of the parties. On the contrary it assumes, that our loyalty to the unity will survive shocks such as the forcible conversions by Moplahs, that in every such case we shall not blame the whole body of the followers but seek relief against individuals by way of arbitration and not by way of reprisals.

Fourthly, acceptance of non-violence for organising India's freedom involves acceptance of non-violence for Hindu Muslim solidarity. The Moplahs have certainly broken the rule. But they were prevented from having access to the new manifestation. Whilst they had heard something about the Khilafat vaguely, they knew nothing of non-violence.

Fifthly, we need not suspect any evil befalling India under Swaraj; for it is tolerably certain, that had the Congress and the Khilafat workers been permitted to penetrate the Moplah territories, they would have been able to nip the evil in the bud. As it was, it is a matter capable of proof that the Khilafat workers, wherever they could go, were able to exercise great restraining influence. To me the Moplah madness is proof

of the Hindu Muslim solidarity, because we kept calm. As members of a family, we shall not necessarily fight, but we shall always have leaders who will compose our differences and keep us under check.

Sixthly, in the face of possibilities of such madness in future, what is the alternative to Hindu Muslim unity? A perpetuation of slavery? If we regard one another as natural enemies, is there any escape from eternal foreign domination for either of us? Is not the present domination worse than the possibility of forcible conversions or worse? Is Hinduism worth anything, if it cannot survive force? Cannot the Musalmans too ask the same question as the friend has asked? Is there no possibility of a repetition of pillage and murder on the part of Hindus as happened in Shahabad three years ago? Is not the remedy therefore clearly Hindu Muslim unity at all hazards? The Hindus as also the Musalmans, whenever one of them goes mad, have two courses left open. Either to die valiantly without retaliation, that will at once arrest the progress of mischief; or to retaliate and live or die. For individuals both the courses will abide as long as the world lasts. All questionings arise, because we have become helpless. We have forgotten the divine art of dying for our faiths without retaliation, and we have equally forgotten the art of using force in self-defence at the peril of our lives. And Hindu Muslim unity is nothing, if it is not a partnership between brave men and women. We must trust each other always, but in the last resort we must trust ourselves and our God.

The Proper Spirit:—A friend, in reply to a letter asking her to dedicate herself more fully to Swadeshi, writes:—

When I think of the little work that I have done all these months, I cannot help my tears. I wish I could open my heart to show you what is in it. In your first letter you asked me to take up this work in a religious spirit, and I can assure you that I have taken it up as my religion. In my heart I have never been able to separate religion and patriotism. For me both are one..... We profess to do many things, but when we come to self-analysis, we find we are nothing.... We have lost all our capacity of feeling. We do not feel sufficiently the pangs of slavery. Otherwise how can people be so indifferent, while time is flying so swiftly?

It is not possible for me to share the whole of the beautiful letter with the reader. I have simply quoted as much as I could dare, in order to induce the readers, both men and women, to copy the religious zeal of this sister, who, the reader may be informed, is rendering patriotic service in her own sweet and selfless way.

A Brave Woman:—Whilst I am sharing with the reader my enjoyment of woman's work in the cause of the country, I must not deny myself the

pleasure of recounting my experiences of Begam Mahomed Ali. She began, last time we were in Bombay, to assist her husband publicly in his work. She commenced with collections for the Smyrna Fund. She joined us in our arduous and incessant travels in Bihar, Assam, and East and West Bengal. She began to speak at women's gatherings. And I could perceive, that she had gifts of eloquence no less than her brave husband. Her speeches lost nothing in effect for brevity, and I do not know that she could not give lessons to her husband in the art of saying as much as possible in as few words as possible. Let the reader know, that Begam Sahiba was dressed from head to foot in heavy *Khadi*, and a Musalman sister has to wear many more articles of dress than her fortunate Hindu sister. She retained the orthodox *ved*. It would be a mercy, if some Musalman divine were to find out authority to enable women public workers to discard the *Pordah*, especially when the veil too has to be of *Khadi*. Any way she bore herself bravely even in the melting climate of Assam.

Her greatest trial and triumph came, when at Waltair her husband was torn away from her. I saw her, as she came out of the room where her husband was detained. She walked along the platform with a steady step. And when I asked her whether she was not happy that her husband was at last arrested, she replied without a tremor that she was, because he was going to gaol for his God and his country. The reader is already familiar with the brave words with which she sped her husband on his journey. We continued our journey to Madras. There was a vast public meeting on the Beach. The audience was totally unfamiliar to her. She attended the meeting, and spoke in her sweet Hindustani in a loud voice without faltering. And as sentence after sentence was rolling out of her lips, I could not help saying to myself that she was the brave wife of a brave husband. I felt proud of her as a companion in our journey. Here is a free rendering of her speech. 'My Hindu and Musalman brothers and sisters, I am glad to be able to tell you, that I am not sorry for my husband's arrest. I have asked him to be happy in his imprisonment, and I have promised to carry on his work to the best of my ability. I hope that both my Hindu and Musalman brothers will ceaselessly work and attain Swaraj. If you want to see Maulana Sahab released early, you should all wear *Khadi*, all my sisters should spin daily for the sake of our religion and our country. In the place of Maulana Sahab, there should be many coming forward to serve Islam and India. I must also ask the Musalman brothers here to contribute as much as they can to the Angora Fund.'

..

Well done Nagpur—The Municipality of Nagpur certainly deserves congratulations for its public service, in that it has taken a referendum on total prohibition. The result is striking. Two thousand three hundred and forty three voters

registered their votes. Of these two thousand three hundred and thirty two recorded their votes in favour of total prohibition. Six voted with reservations, and only five voted against prohibition. The reader will be bairied to find, that of the five voters against prohibition two were graduates. It is possible to look at the revelation in another light, and say that the two graduates had the courage of their conviction to incur popular odium and vote in accordance with their conscience. There is no doubt as to the educative value of such a referendum. I wish, the Secretary of the Congress Committee at whose instance the poll was taken, had given the full strength of the electoral roll. It is to be hoped, that other municipalities would follow the example of Nagpur.

M. K. G.

THE POOR MAN'S WAY.

Mr. Gandhi has issued the following appeal to the public:—

Only a few days are left for us to complete the boycott of foreign cloth enjoined by the All-India Congress Committee. It is not yet too late if every Congress worker will devote his or her exclusive attention to the boycott. If every one realises that without Swadeshi, i. e. boycott of foreign cloth and manufacture of all the required cloth by hand-spinning and hand-weaving, there is no Swaraj, and without Swaraj there is no settlement of the Khilafat and the Punjab problems, there should be no difficulty in bringing about the desired boycott and the required manufacture.

I know, that many will find it difficult to replace their foreign cloth all at once. Millions are too poor to buy enough *Khadi* to replace the discarded cloth. To them I repeat my advice given on the Madras beach. Let them be satisfied with a mere loin cloth. In our climate we hardly need more to protect our bodies during the warm months of the year. Let there be no prudery about dress. India has never insisted on full covering of the body for the males as a test of culture.

I give the advice under a full sense of my responsibility. In order, therefore, to set the example, I propose to discard at least up to the 31st of October my *topi* and vest, and to content myself with only a loin cloth and a *chaddar* whenever found necessary for the protection of the body. I adopt the change, because I have always hesitated to advise anything I may not myself be prepared to follow, also because I am anxious by leading the way to make it easy for those who cannot afford a change on discarding their foreign garments. I consider the renunciation to be also necessary for me as a sign of mourning, and a bare head and a bare body is such a sign in my part of the country. That we are in mourning is more and more being borne home to me, as the end of the year is approaching and we are still without Swaraj. I wish to state clearly, that I do not expect co-workers to renounce the use of the vest and *topi* unless they find it necessary to do so for their own work.

I am positive, that every province and every district can, if there are enough workers, manufacture sufficient for its needs in one month. And to that end for one month I advise complete suspension of every activity but Swadeshi. I would even withdraw pickets from liquor shops trusting the drinker to recognise the new spirit of purification. I would advise every non-co-operator to treat imprisonment as his ordinary lot in life and not think anything about it. If only we can go through the course of organising manufacture and collecting foreign cloth during the month of October abstaining from all meetings and excitements, we shall produce an atmosphere calm and peaceful enough to embark upon civil disobedience if it is then found necessary. But I have a settled conviction, that if we exhibit the strength of character, the faculty for organising and the power of exemplary self-control, all of which are necessary for full Swadeshi, we shall attain Swaraj without more.

TAMPERING WITH LOYALTY,

By M. R. GANDHI.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay had warned the public some time ago, that he 'meant business', that he was no longer going to tolerate the speeches that were being made. In his note on the Ali Brothers and others he has made clear his meaning. The Ali Brothers are to be charged with having tampered with the loyalty of the sepoy and with having uttered sedition. I must confess, that I was not prepared for the revelation of such hopeless ignorance on the part of the Governor of Bombay. It is evident that he has not followed the course of Indian history during the past twelve months. He evidently does not know, that the National Congress began to tamper with the loyalty of the sepoy in September last year, that the Central Khilafat Committee began it earlier and that I began it earlier still, for I must be permitted to take the credit or the odium of suggesting, that India had a right openly to tell the sepoy and everyone who served the Government in any capacity whatsoever, that he participated in the wrongs done by the Government. The Conference at Karachi merely repeated the Congress declaration in terms of Islam. Only a Musalman divine can speak for Islam, but speaking for Hinduism and speaking for nationalism, I have no hesitation in saying, that it is sinful for any one, either as soldier or civilian, to serve this Government which has proved treacherous to the Musalmans of India and which has been guilty of the inhumanities of the Panjab. I have said this from many a platform in the presence of sepoys. And if I have not asked individual sepoys to come out, it has not been due to want of will but of ability to support them. I have not hesitated to tell the sepoy, that if he could leave the service and support himself without the Congress or the Khilafat aid, he should leave at once. And I promise, that as soon as the spinning wheel finds an abiding place in every home and Indians begin to feel that weaving

gives anybody any day an honourable livelihood, I shall not hesitate, at the peril of being shot, to ask the Indian sepoy individually to leave his service and become a weaver. For, has not the sepoy been used to hold India under subjection, has he not been used to murder innocent people at Jalianwala Bagh, has he not been used to drive away innocent men, women and children during that dreadful night at Chandpur, has he not been used to subjugate the proud Arab of Mesopotamia, has he not been utilised to crush the Egyptian? How can any Indian having a spark of humanity in him and any Musalman having any pride in his religion feel otherwise than as the Ali Brothers have done? The sepoy has been used more often as a hired assassin than as a soldier defending the liberty or the honour of the weak and the helpless. The Governor has pandered to the basest in us by telling us what would have happened in Malabar but for the British soldier or sepoy. I venture to inform His Excellency, that Malabar Hindus would have fared better without the British bayonet, that Hindus and Musalmans would have jointly appeased the Moplahs, that possibly there being no Khilafat question there would have been no Moplah riot at all, that at the worst supposing that Musalmans had made common cause with the Moplahs, Hinduism would have relied upon its creed of non-violence and turned every Musalman into a friend, or Hindu valour would have been tested and tried. The Governor of Bombay has done a disservice to himself and his cause (whatever it might be), by fomenting Hindu Muslim disunion, and has insulted the Hindus, by letting them infer from his note, that Hindus are helpless creatures unable to die for or defend their hearth, home or religion. If however the Governor is right in his assumptions, the sooner the Hindus die out, the better for humanity. But let me remind His Excellency, that he has pronounced the greatest condemnation upon British rule, in that it finds Indians to-day devoid of enough manliness to defend themselves against looters, whether they are Moplah Musalmans or infuriated Hindus of Arrah.

His Excellency's reference to the sedition of the Ali Brothers is only less unpardonable than his reference to the tampering. For he must know, that sedition has become the creed of the Congress. Every non-co-operator is pledged to preach disaffection towards the Government established by law. Non-co-operation, though a religious and strictly moral movement, deliberately aims at the overthrow of the Government, and is therefore legally seditious in terms of the Indian Penal Code. But this is no new discovery. Lord Chelmsford knew it. Lord Reading knows it. It is unthinkable that the Governor of Bombay does not know it. It was common cause that so long as the movement remained non-violent, nothing would be done to interfere with it.

But it may be urged, that the Government has a right to change its policy when it finds, that the movement is really threatening its very existence as a system, I do not deny its

right. I object to the Governor's note, because it is so worded as to let the unknowing public think, that tampering with the loyalty of the sepoy and sedition were fresh crimes committed by the Ali Brothers and brought for the first time to His Excellency's notice.

However the duty of the Congress and Khilafat workers is clear. We ask for no quarter: we expect none from the Government. We did not solicit the promise of immunity from prison so long as we remained non-violent. We may not now complain, if we are imprisoned for sedition. Therefore our self-respect and our pledge require us to remain calm unperturbed and non-violent. We have our appointed course to follow. We must reiterate from a thousand platforms the formula of the Ali Brothers regarding the sepoys, and we must spread disaffection openly and systematically till it please the Government to arrest us. And this we do, not by way of angry retaliation, but because it is our *Dharma*. We must wear *Khadi* even as the brothers have worn it, and spread the Gospel of *Swadeshi*. The Musalmans must collect for Smyrna relief and the Angora Government. We must spread like the Ali Brothers the Gospel of Hindu Muslim unity and of non-violence for the purpose of attaining *Swaraj* and the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs.

We have almost reached the crisis. It is well with a patient who survives a crisis. If on the one hand we remain firm as a rock in the presence of danger, and on the other observe the greatest self-restraint, we shall certainly attain our end this very year.

TO THE MUSALMANS OF INDIA.

Dear countrymen,

Whilst the arrest of Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali has touched every Indian heart, I know what it has meant to you. The brave brothers are staunch lovers of their country, but they are Musalmans first and everything else afterwards. It must be so with every religiously-minded man. The brothers have for years past represented all that is best and noblest in Islam. No two Musalmans have done more than they to raise the status of Islam in India. They have promoted the cause of the Khilafat as no two other Musalmans of India have. For they have been true, and they dared to tell what they felt even in their internment in Chhindwada. Their long internment did not demoralise or weaken them. They came out just as brave as they went in.

And since their release from internment, they have shown themselves true nationalists, and you have taken pride in their being so.

The Brothers have by their simplicity, humility and inexhaustible energy fired the imagination of the masses as no other Musalman has.

All these qualities have endeared them to you. You regard them as your ideal men. You are therefore sorry for their separation from you. Many besides you miss their genial presence. For me, they had become inseparable. I seem to be

without my arms. For anything connected with Musalmans, Shaukat Ali was my guide and friend. He never once misled me. His judgment was sound and unerring in most cases. With the Brothers among us I felt safe about Hindu Muslim unity, the value of which they understood as few of us have.

But whilst we all miss them, we must not give way to grief or dejection. We must learn, each one of us, to stand alone. God only is our infallible and eternal guide.

To be dejected is not only not to have known the Brothers, but it is, if I may venture to say so, not to know what religion is.

For do we not learn in all religions, that the spirit of the dear ones abides with us even when they physically leave us? Not only is the spirit of the Brothers with us, but they are serving better by their suffering, than if they were in our midst giving us some of their own courage, hope and energy. The secret of non-violence and non-co-operation lies in our realising, that it is through suffering that we are to attain our goal. What is the renunciation of titles, councils, law courts and schools but a measure (very slight indeed) of suffering? That preliminary renunciation is a prelude to the larger suffering—the hardships of a gaol life and even the final consummation on the gallows if need be. The more we suffer and the more of us suffer, the nearer we are to our cherished goal.

The earlier and the more clearly we recognise, that it is not big meetings and demonstrations that would give us victory, but quiet suffering, the earlier and more certain will be our victory.

I have made your cause my own, because I believe it to be just. Khilafat, I have understood from your best men, is an ideal. You are not fighting to sustain any wrong or even misrule. You are backing the Turks, because they represent the gentlemen of Europe, and because the European and especially the English prejudice against them is due, not to the Turks being worse than others as men, but to their being Musalmans and not assimilating the modern spirit of exploitation of weaker people and their lands. In fighting for the Turks, you are fighting to raise the dignity and the purity of your own faith.

You have naturally therefore chosen pure methods to attain your end. It cannot be denied, that both Musalmans and Hindus have lost much in moral stamina. Both of us have become poor representatives of our respective faiths. Instead of each one of us becoming a true child of God, we expect others to live our religion and even to die for us. But we have now chosen a method that compels us to turn, each one of us, our face towards God. Non-co-operation presumes, that our opponent with whom we non-co-operate resorts to methods which are as questionable as the purpose he seeks to fulfil by such methods. We shall therefore find favour in the sight of God only by choosing methods which are different in kind from those of our opponents. This is a big claim we have made for ourselves, and we can attain success within the short time appointed by

us, only if our methods are in reality radically different from those of the Government.

Hence the foundation of our movement rests on complete non-violence, whereas violence is the final refuge of the Government. And as no energy can be created without resistance, our non-resistance to Government violence must bring the latter to a standstill. But our non-violence to be true must be in word, thought and deed. It makes no difference that with you non-violence is an expedient. Whilst it lasts, you cannot consistently with your pledge harbour designs of violence. On the contrary we must have implicit faith in our programme of non-violence, which presupposes perfect accord between thought word and deed. I would like every Musalman to realise, whilst the occasion for anger is the greatest, that by non-violence alone can we gain complete victory even during this year.

Nor is non-violence a visionary programme. Just imagine what the united resolve of seven crores of Musalmans (not to count the Hindus) must mean. Should we not have succeeded already, if all the titled men had given up their titles, all the lawyers had suspended their practice and all the students had left their schools and all had boycotted councils? But we must recognise, that with many of us the flesh has proved too weak. Seven crores are called Musalmans and twenty two crores are called Hindus, but only a few are true Musalmans or true Hindus. Therefore if we have not gained our objective, the cause lies within us. And if ours is, as we claim it is, a religious struggle, we dare not become impatient save with ourselves, not even with one another.

The brothers, I am satisfied, are as innocent as I claim I am, of incitement to violence. Theirs, therefore, is a spotless offering. They have done all in their power for Islam and their country. Now, if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are not redressed and Swaraj is not established during this year, the fault will be yours and mine.

We must remain non-violent, but we must not be passive. We must repeat the formula of the Brothers regarding the duty of soldiers and invite imprisonment. We need not think, that the struggle cannot go on without even the best of us. If it cannot we are neither fit for Swaraj nor for redressing the Khilafat or the Punjab wrong. We must declare from a thousand platforms, that it is sinful for any Musalman or Hindu to serve the existing Government whether as soldier or in any other capacity whatsoever.

Above all we must concentrate on complete boycott of foreign cloth, whether British, Japanese, American, French or any other, and begin, if we have not already done so, to introduce spinning wheels and handlooms in our homes and manufacture all the cloth we need. This will be at once a test of our belief in non-violence for our country's freedom and for saving the Khilafat. It will be a test also of Hindu Muslim unity, and it will be a universal test of our faith in our own programme. I repeat my conviction, that we can achieve our full purpose within one month of a complete boycott of foreign cloth. For we are then in a position,

having confidence in our ability to control forces of violence, to offer civil disobedience, if it is at all found necessary.

I can therefore find no balm for the deep wounds inflicted upon you by the Government other than non-violence translated into action by boycott of foreign cloth and manufacture of cloth in our own homes.

Madura,
24th Sept. 1921.

I am,
Your friend and comrade,
M. K. Gandhi.

THE FIJI GOVERNMENT AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

To

The Editor,

Young India.

SIR,

The readers of your paper are aware of the Fiji tragedy of last year. The poor starving Indian labourers in Fiji had struck for higher wages. It was purely an industrial strike, but it was characterised by the white planters and the Fiji Government as an "open rebellion", and was ruthlessly put down by means of martial law and machine-guns. I need not repeat here the painful story of the imprisonment of 200 Indians, men and women, the deportation of their leaders, Mr. and Mrs. Manilal and the various humiliations they had to suffer during those terrible days of terrorisation. The helpless Indian labourers had to resume their work without any increment in their wages.

The scene of last year's strike was the southern part of the Fiji Islands. This year the Indian labourers residing in the northern part of the Islands struck for an increase in their wages. The strike began on the 12th of February last and has been going on for nearly six months. This has been the biggest strike in the history of Fiji, the Indian labourers have shown a wonderful unity and what is more remarkable, they have been absolutely non-violent throughout. Even the Fiji Government had to acknowledge in their telegram to the Indian Government, that the behaviour of the Indian labourers had been *unexceptionable*. The strike was bound to affect the pockets of the white planters, and it has already begun to tell on the profits of those exploiters of Indian labourers. There has been no cane-crop for the year, and we find the following significant passage in a leading article of *The Fiji Times and Herald*.—"Our plantations, which are the life blood of our prosperity, languish. We see splendid acres, on which hundreds of pounds have been spent, going back to jungle. We are hurrying to ruin as fast as we can go." The Fiji Government are at their wits' end and they have therefore determined to follow the tactics of last year. It is the easiest thing for the Fiji Government to magnify a purely labour movement into a political one and make that an excuse for their arbitrary measures. Last year they called the strike an "open rebellion", but this year they have hit upon a very original idea. They have called it by the name of Non-co-operation movement, and have even tried to connect it with the movement in India! This is how they began it. The *Sava*

correspondent of *The Sydney Herald* wired to Sydney - "The presence of a Sadhu whom Gandhi sent from India ten months ago had led to a strike of thirty thousand Indians at Viti Levu (Fiji). The Sadhu threatened the Indians *inter alia* that the disobedient would be turned into stone. Unless work is shortly resumed, there will be no sugar crushing in Fiji this year." This story was cabled to the *Morning Post* of London and then circulated by Reuter throughout the world. Vasishtha Muni was deported without a trial. Telegrams were sent to Australia and New Zealand, that a staggering blow had been struck at the Non-co-operating agitators by the quiet arrest of the Sadhu, and that the arrest had been kept a close secret and the Sadhu deported before any Indian knew what had happened. After delivering this "staggering blow" to the Non-co-operation movement, which, by the way, only existed in the imagination of the Fiji authorities, His Excellency Sir Cecil Hunter Bodwell, Knight Commander of the most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the Colony of Fiji issued a proclamation, in which he triumphantly said, "Vasishtha Muni had no stake in the colony, but he had been misleading the people for political ends, in order to promote methods of non-co-operation, the object of which, in India, has been declared by the Government there to be destruction of British rule. Such methods can bring no benefits to Indians, or to any one else, in Fiji, and cannot be tolerated here."

The Governor appointed a Commission of enquiry to investigate into the strike, but some of the members of the Commission had been notorious for their anti-Indian views, and therefore the Indian labourers decided not to appear before this Commission. The Fiji Government said, "Here it is, that is Non-co-operation!"

I give her a few passages from *The Fiji Times and Herald*, which represents the views of the white planters of Fiji.

"The leaders of the Indians in Fiji are paid by disloyal rebels to cause trouble in loyal Fiji, they receive their orders from outside and have to obey. The men on strike are not being helped by Gandhi and Co. They are merely being used as simple, stupid tools, and the sooner they believe that is so, the sooner they will find satisfaction.....While this is a strike in name and fact, the forces at the back of it are decidedly political. According to many Indians, it is freely said that this has been organised in India for some time past and funds provided to carry it out.....Never did Red Bolshevik in Russia pursue a more destructive course than did this Bolshevik agent from India, Sadhu Vasishtha Muni.....But the Indians must understand, that so long as they agitate for industrial improvement, they are within the law, but, once they follow the madheaded extremes of Gandhi, they are without the law, and must submit to consequences." In plain words it means that Indians, who are disloyal rebels, are sending Bolshevik agents from India provided with ample funds to cause trouble in loyal Fiji! It is to be remembered, that these stories have been circulated not only in Fiji, but throughout New Zealand and Australia.

Now we know it for certain, that these things are absolutely false. You have already declared

emphatically, that you never sent any man from India to engineer strikes in Fiji. We know, that not a single pie has been sent from India for this purpose. Then the question is, "Why has this lying and mischievous propaganda been carried on by the Fiji Government?" It serves two purposes. The first, as I have already said, is, that it provides the Fiji Government with an excuse for their arbitrary measures, and the second is, that it is a clever way of attracting the sympathy of the Indian Government, who will be only too glad to see the Non-co-operation movement being thus condemned throughout the Pacific. The Fiji Government can now say to the Indian Government, "Look here, we are face to face with the same revolutionary movement as you in India, and you need not blame us, if we have to adopt strong measures just as you do."

We have not yet forgotten those words of the Government of India to the Imperial Citizenship Association, words which betray the mentality of the Indian Government more than any thing else

"The Government of India have again read the despatches (of the Fiji Governor) with the utmost care. The position was evidently serious. They are unable to find even *prima facie* reasons for supposing, that it was handled with undue severity."

Thus did the Indian Government give a good certificate to the Fiji Government for what they did last year for terrorising the poor helpless unarmed Indians

Naturally it was now Fiji Government's turn to do something for the Indian Government, and we see the Fiji Government has done its part successfully by condemning the Non-co-operation movement and "the mad-headed extremes of Gandhi"!

In a communique issued by the Government of India on 27th June last announcing the appointment of Commission to go to Fiji, we come across the following significant words. "The Government of India and the Government of the Fiji Islands unite in earnestly hoping, that the measures now being taken will promote a better understanding between the two countries." A better understanding indeed! And this is the way to promote it.

Yours etc.,

BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

NOTE.

VIKRAMA SAMVAT

In Western India ends with Divali and not in Falgun.

TO AGENTS.

Agents are requested to clear their accounts with *Young India* office for every month before the 10th of the next month.

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Agents for *Young India* in every place. Apply to the Manager, *Young India*, Ahmedabad.

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{ PRICE TWO ANNAS

A MANIFESTO

In view of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and others for the reasons stated in the Government of Bombay Circular dated the 14th September 1921, we, the undersigned speaking in our individual capacity declare that it is the inherent right of every one to express his opinion without restraint about the propriety of citizens offering their services to, or remaining in the employ of, the Government whether in the civil or the military department.

We therefore declare that as our country is not a barrier to national dignity for any Indian to serve as a civilian, and more especially as a soldier, under a system of Government, which has brought about the economic, social and political degradation and which has used the soldiery and the police to repress all national aspirations, as, for instance, at the time of the Revolt of 1857, and which has used the soldiers for crushing the liberty of the Arabs and Egyptians, the Turks and other nations who have done no harm to India.

We are also of opinion, that it is the duty of every Indian soldier and civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood.

M. K. Gandhi.
Abul Kalam Azad. (Calcutta)
Ajmal Khan. (Delhi)
Lajpatrai. (Lahore)
Motilal Nehru. (Allahabad)
Sarojini Naidu. (Bombay)
Abbas Tayyabji.
N. C. Kelkar.
V. J. Patel.
Vallabhbhai J. Patel. (Ahmedabad)
M. R. Jayakar. (Bombay)
D. V. Gokhale. (Poona)
S. G. Banker.
Jawahirlal Nehru. (Allahabad)
Gangadhar B. Deshpande. (Begam,
Lakshmidas Tersi.
Umar Sobani.
Jamnadal Bajaj.
M. S. Ane. (Amroli)
S. E. Stokes. (Kotgadli Simla)
A. M. Ansari. (Delhi)
Khaliquzzaman. (Delhi)
K. M. Abdul Gafur. (Delhi)
Abdul Bari. (Lucknow)

Krishnaji Nilkanth. (Begam)
C. Rajgopalachari. (Madras)
Konda Venkatappayya. (Guntur)
G. Harisavottam Rao. (Guntur)
Anasuya Sarabhai.
Jitendra Lal Banerji.
Mushir Husen Kidwai. (Delhi)
Shyama Sundara Chakravarti. (Calcutta)
Rajendra Prasad. (Patna)
Azad Sobani. (Lucknow)
Hazrat Mohani. (Cawnpore)
Mahadeo Haribhai Desai.
Bharjorji Framji Bharucha.
Yakub Hasan.
B. S. Munje. (Nagpur)
Jiramdas Dolatram.
M. R. Cholkar. (Nagpur)
V. V. Dastane. (Shusaval)
Ahmed Haji Sidick Khatri. (Bombay)
Gudar Ramchandra Rao. (Andhra)
D. S. Vijayrao. (Lahore)
B. P. Subramanya. (Andhra)
Mia Mahomed Haji Jannahomed Chhotani.

NOTES.

Famine Relief—The visit to the Ceded Districts brought abundant proof of the spinning wheel being the greatest insurance against famine, and being also the best measure of relief. There is a severe famine raging in some parts of these districts. One of the workers told me, that a woman not being able to support herself and her children had drowned herself and her children. It is not possible to give doles of charity to hundreds of thousands of men. And men who live on charity lose all sense of self-respect. It is not as if there is no corn to be had in the affected area. People have no work and no money. The Government's relief works consist in breaking and carrying stones. A friend remarked, that the Government had roads torn down and repaired in order to find work for the men and women in distress. Whether roads are torn down or not, road repair is the only relief work the Government provides. I understood, that the actual wage that found its way into a woman's hands was an anna or five pice, and not more than ten pice into a man's hands. I saw on the other hand, that a Congress Committee was paying three annas per day to Panchama women working at the spinning wheel for eight hours a day. And what is being done for the Panchama women can be done for thousands of famine-stricken women and for that matter men. In these districts 3 annas a day, even for men, is a veritable boon. But the spinning wheel has possibilities which no other occupation has. For it involves the preliminary processes of ginning and carding and the subsequent process of weaving. In the Ceded Districts it is possible without much difficulty to teach weaving. And if the whole of cloth manufacture can be organised, thousands of men can find permanent occupation in their own homes. Every worker freely acknowledged, that both the workers and the afflicted people had begun to realise the possibilities of the spinning wheel, and already the people were filled with hope and the workers had commenced organising spinning and weaving everywhere. I met people who told me, they used to laugh at my statement that the spinning wheel was the best famine insurance, but practical experience convinced them of the truth of it.

I know, this is but the commencement of the transformation. But when it is complete, not a man nor woman having sound hands need beg or starve. To-day we have the humiliating and debasing spectacle in a famine year of thousands, though well able to work, living on charity and semi-starvation for want of useful work.

The Only Activity—Therefore I suggest to every Congress and Khilafat worker the advisability of organising hand spinning and hand weaving in his respective district to the exclusion of every other activity. We should be ashamed of resting or having a square meal so long as there is one able-bodied man or woman without work or food. I would urge married men against giving indiscriminate charity or free meals. We shall be cursed by the future generation if we divide India

into givers and receivers of alms. If we want the nation to have any self-respect at all, we must provide against the recurring scarcity. Let those, therefore, who wish to feed the poor, find spinning wheels for them and provide facilities for learning the various processes.

Expression of Opinion—When in any movement violence is religiously eschewed, it becomes a propaganda movement of the purest type. Any attempt to crush it is an attempt to crush public opinion. And such the present repression has become. Why should I not express my profound conviction, [1] that it is sinful to serve the Government in any capacity whatsoever, especially that of a soldier, [2] that it is sinful to drink intoxicating liquors, [3] that it is sinful to wear foreign cloth, [4] that it is sinful to gamble or speculate in foodstuffs or cotton?

The Government may, as it is carrying on a counter-propaganda, successfully draw recruits for civil and military employment, by various methods induce people to drink and wear foreign cloth and speculate in foodstuffs and cotton, and thus continue to govern so long as people intentionally or ignorantly co-operate with it. It will fall the day the people are convinced to the contrary. And just as I carry on my propaganda among the wine-bibbers and the cotton speculators to wear them from their evil ways, I claim the right to tell the soldier face to face what is his duty in accordance with my opinion. Why should the soldier be kept in ignorance of what is going on in the country? Is the Government afraid, that if he comes to know the truth, he will no longer serve it? A Government worth the name should be able fully to educate the soldiery and hold its loyalty. But in India everything is armed,—peace, loyalty and opinion. Only the people are disarmed. Our duty therefore is clear. We must claim, even though it be on the gallows, to hold and openly to express any opinion we choose, so long as we do not directly or indirectly cause violence. That is the battle of non-violent non-co-operation. It must be fought to the finish. I warn the public, that the prosecution for 'tampering with the loyalty of the army' is but the precursor of prosecutions for tampering with the loyalty of the people to foreign cloth. What was the burning of the *Khadi* vests and caps of the young men of Calicut? What is the crusade against the students of the Vizagapatam Medical School, if it is not an insensate crusade against *Khadi*?

The Sole Test—But this is exactly the kind of test through which we must pass, if we are to gain Swaraj. If it is true that this Government exists for its special interests which are antagonistic to those of the people at large, it must vindicate its position at any cost, and we must not be angry with it on that account. Its attempt at suppressing the growth of free public opinion is no new discovery. We have known these attributes of the Government, and it is for our knowledge of their existence that we are

seeking to destroy the system under which it is being carried on. It exists for the slow but certain exploitation of India and her raw products, and for so enervating India as to make her perpetually subservient to the foreign exploiters, in other words to imprison us in our own homes. And the system devised to bring about such a state of things is one of rewards and punishments, rewards in the shape of titles and emoluments for those who assist the system, and punishment even terrorism, for those who seek to end or mend it. So the Government is bound to make a desperate attempt to stifle all expression of opinion and all activity that would injure its special interests. Let us not delude ourselves into the belief that the Government has been generous enough to stay its hands up to the last moment. Let us admit at once, that the Government is the most powerful and resourceful corporation the world has ever seen. It bides its time, it does allow its opponents to play; but it strikes immediately they betray seriousness. There can be no question of generosity about a robber who holds on to the stolen property as long as he ever can allow the robbed to make all the childish attempts possible for the recovery of stolen property, but is ready to cut him down as soon as he becomes serious and is likely to succeed in his attempt at recovery. When a robber acts in such a methodical manner, we consider him to be clever in his unscrupulousness and we regard him as hypocritical when he puts on the air of injured innocence. Our resourcefulness lies in not playing into the hands of this Government. We must not be goaded into madness and violence by its imprisonments whether mild or dramatic. We must not flinch from the gallows. I love the Aj Brothers as I love my blood brothers. But I would not plead with the Government if its judges sentenced them to be hanged. I would know that it was a glorious death they had died and would envy them their good fortune. If they are sentenced to penal servitude for life, I would know that I would release them by the establishment of Swaraj at the earliest opportunity.

The only remedy (and it is a most efficacious remedy) open to us is to let the Government do its worst, believe that its worst is the best for the country, and therefore to remain unruffled by repression and prosecute our appointed programme to the finish in the full belief, that it must bring the relief we are seeking. That programme is the introduction of hand spinning and hand weaving in every home and village.

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An Apt Anecdote—Maulana Azad Sobani, who has been doing wonderful work for Swadeshi, was telling me a thrilling story of Egyptian coolness and bravery. He told me, that once the soldiers surrounded an Egyptian mosque and wanted to prevent nationalist propaganda inside it. The congregation was listening to a young man speaking to it. He would not desist and was shot. The congregation remained unmoved. Another young man took up the discourse and was shot

whilst he was going on, and thus seven young men were shot till the discourse was finished, the congregation remaining unmoved all the while the glorious sacrifice was going on. The Egyptians do not believe in non-violence. But they are fine soldiers. They did not want the mosque to be blown to pieces nor the whole congregation in a vain attempt to retaliate. They wanted to show, that they would not be cowed down, and no orders could bend their spirit. And so, as if nothing had happened, the discourse was finished. Death and life became with the congregation synonymous terms. The moral of the story is unmistakable. We who are pledged to non-violence are endeavouring to cultivate the bravery of the seven young Egyptians and the congregation. We must acquire the courage to face death in the pursuit of our goal without even wishing to kill, and victory during the remaining three months is a certainty.

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The Thickening Plot—For the Government is marshalling all its forces. I have just learnt, that Mr. Phookan a barrister and member of the aristocracy of Assam has been called upon to file security for keeping the peace. I had the pleasure of meeting him during my tour. He is a soldier and a sportsman. But he has become a convinced non-violentist. He believes, that nothing but non-violence can possibly put hope in the Indian breast and make Swaraj possible during the year. But Mr. Phookan is a brave worker. He and his co-workers wish to revive Swadeshi to the full, and the Assam Government do not like the idea. In Andhradesha a powerful Zamindar Kumar Raja of Gampala Gudem has been similarly treated, because he had the courage to do temperance work. These are but two stray instances I have come across in the papers I have been able to secure during my travels. I have no doubt, that many such workers are being silenced and many more will be. This is all good news, if we who remain behind will continue the work of our more fortunate comrades who are being imprisoned. I do call them fortunate, for it is the privilege of the oppressed to be in prison. Where tyranny rules, prison for a just man is an honourable place. It is the price that a tyrant exacts from those who cross his path or purpose. These imprisonments should teach us to persist in our effort. We need no leaders when the way is mapped out for us. We are in the happy position of knowing what to do and how to do it. Let us show ourselves worthy of Swaraj by feeling not despondent but elated over the incarceration of leaders and going on with our work with the calm courage of the Egyptian congregation in the anecdote related by me.

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No More Sticks—During our travels in Madras and the Ceded Districts as elsewhere, we found much dissipation of energy. Vast crowds gathering everywhere and waiting for hours in order merely to have a glimpse. The yelling and the noise were unbearable. We noticed, too, that wherever previous preparation was made as in Trichinopoly, Chettinad,

Tinnevely and other places, the order was all that could be desired, and we were able to go through a great deal of work without any difficulty. In the Ceded Districts, however, we saw the volunteers carrying bamboo sticks seven feet in length. These were meant to be used for forming chains to protect the guests from the crowds rushing towards them. I could see, that the sticks were a hindrance, interfered with easy movement and constituted a danger in the midst of crowds. I was myself in danger of having my eyes hurt more than once. And instead of feeling the protection of the volunteers, I felt the danger of their long sticks causing me serious injury any moment. I showed the volunteers, that strong ropes would serve their purpose much better than these sticks. Manlana Azad Sobani saw the point of my remarks, and as the sticks could never be used by the volunteers, under the pledge of non-violence, for causing hurt, he induced them at Tadpatri to put them away. I would suggest such a change to all volunteer corps. As our movement is avowedly peaceful, it is much better even to drop sticks. Soldiers of peace that we are, we should copy the ordinary soldier as little as possible whether in point of uniform or otherwise.

Want of Training—It was painful to notice the want of training among the volunteers in many places. Except at the few places such as I have mentioned, they were always a hindrance in spite of the best of motives. They would insist on surrounding, if not mounting, the cars. They would insist on walking in front and obstructing the passage. They did not know how to march in step. They would not walk in twos. It was most difficult to pass instructions to them. It is high time they were thoroughly organised and were instructed to follow certain rules.

Chairs out of Place—As a rule now, one rarely sees chairs at public meetings. They are all in the open air. A little platform with or without canopy is generally improvised in the centre. As I cannot speak standing, a chair is as a rule provided for me, and therefore naturally for my companions. These chairs mar the harmony of the surroundings. I suggest the use of the simple old square table for me to speak from. We can certainly revive the old art in keeping with our simple and natural surroundings. I was pleased to observe throughout the tour, that for covering and decoration *Khadi* only was invariably used.

'Ethics of Destruction'—Bada Dada (Dwijendranath Tagore, Shantiniketan) has sent me the following, upon reading the article headed *Ethics of Destruction*. It is naturally a source of joy to me, that one so venerable and learned should agree with the ethical position taken up by me in opposition even to those whose opinion I value and respect. The reader will be glad to find, that in Bada Dada we

have a Risai who in his quiet seclusion follows the national movement with the avidity of a young man of five and twenty, and is constantly thinking of it and praying for its success. Here is the letter:

There was a merchant, who suddenly became bankrupt, and was reduced to utter poverty; at the same time his wife was bed-ridden, suffering from acute rheumatic pain. There was an apothecary who dealt in patent medicine and always wanted cash payment from his customers. A doctor friend came to see the lady, and at the same time her daughter also came from her father-in-law's house to see her sick mother and brought with her a ten-rupee note so that she might buy the patent medicine which could cure her pain immediately. She handed over the note to the doctor, and told him to get the medicine from the apothecary's shop which was near at hand, and wait back. The doctor said that the medicine, no doubt, would give her instant relief, but at the same time it would injure her health to such a degree that she would remain decrepit throughout her life. However, the doctor said that he knew an electrician who was a next door neighbour and could cure rheumatism by electric treatment, his charge being Rs 10/- per day. In a month he would perfectly cure the disease for good without in the least injuring her general health.

But the patient insisted that she wanted immediate relief, and repeatedly asked the doctor for the banknote so that she might send for the medicine at once. But the doctor repeatedly said, that he could not conscientiously give her the note for the purpose, and he considered it to be a sin to do so. But the lady implored and beseeched him to give her the note. The doctor then took the match box from his pocket and burnt the note to ashes; and said that she need not be afraid, for he was going to bring the electrician immediately at his own expense, which her husband would pay back as soon as he repaired his fortune. When the hope of obtaining instant relief was thus frustrated in a moment, the patient said to the doctor, "do as you think fit." So the doctor immediately brought the electrician who assured her that she would be permanently cured within a month, if she allowed him to treat her. Then the doctor did what he had promised to the satisfaction of all parties.

Was the burning of the note a virtuous or a sinful act?

The above is exactly analogous with Mr. Gandhi's cloth burning. Mr. Gandhi refuses to give to the poor the relief that could have been given by distributing the foreign cloth among them. In order to avoid making them permanently miserable creatures, he promised to make them permanently happy by providing them with clothes made by their own hands.

M. K. G.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

for *Young India* must be sent strictly in advance by money order. The paper is not sent by V. P.

HINDUISM

By M. K. GANDHI.

In dealing with the problem of untouchability during the Madras tour, I have asserted my claim to being a Sanatani Hindu with greater emphasis than hitherto, and yet there are things which are commonly done in the name of Hinduism, which I disregard. I have no desire to be called a Sanatani Hindu or any other if I am not such. And I have certainly no desire to steal in a reform or an abuse under cover of a great faith.

It is therefore necessary for me once for all distinctly to give my meaning of Sanatana Hinduism. The word Sanatana I use in its natural sense.

I call myself a Sanatani Hindu, because,

(1) I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures, and therefore in *avartaras* and rebirth,

(2) I believe in the *Varnashrama dharma* in a sense in my opinion strictly Vedic but not in its present popular and crude sense.

(3) I believe in the protection of the cow in its much larger sense than the popular.

(4) I do not disbelieve in idol-worship.

The reader will note that I have purposely refrained from using the word divine origin in reference to the Vedas or any other scriptures. For I do not believe in the exclusive divinity of the Vedas. I believe the Bible, the Koran, and the Zend Avesta to be as much divinely inspired as the Vedas. My belief in the Hindu scriptures does not require me to accept every word and every verse as divinely inspired. Nor do I claim to have any first-hand knowledge of these wonderful books. But I do claim to know and feel the truths of the essential teaching of the scriptures. I decline to be bound by any interpretation, however learned it may be, if it is repugnant to reason or moral sense. I do most emphatically repudiate the claim (if they advance any such) of the present Shankaracharyas and Shastris to give a correct interpretation of the Hindu scriptures. On the contrary I believe, that our present knowledge of these books is in a most chaotic state. I believe implicitly in the Hindu aphorism, that no one truly knows the Shastras who has not attained perfection in Innocence (*Ahimsa*), Truth (*Satya*) and Self-control (*Brahmacharya*) and who has not renounced all acquisition or possession of wealth. I believe in the institution of Gurus, but in this age millions must go without a Guru, because it is a rare thing to find a combination of perfect purity and perfect learning. But one need not despair of ever knowing the truth of one's religion, because the fundamentals of Hinduism as of every great religion are unchangeable, and easily understood. Every Hindu believes in God and his oneness, in rebirth and salvation. But that which distinguishes Hinduism from every other religion is its cow protection, more than its *Varnashrama*.

Varnashrama is, in my opinion, inherent in human nature, and Hinduism has simply reduced it to a science. It does attach to birth. A man cannot change his *varna* by choice. Not to abide by one's *varna* is to disregard the law of heredity. The division, however, into innumerable castes is an unwarranted liberty taken with the doctrine. The four divisions are all-sufficing.

I do not believe, that interdining or even intermarriage necessarily deprives a man of his status that his birth has given him. The four divisions define a man's calling, they do not restrict or regulate social intercourse. The divisions define duties, they confer no privileges. It is, I hold, against the genius of Hinduism to arrogate to oneself a higher status or assign to another a lower. All are born to serve God's creation, a Brahman with his knowledge, a Kshatriya with his power of protection, a Vaishya with his commercial ability and a Shudra with bodily labour. This however does not mean, that a Brahman for instance is absolved from bodily labour, or the duty of protecting himself and others. His birth makes a Brahman predominantly a man of knowledge, the fittest by heredity and training to impart it to others. There is nothing, again, to prevent the Shudra from acquiring all the knowledge he wishes. Only, he will best serve with his body and need not envy others their special qualities for service. But a Brahman who claims superiority by right of knowledge falls and has no knowledge. And so with the others who pride themselves upon their special qualities. *Varnashrama* is self-restraint and conservation and economy of energy.

Though therefore *Varnashrama* is not affected by interdining or intermarriage, Hinduism does most emphatically discourage interdining and intermarriage between divisions. Hinduism reached the highest limit of self-restraint. It is undoubtedly a religion of renunciation of the flesh so that the spirit may be set free. It is no part of a Hindu's duty to dine with his son. And by restricting his choice of a bride to a particular group, he exercises rare self-restraint. Hinduism does not regard a married state as by any means essential for salvation. Marriage is a 'fall' even as birth is a 'fall.' Salvation is freedom from birth and hence death also. Prohibition against intermarriage and interdining is essential for a rapid evolution of the soul. But this self-denial is no test of *varna*. A Brahman may remain a Brahman, though he may dine with his Shudra brother, if he has not left off his duty of service by knowledge. It follows from what I have said above, that restraint in matters of marriage and dining is not based upon notions of superiority. A Hindu who refuses to dine with another from a sense of superiority misrepresents his *Dharma*.

Unfortunately to-day Hinduism seems to consist merely in eating and not eating. Once I horrified a pious Hindu by taking toast at a Musalman's house. I saw, that he was pained to see me pouring milk into a cup handed by a Musalman friend, but his anguish knew no bounds when he saw me

taking toast at the Musalman's hands. Hinduism is in danger of losing its substance if it resolves itself into a matter of elaborate rules as to what and with whom to eat. Abstemiousness from intoxicating drinks and drugs, and from all kinds of foods, especially meat, is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, but it is by no means an end in itself. Many a man eating meat and with everybody but living in the fear of God is nearer his freedom than a man religiously abstaining from meat and many other things, but blaspheming God in every one of his acts.

The central fact of Hinduism however is cow protection. Cow protection to me is one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution. It takes the human being beyond his species. The cow to me means the entire sub-human world. Man through the cow is enjoined to realise his identity with all that lives. Why the cow was selected for apotheosis is obvious to me. The cow was in India the best companion. She was the giver of plenty. Not only did she give milk, but she also made agriculture possible. The cow is a poem of pity. One reads pity in the gentle animal. She is the mother to millions of Indian mankind. Protection of the cow means protection of the whole dumb creation of God. The ancient seer, whoever he was, began with the cow. The appeal of the lower order of creation is all the more forcible because it is speechless. Cow protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world. And Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow.

The way to protect is to die for her. It is a denial of Hinduism and *Ahimsa* to kill a human being to protect a cow. Hindus are enjoined to protect the cow by their *tapasya*, by self-purification, by self-sacrifice. The present-day cow protection has degenerated into a perpetual feud with the Musalmans, whereas cow protection means conquering the Musalmans by our love. A Musalman friend sent me some time ago a book detailing the inhumanities practised by us on the cow and her progeny. How we bleed her to take the last drop of milk from her, how we starve her to emaciation, how we ill-treat the calves, how we deprive them of their portion of milk, how cruelly we treat the oxen, how we castrate them, how we beat them, how we overload them. If they had speech, they would bear witness to our crimes against them which would stagger the world. By every act of cruelty to our cattle, we disown God and Hinduism. I do not know that the condition of the cattle in any other part of the world is so bad as in unhappy India. We may not blame the Englishman for this. We may not plead poverty in our defence. Criminal negligence is the only cause of the miserable condition of our cattle. Our *Pantries*, though they are an answer to our instinct of mercy, are a clumsy demonstration of its execution. Instead of being model dairy farms and great profitable national institutions, they are merely depots for receiving and fattening cattle.

Hindus will be judged not by their *tilaks*, not by the correct chanting of *mantras*, not by their pilgrimages, not by their most punctilious observance of caste rules but by their ability to protect the cow. Whilst professing the religion of cow protection, we have enslaved the cow and her progeny, and have become slaves ourselves.

It will now be understood why I consider myself a Sanatani Hindu. I yield to none in my regard for the cow. I have made the Khilafat cause my own, because I see that through its preservation full protection can be secured for the cow. I do not ask my Musalman friends to save the cow in consideration of my service. My prayer ascends daily to God Almighty, that my service of a cause I hold to be just may appear so pleasing to him, that he may change the hearts of the Musalmans, and fill them with pity for their Hindu neighbours and make them save the animal the latter hold dear as life itself.

I can no more describe my feeling for Hinduism than for my own wife. She moves me as no other woman in the world can. Not that she has no faults. I daresay she has many more than I see myself. But the feeling of an indissoluble bond is there. Even so I feel for and about Hinduism with all its faults and limitations. Nothing elates me so much as the music of the Gita or the Ramayana by Tulasidas, the only two books in Hinduism I may be said to know. When I fancied I was taking my last breath, the Gita was my solace. I know the vice that is going on to-day in all the great Hindu shrines, but I love them in spite of their unspeakable failings. There is an interest which I take in them and which I take in no other. I am a reformer through and through. But my zeal never takes me to the rejection of any of the essential things of Hinduism. I have said I do not disbelieve in idol worship. An idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in me. But I think that idol worship is part of human nature. We hanker after symbolism. Why should one be more composed in a church than elsewhere? Images are an aid to worship. No Hindu considers an image to be God. I do not consider idol worship a sin.

It is clear from the foregoing, that Hinduism is not an exclusive religion. In it there is room for the worship of all the prophets of the world. It is not a monary religion in the ordinary sense of the term. It has no doubt absorbed many tribes in its fold, but this absorption has been of an evolutionary imperceptible character. Hinduism tells every one to worship God according to his own faith or *Dharma*, and so it lives at peace with all the religions.

That being my conception of Hinduism, I have never been able to reconcile myself to untouchability. I have always regarded it as an excrescence. It is true that it has been handed down to us from generations, but so are many evil practices even to this day. I should be ashamed to think, that dedication of girls to virtual prostitution was a part of Hinduism. Yet it is practised by Hindus in many parts of India. I consider it positive irreligion to sacrifice goats to Kali and do not consider it a part of Hinduism. Hinduism is a growth of ages. The very name Hinduism, was

given to the religion of the people of Hindustan by foreigners. There was no doubt at one time sacrifice of animals offered in the name of religion. But it is not religion, much less is it Hindu religion. And so also it seems to me, that when cow protection became an article of faith with our ancestors, those who persisted in eating beef were excommunicated. The civil strife must have been fierce. Social boycott was applied not only to the recalcitrants, but their sins were visited upon their children also. The practice which had probably its origin in good intentions hardened into usage, and even verses crept in our sacred books giving the practice a permanence wholly undeserved and still less justified. Whether my theory is correct or not, untouchability is repugnant to reason and to the instinct of mercy, pity or love. A religion that establishes the worship of the cow cannot possibly countenance or warrant a cruel and inhuman boycott of human beings. And I should be content to be torn to pieces rather than disown the suppressed classes. Hindus will certainly never deserve freedom, nor get it if they allow their noble religion to be disgraced by the retention of the taint of untouchability. And as I love Hinduism dearer than life itself, the taint has become for me an intolerable burden. Let us not deny God by denying to a fifth of our race the right of association on an equal footing.

NOT GOOD ENOUGH.

By M. K. GANDHI.

The Report of the Repressive Laws Committee would have excited thrilling interest fifteen months ago. No one now cares whether these laws are repealed or retained. They have ceased to frighten us, because we have ceased to fear arrests and imprisonments. We are now seeking not repeal of particular laws or regulations but a total repeal of the system that has made them possible. We know now that the Government could have done (under ordinary law) all the things (with slight variations) that they have hitherto done under the laws that are to be repealed. Under pressure of necessity the law advisers of the Government have discovered a potency in sections 144, 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code of which they were before unaware. The fact is, that even if the ordinary law were to be changed without a change of spirit, the people of India will not benefit by it.

Though therefore the report has no interest for the people, it is a document of abiding interest to the student of the political situation in the country. The report could have been written in identical language ten years ago by the most reactionary of the civilians. The Committee concludes:—"Their retention (of Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act and part 2 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1918) is necessary in view of recent occurrences and possible developments which we cannot but regard with

the greatest apprehension." I have no doubt that every repressive measure that has ever been undertaken has been passed under the same 'stern sense of duty' under which the laws mentioned are being retained.

I refuse to think, that the officials who passed all the repressive laws took wistful delight in repression. Lord Curzon certainly considered the Partition of Bengal a matter of public necessity, and the opponents of the measure as enemies of progress. Sir Michael O'Dwyer honestly believed, that the educated classes were idiots who did not know their own welfare, meddled in things they never knew, and were no benefactors of the masses in whose name they professed to speak. General Dyer undoubtedly thought, that unless he could teach us a lesson, every Englishwoman's life was in jeopardy. Only, in all these three cases we (including the majority of the members of the Committee) considered the officials to have perverted minds incapable of understanding the proud spirit of Bengal, of understanding the agony of educated India which knew by instinct the wants of the masses more truly than the officials in spite of their winter picnics amongst them, and of knowing that Indians would not be guilty of such diabolical unmanliness as General Dyer in his unsoldierlike manner thought us to be. We then used to think the officials were wrong in overriding the people's wishes even though the latter might be in error. We argued to our complete satisfaction, that we were the best judges of our own condition. But now a change has come over some of us. Some of us occupy the position analogous to that of the officials. These consider themselves to be 'trustees' for the ignorant masses who are being misled by visionaries, if not also by unscrupulous agitators, and therefore in the teeth of their stubborn opposition (ignorant it may be), they carry on 'reformed' legislatures, suppress a revolt in Malabar by sacrificing precious blood although we have offered men ready to go to Malabar unarmed and persuade the Moplahs to stop their mad career of pillage and plunder. They sincerely believe that by so doing they are serving the country.

Thus we are no better than before: probably, if not certainly, we are much worse off. For now there is not only a foreign bureaucracy to cope with, but we have also a national bureaucracy to contend against. Well has Lala Lajpatrai remarked in his forceful analysis of the report, that what we want is not a change of masters but a change of the system, a change in the relations between the people and the state. The latter must represent the people or be ended. The reason for the strange phenomenon disclosed in the report is to be found in the fact, that the non-official members are irresponsible but they sincerely feel that they know our interests better than we. How can any tinkering therefore answer the aspirations of a people that are awakened and are prepared to suffer for what they understand to be their rights?

30th SEPTEMBER.

By M. K. GANDHI.

The All India Congress Committee after a full debate fixed 30th September as the final date for completing the boycott of foreign cloth. The choice lay between 30th September and 30th October. The argument advanced in favour of September was, that if boycott could be completed in October, it should be possible in September. It must be confessed that we have failed in fulfilling our resolution. Much work has certainly been done. *Khadi* has become much more popular and even fashionable. In many places the quality has also improved. There are certainly many more spinning wheels working, many new looms have been made, and in the ordinary course the progress made would be considered satisfactory. But as a war measure the record is altogether small.

After all the success of the movement depends upon the consumer. The importer has certainly helped. But the consumer has been satisfied with a partial boycott. He has given up his cap chiefly. Some have parted with their vests but very few with their dhotars. The consumers have not helped manufacture to an appreciable degree. Manufacture of yarn has been confined to the poor. The consumer has not realised the necessity of a complete change. He has not visualised the new life we must lead under Swaraj. It is not by temporising we shall succeed. A complete transformation is a necessity of the case.

At the same time I saw in Bengal as well as Madras that the desire was there. Most people were hopeful, and said that with a little more time they would be able to organise manufacture without difficulty. In the matter of Swadeshi the women presented greater difficulty. They could not reconcile themselves to the change so readily as men. But it is the overcoming of these difficulties that would give us courage, hope, stamina and above all knowledge of the true condition of India. Swadeshi means a real industrial revival and consequent disappearance of grinding and growing pauperism in the land. And when we have found ourselves able to become self-contained without state aid regarding our cloth supply and have solved what had appeared to be an insoluble problem for the poverty of India, we shall have confidence in our ability to manage our own affairs.

To-day Sir William Vincent is able to make us dance to his tune. He makes the self-styled representatives of the people believe, that the British power alone can protect the interests of the minorities, he is able to convince them that at a time when for long years India has proved unable to find officers and men who could defend her borders against invaders.

But all this will be changed, Sir William himself will play a different tune, when he finds that without the British power and indeed in spite of it, we are able to dispense with foreign aid for the supply of our vital needs.

Swadeshi is our Khilafat, it is our cow of plenty. When we have protected Swadeshi, we shall find that we have the power to protect the Khilafat, and that we have the ability to manage our own affairs including the defence of our borders.

If thirty crores of people will, if the error members of the Congress will, I am sure that we can boycott foreign cloth and manufacture enough for our wants during this month. Three conditions are necessary: we must discard all foreign cloth, do with the least possible cloth during the transition stage, and get all the *Khadi* we need woven by the village weaver out of yarn spun by ourselves or our neighbours.

A KEY TO SWADESHI.

By LAKSHMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM.

Only that deserves to be called cloth which covers the body. At present the whole nation is in a condition of practical nudity; the so-called lower classes because they can hardly afford any clothing, and the so-called upper classes because they rejoice in articles of pretended dress which do not cover but only expose the person to the gazes of the irreverent.

The following things are needed for the manufacture of cloth; raw cotton, a ginning-wheel, a carding-bow, a spinning-wheel and a handloom. And in connection with these things we need the following persons; a cultivator, a ginner, a carder, a spinner and a weaver.

There are only a few places in the country, which do not produce cotton. Parts which do not produce cotton may obtain it from other parts of the country which do.

If there is a good crop, an acre of land yields about 200 pounds of cotton. But the average yield per acre of cotton in India is about 100 pounds.

One man working on a hand-gin can gin 10 pounds of cotton every day, or 3000 pounds in a year, 300 being taken as the number of working-days in the year.

Similarly a carder can in a year card and sliver 3000 pounds of cotton.

Working 4 hours a day, one man can spin in a year 50 pounds of cotton into yarn of ten counts.

One weaver with family can weave in one year 750 pounds of cloth 27 inches wide.

If we take 10 pounds of cloth as the annual average requirement of one person, a village with a population of 300 souls can become self-contained in respect of its clothing as soon as it puts 50 acres of its land under cotton cultivation and gets hold of 1 ginner, 1 carder, 50 spinning-wheels working four hours per day, and 4 weaver families. The needs of bigger villages and towns can be calculated accordingly.

Cultivation charges on 50 acres under cotton at 10 rupees per acre...	Rupees.
Revenue assessment on the same at 2 rupees per acre ..	100
Cost of carding and slivering 3000 pounds of cotton at 2 annas a pound ..	375
Cost of spinning the same at 6 annas per pound ..	1,125
Cost of weaving the same at 8 annas a pound ..	1,500
Total—	3,360

[We have excluded the ginning charges which are provided for by the sale of cotton-seed.]

Thus the village gets 3000 pounds of cloth by a total outlay of 3,360 Rs. This works out at about 1 rupee 2 annas per pound.

(To be concluded.)

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NOTES.

It is the good fortune of the Brothers to have All about the staunch friends. It is Brothers equally their good fortune to have strong critics. A friend writes to me, that I am so infatuated with them that I refuse to see anything bad in them. He is right. It is the privilege of friendship not to be suspicious. But he is a bad friend who does not know his friend's weaknesses. I know those of the Brothers, but having weaknesses myself I am tender towards theirs. I feel that they are the best and the bravest among co-workers with whom I have had the privilege of working. So much for the general charge.

But here is a particular charge against them.

Their Says a correspondent.
Inconsistency "May I put before you the following problems, which I have even after a very long and deep deliberation, been unable to reconcile with the non-co-operation doctrine. Will you kindly say whether my difficulties are something real or only superficial?"

"Non-co-operation requires that no accused should give any help whatsoever to the proceedings in the British court in which he is tried. But, is not the statement given by the Ali Brothers, a sort of help given to the court? This the Crown Prosecutor himself made clear, when he said that his work was much lightened by the utterances of the accused.

"I know, that the Brothers themselves forestalled this objection, and so cleared this fact at the very outset in the statement by saying, that they purposed to give the statement not in order to help the court, but to remove from the people's mind the wrong idea that sedition and preaching disaffection in the army, which were the charges brought against them, were new crimes committed by them. They said, that the purpose of their statement was to show to the public that they were not guilty of any new crimes but only of those which they felt in duty bound to commit and which they have long been committing.

"This justification by the Brothers of their statement, I must confess, does not satisfy me in the least. The public did not demand any such statement. We all know, as it has been told us over and over again, that you are out for ending or mending this Government.

"Hence you are in duty bound to disseminate disaffection towards the Government everywhere. The Brothers too have often declared at the top of their voice, that it is sin to serve in the British ranks. Hence there was no need at all for giving any statement such as the Brothers have given, just as it is no use repeating the oft-told story. And even granting there was a need for making the statement, well, it should have appeared in the press, and not been submitted in court. As it is, the court no doubt derived help from the statement. I think that I have sufficiently shown and proved the inconsistency between the Brothers' giving the statement and the non-co-operation doctrine.

The second problem which perplexes me is this. We have not as yet launched on civil disobedience. Hence we all must obey at present the orders of the British officials. Even you did not infringe the order which prohibited you from entering Malabar. If so, was it proper for Maulana Mahomed Ali to disobey the Magistrate of Karachi and lose temper with him, when he asked him to sit down? Was this not an express breach of the Magistrate's order? Was it creditable to Maulana Mahomed Ali to ask the Magistrate whether he did not believe in God, and to decline to sit down when asked to do so and say, 'Let me see what you can do.'

'To my mind, even when civil disobedience is started we all must be humble. A non-co-operator must be humbly incarnate. He must never under any provocation whatsoever lose temper or show any force. He must not know impudence except in name only. If these remarks be just, this action of the Ali Brothers is wholly unjustifiable, and may well be reckoned as a piece of impudence, pardon me for using this word.

"I think it would have been far better, far more prudent and worthy of leaders like the Ali Brothers to have remained tongue-tied, as it were, in the court instead of helping it in any way or behaving with the authorities impetuously.

I know this last remark may cause unpleasantness to you. If so, I solicit your pardon, but I could not help making this remark. I know you would justify the Brothers' action anyhow, but how I know not.

The letter is frank but well meant. Many friends have put the same questions to me, and I have endeavoured to satisfy them to the best of my ability. But the foregoing letter requires public treatment. If there is inconsistency, it is due to the All India Congress Committee which

has permitted statements. One may question the soundness of the Committee's decision, but one may not charge the brothers with inconsistency.

The All India Congress Committee based its decision upon my advice. I owe it perhaps to the public to give my reasons. The statement enables the accused to declare his own position, and if it is made before the court, it is permanently on record. Moreover I have faith in India's ability to win Swaraj during the year. I expect tens of thousands to be in gaol before Swaraj is established. I expect the Swaraj Parliament to discharge all non-co-operation prisoners who have not been proved guilty of moral crimes. The statements will be a valuable aid to the judges under Swaraj. Again I am most anxious, that criminals do not take advantage of non-co-operation and making no statement leave the public to infer their innocence. A statement to satisfy this test must always be brief, to the point and not at all argumentative.

Maulana Mahomed Ali's statement does not fall under that category. He entered into a long and elaborate dissertation of the law of Islam. He evidently 'used' the court not for defence but for advertising the cause. People have read his statement before the court with avidity. If he had written it as an essay, it would have fallen flat. I am therefore prepared neither to condemn nor defend the statement.

It could certainly have been much briefer. But it has become impossible for Maulana Mahomed Ali to be brief. I have known him to take an hour over his speech under a promise of being brief!

The second charge is more serious. In the refusal to sit down, there was no question of civil or uncivil disobedience. But it was a question of taste. All the scenes jarred on me. There was certainly no impudence but there was unnecessary defiance. I admit that a non-co-operator should be all humility. And the behaviour of the prisoners was far from humble.

But I have again been unable to condemn the behaviour of the prisoners. They have answered a purpose and not a bad purpose at that. We are much cowed down. The courts have an overawing atmosphere about them. Respect for law and the courts is one thing. Fear of them is another. In my opinion the Brothers and their fellow prisoners were out for mischief. They wanted to rob the courts and prisons of their terror. They therefore deliberately hurled defiance at the court. If the magistrate had entered into the humour of the situation, the Brothers would not have been assertive as they were. The Court wanted to stand on dignity. The Brothers would have none of it. I do not deny that there was a better way, but I verily believe that the Brothers have rendered a service to the cause even at their expense. They would have damaged the cause by their lack of humility. They have once more proved themselves to be truthful and natural. That to me is the

most lovable trait. We must remember, that we do want the present courts brought into disrepute because we believe them to be disreputable. But whilst I cannot condemn the Brothers' defiance, I do not present it as a pattern to copy. Those who try will fail. For let me tell the reader, that the Brothers have no feeling against the magistrate, and I have no doubt that they are as courteous to the magistrate when he is off the Bench as they are to me.

..

The reader will perhaps better judge the scene
An Eye from the following letter received
Witness from an eye witness.

"You must have read the proceedings of the case in the press, but I consider it my duty to write to you the impressions of a silent spectator. At the very outset an attempt was made to snub the 'Hero' accused, but the unfortunate Mr. Magistrate was facing none else, but Maulana Mahomed Ali. The gentleman had his 'well merited rebuke'.

"I confess that it was for the second time in my life that I entered a court to hear a case. The recollections of the first experience are not sweet, but the second and I hope the last but one—as the last has yet to come—has pained me. The so called court of justice of Lord Reading's regime in a country governed by Law and order is in no way better than a theatre.

"Sir, I am wrong. The actors in a theatre play their part honestly to please the spectators who pay for their amusement. But the 'Daniel' of the Blinsh Court, whether white or black, knows no such thing as fair play, and I am confident that justice is not the word in their dictionary.

"I am not a lawyer, so I could not follow the technical irregularities of the case, but if law has anything to do with common sense, then I can dare to say that the whole show in the Khaliqdina Hall was one great farce the like of which I had never seen before.

"It was amusing to hear the witnesses and the way in which the conspiracy was being proved, and the speech made by the Government counsel in summing up the case hardly needs any comment.

"I have personally come to the conclusion, that the making of a statement also in these courts is nothing but a cry in the wilderness, unless it be to serve the purpose of propaganda in the form of a last appeal to the countrymen."

..

The following letter from Bulandshahr will still
A further elucidate the point
Contrast I am trying to make

"I have to bring to your notice the most unbecoming action of the District Magistrate during the course of a political trial which began on the 3rd instant.

"Mahashaya Mahavir Prasad Tiagi was prosecuted under sections 124 A and 133 of the Indian Penal Code in the court of Mr. Dohra, the District Magistrate. During the examination of Mohammad Var Khan Head constable, the short notes of the

speech delivered by the accused were being read to the court, which remarked that the English translation of the report did not tally with the original; the Government Pleader replied that it appeared like that, but he could not tell the reason why. When the examination in chief of the witness was over, the court asked the accused if he wanted to cross-examine the witness. Thereupon the accused said that he did not. He only wanted to have the fact noted, that the English translation of the notes did not tally with the original as frankly admitted by the Government Pleader before the court. It may not be out of place to mention that the accused was not represented and is not acquainted with law, he having served only in the Army and had been beyond the seas in connection with the war. The Magistrate declined to make the note and said, "you speak nonsense." The accused was offended at the remark and retorted, "I suppose it is yours." Thereupon the Magistrate ordered Balwant Singh constable No. 55 who was in charge of the accused to slap him. The constable hesitated and most unwillingly gave the accused a light stroke on the back side of his neck. Thereupon the District Magistrate again ordered him to give a sharp slap on the face which he did when so forced to do. The accused patiently suffered the insult and humiliation. The accused was all along undefended and has not cross-examined any prosecution witness.

"I may also add, that as soon as the District Magistrate came to the court, he saw the accused waiting outside, sitting on a bench in the charge of a sub-inspector. When the trial commenced, he scolded the sub-inspector for having offered a bench to the accused to sit on and got his hand-cuffs removed in court.

"But just half a minute after, he once again ordered the hand-cuffs to be used, because the accused again stood with arms crossed at his chest. The extreme action of the District Magistrate has created a strong sense of excitement and indignation amongst the public here. A mass meeting consisting of some four thousand men was held under the presidentship of Mr. Sayed Hassan Berni, B.A., LL.B., Vakil and appropriate resolutions passed. Telegrams in obedience to the resolutions have been sent, but it is not certain if the messages have been transmitted. Letters have therefore been sent to ensure the communication of the resolutions. Press-telegrams have also been despatched."

The resolutions passed at the public meeting held in Bulandshahr congratulate the accused on his self-control, bravery and resignation. But I have grave doubts as to the propriety of the use of the adjectives. Why did not the accused utter a word of protest? Why did he not refuse to be tried by the so called Magistrate? The Magistrate clearly committed a crime, and so did the unwilling constable. Did the accused remain dumb because of love and humility? Silence or passivity must not be used as a cloak for fear or worse. Was not the attitude of the Brothers more manly and natural?

There are occasions such as the one at Bulandshahr, when a man's own strength must be his sole protection. And I have no doubt, that the Brothers, when they defied the court, had in mind the political debility of their countrymen.

Dr. Kichlew deserves congratulations for his **Hindustani** having declined to speak in **Courts** English. Save on rare occasions we should certainly insist on giving evidence before the courts in our mother tongue. The best of us are at a disadvantage, when we have to speak or argue in English. And if all refused to use any but their own language, we should soon get rid of translators, and the judges will be obliged to know the language of the province in which they serve. In no other part of the world are judges ignorant of the language of the people among whom they dispense justice.

A correspondent asks, 'Is it not true that the loss of **Cause** of Hindu Kingdoms is on account of the people having attained to the highest order of spirituality?' I do not think so. We know as a matter of fact, that the Hindus have lost each time for want of spirituality, in other words moral stamina. The Rajputs fought amongst themselves for trifles and lost India. Of personal bravery there was a great deal, but of real spirituality there was a great dearth at the time. Why did Ravana lose and Rama with his monkeys win if it was not for the latter's spirituality? Did not the Pandavas win because of their superior spirituality? We often confuse spiritual knowledge with spiritual attainment. Spirituality is not a matter of knowing scriptures and engaging in philosophical discussions. It is a matter of heart culture, of immeasurable strength. Fearlessness is the first requisite of spirituality. Cowards can never be moral.

The same correspondent further asks, 'Don't you think that the success of the present foreign government is due to the oppression of the poor, the weak, of the so-called untouchables by the higher classes?' This oppression by us of our own kith and kin is certainly the root cause. It is a fall from spirituality. The curse of foreign domination and the attendant exploitation is the justest retribution meted out by God to us for our exploitation of a sixth of our own race and their studied degradation in the sacred name of religion. Hence is it that I have put the removal of untouchability as an indispensable condition of attainment of Swaraj. Slave holders ourselves, we have no business to quarrel with our own slavery if we are not prepared unconditionally to enfranchise our own slaves. We must first cast out the beam of untouchability from our own eye before we attempt to remove the mote from that of our

Mrs. Sengupta is a cultured Englishwoman married to a cultured Bengali. Even against Women Whilst Mr. Sengupta was under arrest, Mrs. Sengupta went out to the cloth bazar in Chittagong to tell the consumers to buy *Khadi* and avoid foreign cloth. This was a serious offence for a woman to commit, and therefore she received a notice under section 144 ordering her to desist. She has obeyed the notice because of the Congress embargo. Whatever may be said of men, Mrs. Sengupta could not be suspected of any intention to create trouble or offer any intimidation. Her inspiring presence would no doubt have shamed buyers into abstaining from going to foreign cloth dealers. And that would have been bad from the Magistrate's standpoint. The order, therefore, is a virtual prohibition against Swadeshi propaganda. But it will not surprise me in the least, if this Government, which chiefly rules to protect merchandise in foreign cloth, must end when foreign cloth is boycotted. The Government must grow madder with the progress of real Swadeshi.

What has happened in Chittagong has been copied in Gauhati. There the workers have been prohibited from peacefully warning consumers against making purchases of foreign cloth for the Puja holidays. The order is issued against "all persons within Gauhati municipality to abstain from intimidating or causing annoyance to all persons engaged in sale or purchase of goods by threats or shouts or gestures or show of force, to abstain from loitering in the public roads or in the neighbourhood of shops or markets for purposes aforesaid, to abstain from doing other or any such acts as are likely to cause annoyance to persons lawfully engaged or disturbance of public tranquility". Mr. Bardoloi who has wired the text adds, "This is only a device to stop peaceful picketing".

I would advise workers to be chary of cloth picketing except when it becomes imperatively necessary. But when it does, the Working Committee has now given leave to disregard orders like the Chittagong and Gauhati ones, and fearlessly continue picketing, and court imprisonment. Prisons will be palaces, when we fill them for Swadeshi which is the oxygen of national life.

M. K. G.

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THE GREAT SENTINEL.

By M. K. GANDHI.

The Bard of Shantiniketan has contributed to the *Modern Review* a brilliant essay on the present movement. It is a series of word pictures which he alone can paint. It is an eloquent protest against authority, slave mentality or whatever description one gives of blind acceptance of a passing mania whether out of fear or hope. It is a welcome and wholesome reminder to all workers, that we must not be impatient, we must not impose authority no matter how great. The poet tells us summarily to reject anything and everything that does not appeal to our reason or heart. If we would gain Swaraj, we must stand for Truth as we know it at any cost. A reformer who is enraged because his message is not accepted must retire to the forest to learn how to watch, wait and pray. With all this one must heartily agree, and the Poet deserves the thanks of his countrymen for standing up for Truth and Reason. There is no doubt that our last state will be worse than our first, if we surrender our reason into somebody's keeping. And I would feel extremely sorry to discover, that the country had unthinkingly and blindly followed all I had said or done. I am quite conscious of the fact that blind surrender to love is often more mischievous than a forced surrender to the lash of the tyrant. There is hope for the slave of the brute, none for that of love. Love is needed to strengthen the weak, love becomes tyrannical when it exacts obedience from an unbeliever. To mutter a *mantra* without knowing its value is unmanly. It is good, therefore, that the poet has invited all who are slavishly mimicking the call of the *charkha* boldly to declare their revolt. His essay serves as a warning to us all who in our impatience are betrayed into intolerance or even violence against those who differ from us. I regard the Poet as a sentinel warning us against the approach of enemies called Bigotry, Lethargy, Intolerance, Ignorance, Inertia and other members of that brood.

But whilst I agree with all that the Poet has said as to the necessity of watchfulness lest we cease to think, I must not be understood to endorse the proposition that there is any such blind obedience on a large scale in the country to-day. I have again and again appealed to reason, and let me assure him, that if happily the country has come to believe in the spinning-wheel as the giver of plenty, it has done so after laborious thinking, after great hesitation. I am not sure, that even now educated India has assimilated the truth underlying the *charkha*. He must not mistake the surface dirt for the substance underneath. Let him go deeper and see for himself, whether the *charkha* has been accepted from blind faith or from reasoned necessity.

I do indeed ask the Poet and the page to spin the wheel as a sacrament. When there is war, the poet lays down the lyre, the lawyer his law reports, the schoolboy his books. The Poet will sing the true note after the war is

over, the lawyer will have occasion to go to his law books when people have time to fight among themselves. When a house is on fire, all the inmates go out, and each one takes up a bucket to quench the fire. When all about me are dying for want of food, the only occupation permissible to me is to feed the hungry. It is my conviction, that India is a house on fire, because its manhood is being daily scorched, it is dying of hunger because it has no work to buy food with. Kholna is starving not because the people cannot work, but because they have no work. The Ceded Districts are passing successively through a fourth famine, Orissa is a land suffering from chronic famines. Our cities are not India. India lives in her seven and a half lacs of villages, and the cities live upon the villages. They do not bring their wealth from other countries. The city people are brokers and commission agents for the big houses of Europe, America and Japan. The cities have co-operated with the latter in the bleeding process that has gone on for the past two hundred years. It is my belief based on experience, that India is daily growing poorer. The circulation about her feet and legs has almost stopped. And if we do not take care, she will collapse altogether.

To a people famishing and idle, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages. God created man to work for his food, and said that those who ate without work were thieves. Eighty per cent. of India are compulsorily thieves half the year. It is any wonder if India has become one vast prison? Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning wheel. The call of the spinning wheel is the noblest of all. Because it is the call of love. And love is Swaraj. The spinning wheel will 'curb the mind' when time is spent on necessary physical labour can be said to do so. We must think of millions who are to-day less than animals, who are almost in a dying state. The spinning wheel is the reviving draught for the millions of our dying countrymen and countrywomen. 'Why should I, who have no need to work for food, spin?' may be the question asked. Because I am eating what does not belong to me. I am living on the spoliation of my countrymen. Trace the course of every pice that finds its way into your pocket, and you will realise the truth of what I write. Swaraj has no meaning for the millions if they do not know how to employ their enforced idleness. The attainment of this Swaraj is possible within a short time, and it is so possible only by the revival of the spinning wheel.

I do want growth, I do want self-determination. I do want freedom, but I want all these for the soul. I doubt if the steel age is an advance upon the flint age. I am indifferent. It is the evolution of the soul to which the intellect and all our faculties have to be devoted. I have no difficulty in imagining the possibility of a man armoured after the modern style making some lasting and new discovery for

mankind, but I have less difficulty in imagining the possibility of a man having nothing but a bit of flint and a nail for lighting his path or his matchlock ever singing new hymns of praise and delivering to an aching world a message of peace and good will upon earth. A plea for the spinning wheel is a plea for recognising the dignity of labour.

I claim that in losing the spinning wheel we lost our left lung. We are therefore suffering from galloping consumption. The restoration of the wheel arrests the progress of the fell disease. There are certain things which all must do in all climes. There are certain things which all must do in certain climes. The spinning wheel is the thing which all must turn in the Indian clime for the transition stage at any rate and the vast majority must for all time.

It was our love of foreign cloth that ousted the wheel from its position of dignity. Therefore I consider it a sin to wear foreign cloth. I must confess that I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and therefore sinful. Thus the economics that permit one country to prey upon another are immoral. It is sinful to buy and use articles made by sweated labour. It is sinful to eat American wheat and let my neighbour the grain dealer starve for want of custom. Similarly it is sinful for me to wear the latest finery of Regent Street, when I know that if I had but worn the things woven by the neighbouring spinners and weavers, that would have clothed me, and fed and clothed them. On the knowledge of my sin bursting upon me, I must consign the foreign garments to the flames and thus purify myself, and thenceforth rest content with the rough *Khadi* made by my neighbours. On knowing that my neighbours may not, having given up the occupation, take kindly to the spinning wheel, I must take it up myself and thus make it popular.

I venture to suggest to the Poet, that the clothes I ask him to burn must be and are his. If they had to his knowledge belonged to the poor or the ill-clad, he would long ago have restored to the poor what was theirs. In burning my foreign clothes I burn my shame. I must refuse to insult the naked by giving them clothes they do not need, instead of giving them work which they sorely need. I will not commit the sin of becoming their patron but on learning that I had assisted in impoverishing them, I would give them a privileged position and give them neither crumbs nor cast off clothing, but the best of my food and clothes and associate myself with them in work.

Nor is the scheme of non-co-operation or Swadeshi an exclusive doctrine. My modesty has prevented me from declaring from the house top that the message of non-co-operation, non-violence and Swadeshi is a message to the world. It must fall flat, if it does not bear fruit in the soil where it has been delivered. At the present moment India has nothing to share with the world save her degradation.

pauperism and plagues. Is it her ancient Shastras that we should send to the world? Well, they are printed in many editions, and an incredulous and idolatrous world refuses to look at them, because we the heirs and custodians do not live them. Before therefore I can think of sharing with the world, I must possess. Our non-co-operation is neither with the English nor with the West. Our non-co-operation is with the system the English have established, with the material civilisation and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak. Our non-co-operation is a retirement within ourselves. Our non-co-operation is a refusal to co-operate with the English administrators on their own terms. We say to them, 'Come and co-operate with us on our terms, and it will be well for us, for you and the world.' We must refuse to be lifted off our feet. A drowning man cannot save others. In order to be fit to save others, we must try to save ourselves. Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor aggressive, nor destructive. It is health-giving, religious and therefore humanitarian. India must learn to live before she can aspire to die for humanity. The mice which helplessly find themselves between the cat's teeth acquire no merit from their enforced sacrifice.

True to his poetical instinct the poet lives for the morrow and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds early in the morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky. These birds had their day's food and soared with rested wings in whose veins new blood had flown during the previous night. But I have had the pain of watching birds who for want of strength could not be coaxed even into a flutter of their wings. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced to be realised. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song from Kabir. The hungry millions ask for one poem-invigorating food. They cannot be given it. They must earn it. And they can earn only by the sweat of their brow.

नित्यं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो त्वकर्मणः ।

॥ ८ ॥

यज्ञार्थात्कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबंधनः ।

तदर्थं कर्म कौंतेय मुक्तमंगः समाचर ॥ ९ ॥

सहस्रज्ञा. प्रजा सृष्टौ पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।

अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेव नाऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक् ॥ १० ॥

देवान्भाषयतानेन ते देवा भाषयंतु वः ।

परस्परं भाषयंतः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ॥ ११ ॥

इष्टान्मोगान्द्वि वी देवा दास्यंते यज्ञभावेताः ।

तैर्देवान्प्रदायेभ्यो यो मुंके स्तेन एव सः ॥ १२ ॥

यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः संतो मुनयः सर्वक्रिन्विप ।

मुंजते ते त्वर्धं पापा ये पचंत्यात्मकारणात् ॥ १३ ॥

अत्राद्भवन्ति भूतानि पर्जन्यादन्नसंभवः ।

यज्ञाद्भवति पर्जन्यो यज्ञः कर्मसमुद्भवः । १४ ।

कर्म ब्रह्मोद्भूतं विद्धि ब्रह्माक्षरमुद्भूतम् ।

तस्मात्सर्वगतं ब्रह्म नित्यं यद्दे प्रविष्टितम् ॥ १५ ॥

एवं प्रवर्तिनं ब्रह्म नानुवर्तयतीह यः ।

अघानुर्विद्यारामो मोघं पार्थ स जीवति ॥ १६ ॥

गीता । अध्यायः ३ ।

In these verses is contained for me the whole truth of the spinning wheel as an indispensable sacrament for the India of to-day. If we will take care of to-day, God will take care of the morrow.

THE FEAR OF DEATH.

By M. K. GANDHI.

I have been collecting descriptions of Swaraj. One of these would be: Swaraj is the abandonment of the fear of death. A nation which allows itself to be influenced by the fear of death cannot attain Swaraj, and cannot retain it if somehow attained.

English people carry their lives in their pockets. Arabs and Pathans consider death as nothing more than an ordinary ailment; they never weep when a relation dies. Boer women are perfectly innocent of this fear. In the Boer war, thousands of young Boer women became widowed. They never cared. It did not matter in the least if the husband or the son was lost; it was enough and more than enough that the country's honour was safe. What bootied the husband if the country was enslaved? It was infinitely better to bury a son's mortal remains and to cherish his immortal memory than to bring him up as a serf. Thus did the Boer women steel their hearts and cheerfully give up their darlings to the angel of Death.

The people I have mentioned kill and get killed. But what of those who do not kill but are only ready to die themselves? Such people become the objects of a world's adoration. They are the salt of the earth.

The English and the Germans fought one another; they killed and got killed. The result is that animosities have increased. There is no end of unrest, and the present condition of Europe is pitiful. There is more of deceit, and each is anxious to circumvent the rest.

But the fearlessness which we are cultivating is of a nobler and purer order and it is therefore that we hope to achieve a signal victory within a very short time.

When we attain Swaraj, many of us will have given up the fear of death; or else we shall not have attained Swaraj. Till now mostly young boys have died in the cause. Those who died in Ahgadh were all below twenty one. No one knew who they were. If Government resort to firing now, I am hoping that some men of the first rank will have the opportunity of offering up the supreme sacrifice.

Why should we be upset when children or young men or old men die? Not a moment passes when some one is not born or is not dead

in this world. We should feel the stupidity of rejoicing in a birth and lamenting a death. Those who believe in the soul—and what Hindu, Musalman or Parsi is there who does not?—know that the soul never dies. The souls of the living as well as of the dead are all one. The eternal processes of creation and destruction are going on ceaselessly. There is nothing in it for which we might give ourselves up to joy or sorrow. Even if we extend the idea of relationship only to our countrymen and take all the births in the country as taking place in our own family, how many births shall we celebrate? If we weep for all the deaths in our country, the tears in our eyes would never dry. This train of thought should help us to get rid of all fear of death.

India, they say, is a nation of philosophers; and we have not been unwilling to appropriate the compliment. Still, hardly any other nation becomes so helpless in the face of death as we do. And in India again, no other community perhaps betrays so much of this helplessness as the Hindus. A single birth is enough for us to be beside ourselves with ludicrous joyfulness. A death makes us indulge in orgies of loud lamentation which condemn the neighbourhood to sleeplessness for the night. If we wish to attain Swaraj, and if having attained it we wish to make it something to be proud of, we must perfectly renounce this unseemly fright.

And what is imprisonment to the man who is fearless of death itself? If the reader will bestow a little thought upon the matter, he will find that if Swaraj is delayed, it is delayed because we are not prepared calmly to meet death and inconveniences less than death.

As larger and larger numbers of innocent men come out to welcome death, their sacrifice will become the potent instrument for the salvation of all others; and there will be a minimum of suffering. Suffering cheerfully endured ceases to be suffering and is transmuted into an ineffable joy. The man who flies from suffering is the victim of endless tribulation before it has come to him, and is half dead when it does come. But one who is cheerfully ready for anything and everything that comes, escapes all pain, his cheerfulness acts as an anaesthetic.

I have been led to write about this subject, because we have got to envisage even death if we will have Swaraj this very year. One who is previously prepared often escapes accidents; and this may well be the case with us. It is my firm conviction that Swadeshi constitutes this preparation. When once Swadeshi is a success, neither this Government nor any one else will feel the necessity of putting us to any further test.

Still it is best not to neglect any contingency whatever. Possession of power makes men blind and

deaf; they cannot see things which are under their very nose, and cannot hear things which invade their ears. There is thus no knowing what this power-intoxicated Government may not do. So it seemed to me that patriotic men ought to be prepared for death, imprisonment and similar eventualities.

The brave meet death with a smile on their lips, but they are circumspect all the same. There is no room for foolhardiness in this non-violent war. We do not propose to go to gaol or to die by an immoral act. We must mount the gallows while resisting the oppressive laws of this Government. (Translated from the Gujarati *Navajivan* by D.)

A KEY TO SWADESHI.

BY LAKSHMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM.

(concluded)

If an enterprising man devotes 2 hours a day to these operations, he will spend no more on his clothing than what he pays for the cotton itself.

If finer cloth is wanted, there will be an increase in spinning and weaving charges, and there must be more spinning-wheels and more looms. And then the cloth produced will naturally be proportionately more costly.

Every member of a village Congress Committee ought to take a stock of conditions in his own place in the light of the above calculations. If the village produces more than it needs, arrangements should be made through the Provincial Congress Committee to make the surplus available for other places which produce nothing or an amount insufficient for themselves. If the village produces less than it needs, steps should be taken to increase the local output and in the meantime to supply the defect by drawing upon the reserves of the Provincial Committee, which should act as the provincial centre of production and distribution. The country has got to be literally flooded with Swadeshi cloth. It is only thus we can beat Manchester and Lancashire, and restore India's independence.* नान्यः पन्था विवृतेऽयनाय ।

(The Gujarati *Navajivan*.)

(Continued from the last page)

Pride in their port, defiance in their eye, weaving *dhotiyans* which they cannot use themselves and which they sell to the beggarly Indians at a profit?

The history of cotton spinning in India goes back, as we have seen, to a remote antiquity. The object of this article is to note down some references to it in our literature, which, after these preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed to do.

(To be continued)

* There is no other Path to the Goal.

§ In writing this we have derived great assistance from Schoff's masterly edition of the *Periplus*, to which our acknowledgments are due.

HAND SPINNING IN ANCIENT TIMES.

BY V. G. DESAI.

Food and clothing constitute the primary wants of humanity, and since the very dawn of history India would seem to have played the part of *India-and-Vastra-purna* to the world. We are told in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a description of travel and trade in the Indian ocean by a Greek merchant of the first century after Christ, that among other things, Western India (*Barygaza* = Bharuch or Broach, *Syrastrene* = Saurashtra or Kathiawad) exported wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesamum oil,† sugar, cotton fabrics, silk yarn and indigo. The mighty *Śindhu* did not rest content with giving a name to the country, its people and its religion; it also gave a name to a kind of muslins, known as *ladin* to the Old Testament and *sindon* to the Greeks. Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures* 136-138) argues on the basis of *s* being substituted by *k* in Persian mouths, that there was ancient sea-trade between India and the Euphrates, as the word '*Śindhu*' or muslin is mentioned in an ancient Babylonian list of clothing. Again to the Greeks *Dacca* muslins were known as *Gangetika*, a word suggestive of their origin from the banks of the Ganges. Indeed, while only a few hundred years ago cotton was almost unknown to Western nations, it was exported by sea to the head of the Persian Gulf four thousand years before Christ; and it found its way very early to Egypt. Herodotus, who tells us that the Indians were the greatest nation of the age, describes cotton as a wool, better than that of sheep, the fruits of trees growing wild in India (III 9-106). Vedic gods and goddesses are described and pictured as wearing woven garments. The manufacture of cotton cloth was at its best in India until recent times. Fine Indian muslins were in great demand

*We are not here immediately concerned with other articles of export, but we may note in passing that one of these was iron and steel. '*Ferrum indicum*' appears in the list of dutiable articles under Marcus Aurelius. Edrisi says, 'The Hindus excel in the manufacture of iron. They have also workshops wherein are forged the most famous sabres in the world. It is impossible to find anything to surpass the edge that you get from Indian steel. The so-called Damascus blades famous in the middle ages in Europe were derived mainly from India. Another was *ejony* which Vergil speaks of in glowing terms (*Georgics* II-116-117) as peculiar to India. Horace also refers to it in the *Odes* (I-31).

†The *Periplus* calls sugar the honey from the reed called *sachhari*. This is the first mention in the history of the European world of sugar as an article of commerce. Pliny knew it only as a medicine. Sugar was produced in India, Burma and China long before it found its way to Rome, and seems to have been cultivated and crushed first in India.

‡ = the blue dye of India.

and commanded high prices both in the Roman Empire and Mediaeval Europe. 'The gossamer muslins of Dacca, the beautiful shawls of Cashmere and the brocaded silks of Delhi adorned the proudest of beauties at the courts of the Caesars' (Martin). The industry was one of the main factors in the wealth of ancient and mediaeval India, and from the days of Pliny right up to the time when the East India Company conquered Bengal, treasure and precious metals poured into India in return for the wares which she sent to the West. The muslins of Dacca were the most delicate of all the fabrics of India, an ancient test of which was for a whole piece 20 yards long and 1 yard wide to be drawn through a lady's ring. The best test, however was by the weight in proportion to size and number of threads. Two hundred years ago a piece of muslin 15 yards long by 1 yard wide could be made so fine as to weigh only 900 grains or a little over 1/10th of a pound. In 1840 a piece of the same dimensions and texture could not be made finer than 1600 grains. A piece of this muslin 10 yards long by 1 yard wide could not be woven in less than 5 months, and the work could only be carried on in the rainy season when the moisture in the air would prevent the thread from breaking (Mukharji—*Art manufactures of India*). Dr. James Taylor wrote in 1851, that the skein of yarn which a weaver measured in his presence proved to be 250 miles in length to the pound of cotton (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* III-201). *Ventus textilis* and *nebula* were names under which the Romans knew of them, 'textile breeze,' 'webs of woven air,' 'evening dew,' 'running water' are other appreciations. Tavernier tells of a Persian ambassador who took his sovereign, on returning home, a cocoanut of the size of an ostrich's egg, enriched with precious stones; and when it was opened, a turban was drawn from it 60 cubits in length, and of a muslin so fine that you would scarcely know that you had it in your hand.

The English conquest is largely responsible for the disappearance from our midst of this, one of the greatest of our national industries. Its transfer to the West is perhaps the greatest single factor in the economic history of our own time. The *Imperial Gazetteer*, if it tries to make this out as a 'remarkable instance of the triumph of improved mechanical contrivances and intelligent agriculture over hereditary skill and primitive trade', also mentions the fact that in 1721 (now exactly two hundred years ago) the importation of printed calicoes was prohibited by Act of Parliament in the interests of Manchester the evil genius of India. Lord Reading says he has come out to do justice. Here is a test case for him. Let him, if he dares, prohibit the importation of Manchester cloth into India. What an irony is there in Englishmen, the lords of human kind,

(Continued on the preceding page)

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NOTES

In the last issue I have endeavoured to answer The Charkha. The objections raised by the Poet against spinning as a sacrament to be performed by all. I have done so in all humility and with the desire to convince the Poet and those who think like him. The reader will be interested in knowing, that my belief is derived largely from the Bhagavadgita. I have quoted the relevant verses in the article itself. I give below Edwin Arnold's rendering of the verses from his Song Celestial for the benefit of those who do not read Sanskrit.

Work is more excellent than idleness.

The body's life proceeds not, lacking work.
There is a task of holiness to do.

Unlike world-binding toil, which bindeth not
The faithful soul, such earnest duty do

Free from desire, and thou shalt well perform

Thy heavenly purpose. Spake Prajapati

In the beginning, when all men were made
And, with mankind, the sacrifice—"Do this"

Work! Sacrifice! Increase and multiply
With sacrifice! This shall be Kamadhuk

Your 'Cow of Plenty', giving back her milk
Of all abundance. Worship the gods thereby:

The gods shall yield ye grace. Those meats ye
crave

The gods will grant to Labour, when it pays

Tithes in the altar-flame. But if one eats
Fruits of the earth, rendering to kindly Heaven
No gift of toil, that thief steals from his word."

Who eat of food after their sacrifice

Are quit of fault, but they that spread a feast
All for themselves, eat sin and drink of sin.

By food the living live; food comes of toil.

And rain comes by the pious sacrifice.

And sacrifice is paid with tithes of toil.

Thus action is of Brahman, who is one

The Only, All-pervading; at all times

Present in sacrifice. He that abstains

To help the rolling wheels of this great world
Glutting his idle sense, lives a lost life,
Shameful and vain.

Work here undoubtedly refers to physical labour, and work by way of sacrifice can only be work to be done by all for the common benefit. Such work such sacrifice can only be spinning. I do not wish to suggest, that the author of the Divine Song had the spinning wheel in mind. He

merely laid down a fundamental principle of conduct. And reading in and applying it to India I can only think of spinning as the fittest and most acceptable sacrificial body labour. I cannot imagine anything nobler or more national than that for say one hour in the day we should all do the labour that the poor must do, and thus identify ourselves with them and through them with all mankind. I cannot imagine better worship of God than that in His name I should labour for the poor even as they do. The spinning wheel means a more equitable distribution of the riches of the earth.

For the satisfaction of those who have not

Bengali. Studied the Poet's article, let me

Response inform them that the Poet is not altogether against the spinning wheel. He does not see the necessity of spinning for all. But I am convinced, that as we go forward there will be no one doubting the efficacy and supremacy of the charkha for banishing India's distressful and growing poverty. Dr. P. C. Roy's frank recognition of the charkha is a valuable acquisition. More than all this recognition is the news coming through letters that wherever Deshabandhu Das and his devoted wife go, crowds give up their foreign clothing and take up the charkha. Here is the translation of an extract from a letter received by a Bengali friend from his father living near Chandpur made known to India by the Gurkha charge on that dreadful night when helpless coolies were driven away from the station yard.

"Yesterday there was mass singing in procession, an exhibition of handspun yarn and a huge mass meeting at the Nirodh Park. The audience was vast. The park and the surrounding roads as well as the roofs of the houses near the park were full. A Congress worker from Lalpur delivered a soul-stirring speech. There was a huge bonfire in which such a large mass of rages and cloth was burnt as I cannot describe. The Shah merchant of Fate market brought over to the meeting his whole stock of foreign cloth and threw it into the fire. The charkha has not yet spread so much, but I am expecting better results now. In my family your mother sister and three brothers are all spinning very good yarn. Pramila (the sister) has extorted from me a good charkha and she is now happy. On reaching here also she will help me to work with her charkha."

This is merely a sample of what is happening all over Bengal. I doubt not, that when Bengal's imagination is touched, she will find herself on the front.

..

The Honours List is daily increasing. If we are renouncing one kind of titles from the Government, we are asking for another and true variety. Gangadharrao Deshpande is the latest selection. His name and the names of many I can think of convince me of the approaching victory. Only we must remain steady under the volley. If we continue to respond to the Government warrants without fuss, without noise and without anger, we may feel certain of immediate success. I continue to receive letters from friends inquiring what will happen when all the leaders are taken away. The questioners betray the anxiety in, if not their unfitness for, Swaraj by putting the question. What will happen when all the leaders die? Our fitness for Swaraj can only be demonstrated by our capacity to continue our work in spite of the withdrawal of leaders by death or imprisonment. Surely the memory of imprisonment should act as a spur to greater and more disciplined action. A friend who felt disappointed when I was not arrested as was rumoured I would be on the list, showed a robust faith in himself and the cause. We must be able to stand on our own legs without support even as we breathe naturally and without artificial aid. If Karnatak is the country I have imagined it to be, Gangadharrao Deshpande's arrest and imprisonment must mean complete boycott of foreign cloth and much greater production of Khadi. Karnatak cannot rest satisfied till by its own effort it has secured the freedom of the imprisoned and still to be imprisoned patriot.

..

There is little doubt that the Government of Bombay are going about their business in a methodical manner in picking out leaders. For in Pir Turab Ali Shah and Pir Mujadid they have arrested two Muslims who have a very large following and whose influence was exercised in order to curb the violent tendency among the rank and file. Of course Mr. Deshpande's unrivalled influence in Karnatak was also for peace. One would almost think the Government of Bombay was ashamed of its own moderation and was trying to make up for past neglect. The Dharwad judgment and the Sindhi and the Karnatak arrests point to the fact that the Bombay Government is almost inviting people to violence. But let us hope that it has become awakened too late for the purpose. The country seems to have understood which way lies its interest and will not play into the hands of the Government. Given Hindu Muslim unity, intelligent acceptance of non-violence by the masses, and systematic work in Swadeshi, and nothing can possibly keep us from attaining Swaraj during this year.

The reader will recollect the assault instigated by the District Magistrate of Bulandshahr upon Mr. Tiagi who was being tried in his court and who was therefore under his protection. I have now before me the apology he tendered to the accused. Here it is.

Prisoner at the Bar,

Before to-day's proceedings go any further, I wish to say something.

I do so for two reasons, — the first, that I am trying you, and it is not right that you or any one else should suspect that you will not be tried fairly and in a proper manner. The second, that no one in the Government can wish that any incident should happen to give any section of the community reasonable grounds for resentment, especially as suspicious persons are ready to take advantage of such incidents.

I was impatient and you were so not. I am wrong in having you slapped, and I regret that I did so.

But that if you are respectful to the court, you will win the court. If you do not I shall, I shall find proper means of dealing with you. You will in any case be tried fairly and patiently, and you will have a full opportunity at the proper stage to make any relevant remarks you have to offer.

I may add that out of regard to the loyal members of your community who are doing good work in this district, if you are proved innocent of the offence of which you are accused in this or in any other court, I shall send 50/- to the Malabar Relief Fund.

W. E. J. DOUSS.

It is evident to me that the apology was offered under pressure, even as Sir Michael O'Dwyer was made to apologise to the late Council for his offensive remarks. Insincere and mechanical as the wording is, at that very sitting the magistrate broke his promise of giving the accused a patient hearing by exposing from his statement a passage which he did not like. His offer to pay Rs. 50/- to the Malabar relief fund for the sake of the loyalists if he was proved to be innocent shows the incorrigibility of the magistrate. The donation was meant to purge the offence committed by the magistrate. The 'loyalists' could have nothing to do with the innocence or guilt of the accused. Why then should the donation be conditional upon proof of the accused's innocence? This assault by the magistrate raises an issue of the gravest import. Could such a man occupy the position of a magistrate for a single day under any civilized Government? Could for instance the Lord Chief Justice of England assault a prisoner being tried before him and still retain his high office? If the Government of India was not in reality a lawless and totally irresponsible government, the magistrate would have been suspended and prosecuted as a common felon. An assault by a judge upon an accused whilst he is on his trial

before that judge is not an ordinary assault that could be treated lightly.

There should be limit even to co-operating patience. Do the Indian ministers concerned feel an easy conscience over the magistrate's crime against the nation? Or do they think that they have no responsibility because the magistrate does not belong to their department?

A non-co-operator's duty is simple. Each such violation of law and morals on the part of Government officials must result in making us more determined in our purpose. We may not be satisfied till the system under which such atrocious conduct is possible is uprooted.

..

Two days before the second hearing of the case
 Accused's Mr. Tiagi sent to the
 Statement magistrate the following
 statement :-

Vande mataram

In the Court of the District Magistrate
 Bulandshahr.

From Mahabir Tiagi accused under sections 124
 and 153 I. P. Code.

I, Mahabir Tiagi, an innocent accused, am compelled to file the following statement. I want to say through this writing, that as the said Magistrate, while proving his tyranny and incompetency on the 3rd instant, treated me in the open Court in a way was calculated to insult and wound myself, my creed and my nationality, by forcing me to stand with *'Attention'*, threatening to have me kicked by the Police and actually getting me slapped, an action on the part of the magistrate which was absolutely illegal and barbarous, therefore in order to preserve my national, religious and personal honour and self-respect, I have, as a protest, decided to take a vow of silence and make a "speech strike" in this Court which has set every law at naught.

(Note—The following words here in the statement were, against the wishes of the accused, expunged by the Court and signed and dated, "Jaisai ki Panjab main meri Bahann ki-ki gauri ho harmati insaf ka lye Darbar-i-Ilahi main pesh hai," i. e. just as my sisters in the Punjab were insulted and their outraged honour is seeking its justice before God, in the same way) I leave to God my own merit which is far less than the outrage on the honour of my said sisters. It is possible that the extraordinary treatment meted out to me was intended to provoke the general public, but, I, from my own experience, would say that now Indian public is not only educated. They can put up with every tyranny but would not go a step behind in the non-violent course chalked out for them by the Master (Gandhi).

Praying to God for the liberation of my country,
 I am Mahabir Tiagi, *the Silent*.

Dated the Bulandshahr Jail, 4th October 1921

It is a courageous and outspoken statement, and if it represents Mr. Tiagi's own sentiments, it requires a modification of the view questioning his courage at the time he was assaulted. As the case is of very considerable importance, involving as it does the question of the bodily safety of prisoners,

it is necessary to examine somewhat fully the issues arising from it.

In my opinion the 'speech strike' and adopting the title of 'the Silent,' do not help at all. It was the clear duty of the prisoner on the day he was struck to refuse voluntarily to remain in the court. He should have refused there and then to submit to further trial by the so called judge. He should certainly have sat down as a mark of disowning the court's jurisdiction. All this would have probably meant more assault, certainly more punishment. But the secret of non-violence treated as a weapon of the strong means the inviting of suffering and personal injury in order to avoid tyranny. Ordinarily the movement requires or permits us to attend courts under warrants, because it did not anticipate conduct such as the Bulandshahr magistrate's. But the extraordinary conduct of the magistrate requires an extraordinary remedy.

The statement rightly emphasises non-violence. But I do not wish to be misunderstood. The pledge of non-violence does not require us to co-operate in our humiliation. It therefore does not require us to crawl on our bellies or to draw lines with our noses or to walk to salute the Union Jack or to do anything degrading at the dictation of officials. On the contrary our creed requires us to refuse to do any of these things even though we should be shot. It was therefore, for instance, no part of the duty of the Jallianwala Bagh people to run away or even to turn their backs when they were fired upon. If the message of non-violence had reached them, they would have been expected when fire was opened on them to march towards it with bare breasts and die rejoicing in the belief that it meant the freedom of their country. Non-violence laughs at the might of the tyrant and stultifies him by non-retaliation and non-retiral. We played into General Dyer's hands because we acted as he had expected. He wanted us to run away from his fire, he wanted us to crawl on our bellies and to draw lines with our noses. That was part of the game of 'frightfulness'. When we face it with eyes front, it vanishes like an apparition. We may not all evolve that type of courage. But I am certain that Swaraj is unattainable this year if some of us have not the courage which enables us to stand firm like a rock without retaliating. The might of the tyrant recoils upon himself when it meets with no response, even as an arm violently waved in the air suffers dislocation.

And just as we need the cool courage described
 A Relevant above, we need perfect
 Question discipline and training
 in voluntary obedience to be able to offer civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is the active expression of non-violence. Civil disobedience distinguishes the non-violence of the strong from the passive i. e. negative non-violence of the weak. And as weakness cannot lead to Swaraj, negative non-violence must fail to achieve our purpose.

Have we then the requisite discipline? Have we, a friend asked me, evolved the spirit of obedience

to our own rules and resolutions? Whilst we have made tremendous headway during the past twelve months, we have certainly not made enough to warrant us in embarking upon civil disobedience with easy confidence. Rules voluntarily passed by us and rules which carry no sanction save the disapproval of our own conscience must be like debts of honour held far more binding than rules superimposed upon us or rules whose breach we can purge by paying the penalty thereof. It follows that if we have not learnt the discipline of obeying our own rules, in other words carrying out our own promises, we are ill adapted for disobedience that can be at all described as civil. I do therefore suggest to every Congressman, every non-co-operator, and above all to every member of the All India Congress Committee to set himself or herself right with the Congress and his or her creed by carrying on the strictest self-examination and by correcting himself or herself wherever he or she might have failed.

The forthcoming meeting of the All India Congress Committee will nearly decide our fate so far as the attainment of our three ends during this year is concerned. We must have a programme which, if we vote for it, we must carry out at the cost of our lives. I am hoping that every one will come with the fullest information about his own constituency on every point. I hope that every one will come with a clean slate so far as his own obligations under the programme are concerned. Let every member realise, that he or she is a representative of the people and especially his electors in a manner in which the stalwarts in the reformed councils cannot claim to be. Let him think out the meaning of his responsibility, if he as a representative is to play his part in attaining the national goal during the next two months.

Telegrams and letters have poured in upon me from Deshabandhu Das down.

Signatures authorising me to insert their signatures to the manifesto on the Karachi resolution. I am not announcing all the names, because I hold it to be unnecessary. It was a demonstration to show the Government that the Musalman divines were not the only ones who held it sinful to serve the present Government, and the An Brothers and their co-accused were not the only persons to approve of the Karachi resolution. The others will sign the manifesto, if the Government will graciously honour the signatories with arrest and imprisonment.

I have seen criticism in the press regarding the collection and the Finance administration of the Lida Memorial Swaraj Fund. The public have certainly the right to know all about the Fund and other Congress collections. In my opinion the Congress finance has never been in a more satisfactory condition. It will be possible to speak with greater definiteness when Mr. Sopariwala who has been appointed All India auditor has inspected all the

Congress branches and reported upon their condition. The announcement made on the 1st of July as to the collections stands. There was a mistake made by me in reading Mr. Das's wire. My reading was, that fifteen lacs were collected and ten more were as good as collected. I learnt on meeting him, that fifteen lacs were definitely promised, and he expected to bring up the figure to twenty five lacs. When I was last in Calcutta, Mr. Das had not succeeded in collecting fifteen lacs that were definitely promised, but he certainly expected to collect that and the additional ten lacs. In any case the crore was assured without the ten lacs. The figures for all the other provinces were an understatement. Most of the monies have certainly been collected. Some debts are still outstanding. Every province knows its finance. The accounts are kept by each province and they are open to the inspection of every member. In some provinces, I know, the accounts are published periodically and are also audited by local auditors. Most branches have prepared their budgets and are spending according to the budgets sanctioned. It is possible that some provinces have spent more extravagantly than others, it is equally possible that in every province extravagance in some department or other may be proved by an outsider. But I do know that in the majority of cases monies have been and are being spent with the knowledge and sanction of the members of provincial bodies. In every province, in so far as I am aware, the claimants are men of highest probity. In Messrs. Jinnah, Rajaj and Umar Sobani the All India Congress Committee has treasurers who command universal respect, and in Messrs. Nehru and Ansari and Rajgopalachari it has secretaries whom it will be difficult to surpass in ability, industry or integrity. I have therefore no hesitation in assuring the busy reader who is solicitous about the Congress finance, that all that is humanly possible has been done by the Congress authorities to ensure proper collection and administration of all new Congress funds.

The draft resolution on foreign policy approved Foreign and circulated by the Working Policy Committee has created a mild sensation. That some people are surprised at the Working Committee seriously discussing the question shows, that in their opinion India is not ripe for Swaraj. I have endeavoured to show before now, that everybody and every nation is always ripe for Swaraj, or to put it another way no nation needs to undergo tutelage at the hands of another. Indeed whilst we are maturing our plans for establishing Swaraj, we are bound to consider and define our foreign policy. Surely we are bound authoritatively to tell the world what relations we wish to cultivate with it. If we do not fear our neighbours, or if although feeling strong we have no designs upon them, we must say so. We are equally bound to tell the world whether we want to send our sepoy to the battle-fields of France or Mesopotamia. We must not be afraid to speak our minds on all that concerns the nation.

A correspondent from Ludhiana has sent me a string of questions, showing how the public mind is agitated. He begins:—

(1) Shall India's foreign policy be governed by any other consideration but that of its population?

Naturally the interest of India must be given preference over all others.

(2) Should Indian men or money be used for fighting the battles of England etc.?

Yes, if India has entered into treaty obligations to fight for other nations.

(3) Shall the law of the land be subordinate to the special interest of any sect, league or society?

Certainly not. But the law may be such as to provide assistance to friendly neighbours as we would, if we were free to-day, be assisting the Turks with men and money to the best of our ability.

(4) Should any Government be made a tool for the protection of any religion, race or class?

The Swaraj government to be worth the name will certainly protect the religions professed in India and the races domiciled in it.

(5) How are things to be settled when Shariat or Sharia says one thing and the country's need is against it?

The question is really irrelevant. The need of one sect or the religion professed by it must be the need of the country.

(6) Should the relations between the Zamindars and the Ryots be based on mutiny?

I hope they never will be so based under Swaraj, but that then they will be happy and mutually beneficial.

(7) Should loyalty to one's motherland be conditional, and if so how?

Loyalty to the country is always subordinate to loyalty to God.

M. K. G.

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY A CAMOUFLAGE?

By M. K. GANDHI.

The editorial notes in the current number of the *Modern Review* contain reflections on Hindu Muslim unity, which deserve a reply. The talented editor has headed them with the word 'camouflage,' and has evidently come to the conclusion that the unity is only so called. In my opinion, however, it is not only not a camouflage but is fast becoming a permanent reality. I have made the admission in these pages, that it is still a sapling requiring delicate handling. But it is certainly not a pretension or make-believe if only because both realise the truth of the common danger.

It is unfortunately still true, that the communal or the sectarian spirit is predominant. Mutual distrust is still there. Old memories are still alive. It is true that at elections considerations not of fitness but of religion prevail. But to recognise these facts is to recognise the difficulty of union. When both parties know them and are honestly trying to achieve unity in spite of them, it is hardly just to call the attempt or the limited achievement a camouflage.

It is not correct to say that the appeal of the Khilafat associations against cow killing leaves the Mussalmans cold and unresponsive. In the first place is it not a cheering phenomenon that Khilafat workers themselves Mussalmans are working to prevent cow killing? In the second place I venture to assure the editor that the appeal has had wonderful success in almost all the parts of India. Is it a small matter that the burden of cow protection has been taken over almost entirely by the Mussalman workers? Was it not a soul stirring thing for Hindus to witness Messrs. Chhotani and Khatri of Bombay rescuing hundreds of cows from their co-religionists and presenting them to the grateful Hindus?

It is certainly true that both Maulana Mahomed Ali and I are careful enough 'not to tread on each other's corns.' But for frankness of treatment it would be difficult to beat us. For us the unity is not 'a house of cards' as the writer cruelly suggests, but it is such a substantial fact that we would die to keep it intact. Let me inform the reader that throughout all our journeyings there has never been a jar between us, never any mental reservations. The cruellest cut however is given in the following sentence. 'Reading between the lines of their speeches, it is not difficult to see that with one of them the sad plight of the Khilafat in distant Turkey is the central fact, while with the other the attainment of Swaraj here in India is the primary object in view.' I claim that with us both the Khilafat is the central fact, with Maulana Mahomed Ali because it is his religion, with me because in laying down my life for the Khilafat I ensure the safety of the cow, that is my religion, from the Mussalman knife. Both hold Swaraj equally dear because only by Swaraj is the safety of our respective faiths possible. This may seem a lower ideal. But there is no concealment in it. For me the attainment of the Khilafat through India's power is the attainment of Swaraj. Love is the basis of our friendship as it is of religion. I seek to gain Mussalman friendship by right of love. And if love persists even on the part of one community, unity will become a settled fact in our national life. It is unjust to suggest of Maulana Mahomed Ali that he speaks in elegant Urdu ununderstandable of the majority of Bengali Mussalmans. I know that he has been trying his best to introduce into his Urdu speech as much simplicity as possible.

It is unfortunately true, that there are still Hindus and Mussalmans who out of fear of one another consider foreign domination a necessity. And that has not a little to do with the delay in the attainment of our goal. We do not yet clearly perceive that the possibility of a free fight between the two communities is a lesser evil than the existence of foreign domination. And if it is the interposition of the British Government which keeps us from fighting one another, the sooner we are left free to fight, the better for our manhood, our respective religions and our country. It will not be a new phenomenon if we fought ourselves into sanity. The English carried

on internecine warfare for twenty one years before they settled down to peaceful work. The French fought among themselves with a savage ferocity hardly excelled during recent times. The Americans did nothing better before they evolved their commonwealth. Let us not hug our unmanliness for fear of fighting amongst ourselves. The able writer of the notes loves unity as much as any of us and suggests that there must be 'a root and branch change, a radical transformation and reconstruction from the foundation.' But he leaves the reader to guess the remedy. It would have been better if he had made concrete suggestions. He would evidently have us intermarry and interdine if only by way of a beginning. If that is the radical transformation desired by him and if it is a condition precedent to the attainment of Swaraj, I very much fear that we would have to wait at least for a century. It is tantamount to asking Hindus to give up their religion. I do not say that it is wrong to do so, but I do suggest that it is reformation outside practical politics. And when that transformation comes, if it is ever to come, it will not be Hindu Muslim unity. And what the present movement is aiming at is to achieve unity even whilst a devout Musalman retains his faith intact and a devout Hindu his. I have therefore often said to my audiences that the Ali Brothers and I serve as an object lesson to all Hindus and Musalmans in Hindu Muslim unity. We both claim to be devoted to our respective faiths. In spite of the greatest regard for the Brothers I would not give my daughter in marriage to one of their sons, and I know that they would not give theirs to my son, assuming that in spite of his being a Hindu, he so far reformed himself as to covet the hand of their daughter. I do not partake of their meat foods, and they scrupulously respect my bigotry, if my self-denial may be so named. And yet I do not know three persons whose hearts are more united than those of the Ali Brothers and myself. And I wish to assure the reader, that the unity is not a camouflage but it is a lasting friendship based upon exquisitely delicate regard and toleration of one another's views and habits. And I have no manner of fear that when the protecting hand of the British is withdrawn from me, either the Brothers or their friends would violate my freedom or attack my religion. And I base this security from fear first upon God and His promise of safety to every creature of His who endeavours to walk in His fear, and then upon the honourable conduct of the Brothers and their friends, although I am aware that physically any one of them is more than a match for twelve like me put together. And so from the particular instance I have generalised for the whole of India, and shown that Hindu Muslim unity is possible if only we have mutual toleration, and faith in ourselves and therefore in the ultimate goodness of human nature.

THE MEANING OF THE MOPLAH RISING.

By M. K. GANDHI.

A correspondent from Scotland takes me to task for not dealing sufficiently with the Moplah rising in these columns. The result, he says, has been that those in Great Britain who are in the habit of studying Indian affairs have been induced to believe that an Islamic kingdom is established in India. The reproach is not wholly undeserved, but I have not shirked duty in the matter. I have been simply helpless. I wanted to go to Calicut and reach the bottom of the trouble as I believed I could have. But the Government had willed it otherwise. I am sorry to believe but it is my belief, that the men on the spot do not want to end the trouble. They certainly do not wish to give non-co-operators the credit for peacefully ending the trouble. They are desirous of showing once more, that it is only the British soldier who can maintain peace in India. And I could not then give battle to the Government by disregarding the instructions not to enter the disturbed area.

I should like to think better of the men on the spot. It is contrary to my nature to believe in the depravity of human beings. But there is so much evidence about me of the depravity of the bureaucratic mind that it will stop at nothing to gain its end. It is the literal truth I tell, when I say that before I went to Champaran, I did not believe the stories I was told of atrocities committed against the peasantry of Champaran. When I went there, I found the state much worse than was described to me. I had refused to believe that innocent people could have been murdered in cold blood without warning as they were in Jalianwala Bagh. I had refused to believe that human beings could be made to crawl upon their bellies. But on reaching the Punjab, I found to my horror that much more than what I was told had happened. And all this was done in the name of peace and order so called, but in reality for the purpose of sustaining a false prestige, a false system and an unnatural commerce. It is true that a strong Lieutenant Governor was able to attain justice in Champaran in the face of overwhelming opposition. But that was really an exception due to exceptional causes. And so I feel the Moplah revolt has come as a blessing to a system that is crumbling to pieces by the weight of its own enormity.

The Moplah revolt is a test for Hindus and Musalmans. Can Hindu friendship survive the strain put upon it? Can Musalmans in the deepest recesses of their hearts approve of the conduct of the Moplahs? Time alone can show the reality. A verbal and forced philosophic acceptance of the inevitable is no test of Hindu friendship. The Hindus must have the courage and the faith to feel that they can protect their religion in spite of such fanatical eruptions. A verbal disapproval by the Musalmans of Moplah madness is no test of Musalman friendship. The Musalmans must

naturally feel the shame and humiliation of the Moplah conduct about forcible conversions and looting, and they must work away so silently and effectively that such things might become impossible even on the part of the most fanatical among them. My belief is, that the Hindus as a body have received the Moplah madness with equanimity and that the cultured Musalmans are sincerely sorry for the Moplah's perversion of the teachings of the Prophet.

The Moplah revolt teaches another lesson, viz. that each individual must be taught the art of self-defence. It is more a mental state that has to inculcated than that our bodies should be trained for retaliation. Our mental training has been one of feeling helpless. Bravery is not a quality of the body, it is of the soul. I have seen cowards encased in tough muscle, and rare courage in the frailest body. I have seen big bulky and muscular Zulus cowering before an English lad and turning tail if they saw a loaded revolver pointed at them. I have seen Emily Hobhouse with a paralytic body exhibiting courage of the highest order. She was the one noble woman who kept up the drooping spirits of brave Boer generals and equally brave Boer women. The weakest of us physically must be taught the art of facing dangers and giving a good account of ourselves. What was more detestable, the ignorant fanaticism of the Moplah brother, or the cowardliness of the Hindu brother who helplessly muttered the Islamic formula or allowed his tuft of hair to be cut or his vest to be changed? Let me not be misunderstood. I want both the Hindus and Musalmans to cultivate the cool courage to die without killing. But if one has not that courage, I want him to cultivate the art of killing and being killed, rather than in a cowardly manner flee from danger. For the latter in spite of his flight does commit mental *himsa*. He flees because he has not the courage to be killed in the act of killing.

There is yet another lesson the Moplah outbreak teaches us. We dare not leave any section of our countrymen in utter darkness and expect not to be overtaken by it ourselves. Our English 'masters' were uninterested in the Moplahs becoming orderly citizens and learning the virtue of toleration and the truth of Islam. But we too have neglected our ignorant countrymen all these long centuries. We have not felt the call of love to see that no one was left ignorant of the necessity of humaneness or remained in want of food or clothing for no fault of his own. If we do not wake up betimes, we shall find a similar tragedy enacted by all the submerged classes. The present awakening is affecting all classes. The "untouchables" and all the so-called semi-savage tribes will presently bear witness to our wrongs against them if we do not do penance and render tardy justice to them.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

For *Young India* must be sent strictly in advance by money order. The paper is not sent by V. P.

UNTOUCHABILITY IN HINDU SHASTRAS.

TO THE EDITOR, "YOUNG INDIA."

Dear Sir,—The question of untouchability which Mr. Gandhi has thought fit to introduce as relevant to the political emancipation of India deserves more attention at the hands of the Hindus than what it has till now had. Mr. Gandhi was till recently advocating the proper treatment of the lower classes by the so-called higher castes on the simple basis of humanity, and no Hindu could say nay to it. But the patriot leader secure now in his well-earned position of undoubted influence is not satisfied with urging the betterment of the lower classes, but has begun to dictate to the people even on the religious aspect of the question. It is not very long ago, that he mentioned that he could not claim to be a deep scholar of Hinduism as his knowledge was mainly derived from a reading of the translations. He has now however mustered courage enough to say, that claiming to be a Sanatani Hindu he could assure his hearers that there was no warrant in the Shastras for this "untouchability." One would expect gentlemen of Mr. Gandhi's position to be very careful before they make any statements. It is therefore very regrettable, that he commits himself to such sweeping statements without turning over the leaves of any single Dharma-shastra, for if he had done so he would have come across innumerable authorities for the much abused "untouchability." The Hindus who still retain faith in the Shastras will be quite willing to co-operate with him, if he confines himself to providing the lower classes with the decencies of secular life and to the removal of any arrogance on the part of the higher castes, but it will be an impossibility with them to recognise Mr. Gandhi as a greater authority in their religion than their ancient Manu, Yagnavalkya, Parashara and all the other text writers. It will be inconvenient to quote here all the texts bearing on the question. I shall therefore mention here a few and request your readers who are interested in the topic to look up the Shastras which abound in similar passages.

"One who touches a chandala, a woman in her menses, an outcaste, a woman recently confined, a corpse or a person that has touched it, becomes pure after a bath." (Manu Ch. 5. S. 85)

(Also Gattamu Dharmashastra Ch. XIV. S. 29)

"One must keep a chandala and an outcaste at a distance. If the distance is less than what is covered by the swing of a cow's tail, he must bathe with the clothes he is wearing."

(Vyaghrapada.)

"The distances prescribed ordinarily for an outcaste, a woman in her menses, a woman recently confined, and a chandala are a yoke, two yokes, three yokes and four yokes respectively."

(Brihaspati.)

"One must bathe if he touches a chandala."

(Baudhayana.)

(To be continued)

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager, *Young India*,
Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE.

BY MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

Mr. Gandhi during his visit to the Eastern Bengal has observed, that the type of *charkha* in use in those parts is deficient in many ways. The same is perhaps the case in other provinces. As we believe that the *charkha* in the Satyagrahasram is a model of its kind, we give below a diagram with measurements of all its parts with an explanation of their relative functions.

The rear base with mark 1 is one foot 9 inches long, 4 inches wide and 3 inches high.

The front base with mark 2 is 9 inches long, 4 inches wide and 3 inches high.

The long piece which joins the two bases, marked 3, is 3 feet long (including joints), 3 inches wide and 2 inches high.

The large uprights marked 4 are 1 foot 6 inches long including joints, 2 inches wide, and 3 inches deep. They are fixed on the back base 9 inches

apart. The drum or wheel consists of 8 planks such as the one marked 5, each being 2 feet long, 4 inches wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick. They are divided in two wings of 4 planks each, each containing two couples of planks joined diametrically with a groove in the middle.

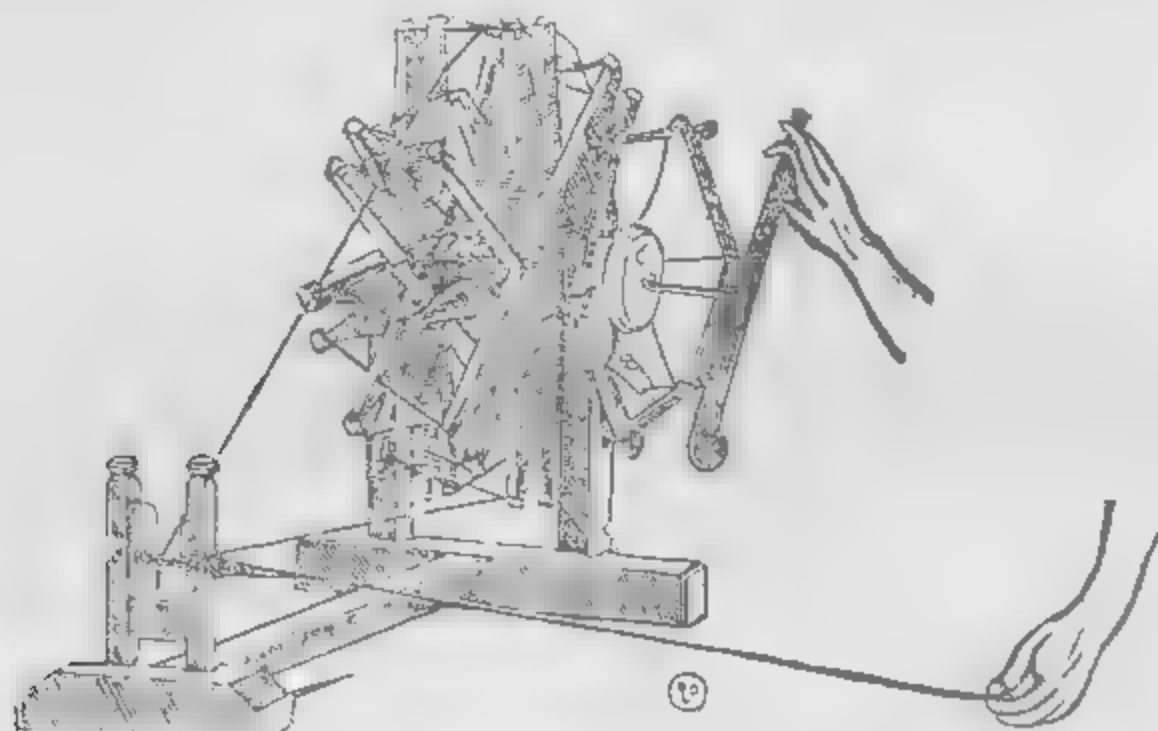
Both the wings are nailed on to the wooden shaft marked 6, its size being 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 4 inches diameter.

Through the middle of this shaft passes a long round iron bar, which serves as an axle. It is 19 inches long and half an inch thick. Its end where the handle is fixed is made square to ensure firmness of the handle.

A wooden washer one inch thick is fixed to the axle on either side of the drum to avoid its contact with the uprights.

The handle is shaped out of a wooden piece of 2 inches x 2 inches x $\frac{1}{2}$ foot long.

The reel noticed in the diagram between the



apart. The holes in which the axle rests are made 2 inches below the top. These holes contain bearings of thin iron plates to secure easy motion of the axle. The bearings are kept open at the top to allow access of oil through a slanting hole bored on the outward sides of both the uprights, one inch above the axle.

The small uprights marked 4 are 9 inches long with joints, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, with holes 4 inches below the top to contain the leather bearings which bear the spindle. They are fixed 3 inches apart on the front base and are connected together 2 inches above the base with a piece of wood of the same thickness. This joining piece contains in the middle 2 sticks half an inch apart to regulate the position of the *mala* (the string which revolves the spindle) on the spindle.

Another piece marked 5 and joined parallelly to the left upright is meant to bear a hole for leather bearing when a thin spindle is to be used.

drum and the handle is composed of a wooden disc marked 6 made out of 1 inch thick and 5 inches square piece of wood. Six brackets made of galvanized wire of 10 gauge radiate from the centre of the disc so as to make a circumference of 4 feet. The brackets are fixed in the back of the disc with bent ends and are further secured with small nails near the circumference of the disc.

A wire noose is fixed on the back base just below the reel to regulate the yarn when wound up on the reel from a bobbin or directly from the spindle.

A 4 inches long bamboo pin is fixed in the inward side of the front base parallelly to the long plank marked 3. It is meant to hold the bobbin while opening out yarn from it. When the yarn is opened from the spindle directly, it is held in the left hand with the point towards the reel. The right hand is employed in turning the reel by the handle of the *charkha*.

The figure 10 indicates the position of the spinner.

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NOTES.

The Government of Bombay note regarding the Municipalities Ahmedabad, Surat and Nadiad shows that it refuses to see the writing on the wall. Its dictatorial tone is now no longer in keeping with the rising spirit of the people. Its incitement to the individual ratepayers to sue the councillors who believe they have performed their duty is hardly dignified. The proper course for the Government was to let the municipalities take their own course and not to invite trouble. As it is, the Government note is calculated to precipitate a crisis. The councillors must take up the challenge and dare the Government to disregard the municipalities if they choose. The municipalities must have the right to misgovern themselves if they wish. If a city is misgoverned, it is as much the ratepayers' fault as is the councillors'. But our wise Government whilst recognising the independent existence of the municipalities wants to stick to the letter of the law which killeth and wound itself instead of setting the municipalities alone so long as they do not cost the Government anything. The municipalities must now take up the challenge and prepare for action on its part. Government may succeed in getting a few ratepayers to file suits. That will be the least it can do. The most it can do is to disband the municipalities concerned. And the most of the Government should prove most welcome, if only the protestants are a strong body. Assuming that they are, they must simply educate the ratepayers to understand what is happening and to prepare them for battle. I can see Swaraj peeping even through the Government note if the latter take and the former are ready for action. So long as there is no disbandment, the municipalities have all power; as soon as there is disbandment, the Government is powerless assuming of course that the ratepayers are strong, intelligent and united. The ratepayers are all that but they require to be organised for action. Hitherto the people have been the football of officials or so-called representatives. Non-co-operation enables the people to become the players in the game. Representatives must represent or they perish.

The Reception Committee of the Congress is The Visitors to the Congress session a purely business session. In its anxiety to do so, it

has restricted its own number and the number of visitors. It was impossible to avoid limitation of the number of visitors when the number of delegates was limited. The question therefore before the Committee was to devise a method of selection. The only qualification possible was a monetary qualification subject to free tickets for a few distinguished guests. The idea is purely to restrict the number of applicants, not to make money. For the first time, the annual gathering will cease to be an instrument for collecting funds for the annual expenditure. Elaborate preparations including exhibition, musical concerts and popular lectures by all the celebrated speakers of the day for a fee of eight annas per day are in progress. The prohibitive fee has been imposed only for visitors to the Congress session, the idea being to discourage applications from visitors. I am anxious, that the public should understand and appreciate the position of the Reception Committee upon whose shoulders devolves the responsibility of organising the first session under the new Constitution and under exceptional circumstances. The success of the Congress depends principally upon the willing and hearty co-operation of every member of the public.

Mr. Dharmadas Udhamam of Karachi writes, War on the saying that he was cashiered Khadi Cap. by his employers Messrs. Forbes Campbell and Co for having dared to wear the Khadi cap. I congratulate him upon his courage in accepting dismissal rather than giving up his cap. If we were not demoralised, every clerk serving no matter where would invite dismissal by a simultaneous adoption of the Khadi cap. This would really have the effect of the firms recognising the inevitable and seeing the folly of warring against harmless dress. Indeed this war is being waged to strike awe among employees and keep them submissive and even womanly. In Madras the Director of Public Instruction will not allow the inspectors of schools to introduce spinning wheels if only because, the Director says, they are given a political significance. On the same reasoning even a lecture on abstinence should be taboo because it has for non-co-operators a political significance. This war against Swadeshi in a variety of ways shows that it is distasteful to the Government. In other words the Government cannot tolerate the economic independence of India. Should these indications not make us resolute in the prosecution of the Swadeshi programme?

The prosecution of the Brothers and their Soldiers companions and the manifesto have reached the barracks and soldiers are inquiring how they can support themselves if they leave. One correspondent asks on their behalf as to what would happen to them under Swaraj. As for the first, the Working Committee has shown them the way. Every soldier can easily become a weaver and carder. Carding requires strength of arm which every soldier must have. And a carder in Bombay earns anything between two to three rupees per day. Many weavers of the Punjab have left the handloom for the sword of the hireling. I consider the former to be infinitely preferable to the latter. I refuse to call the profession of the sepoy honourable when he has no choice as to the time when and the persons or people against whom he is called upon to use his sword. The sepoy's services have more often been utilised for enslaving us than for protecting us, whereas the weaver to-day can truly become the liberator of his country and hence a true soldier.

A friend has suggested, that agriculture should also be added to weaving and carding advised by the Congress. It cannot be as an immediate measure, because agriculture cannot be taken up with ease, and it requires a capital outlay which renders it impracticable for our purpose.

What will happen during Swaraj is easily answered. The soldiers will not then be hirelings, but they will form the national militia for defensive and protective purposes alone. They will have a voice in the moulding of the affairs of the nation. And they will certainly never be sent to cut down inoffensive Turks or Arabs in the West or equally inoffensive Chinese or Burmese in the East.

Babu Bhagwandas who has been closely following in Defence of the movement has sent in Mr. Tyagi the following learned note in defence of Mr. Tyagi

The editorial comments, re Mahavirprasad Tyagi in col. I, P. 323, of *Young India* for Oct. 13, 1921, seem to be based on insufficient information.

The question is asked, "Why did not the accused utter a word in protest?" "A word in protest" against such a flagrantly disgraceful abuse of power and position would have been rather feeble. But the accused did make a protest, in writing, of a very dignified kind, about the best possible in the circumstances.

Another question asked is, "Why did not he refuse to be tried by the so-called Magistrate?" His protest is to the effect that he would not speak to, nor answer any questions of the Magistrate or the prosecutors, i. e. would ignore these altogether. This seems to be the best, the most effective, and the most dignified such refusal to be tried, that could be made in the circumstances. What better refusal could he have made?

The question is asked, "Did the accused remain dumb because of love and humility?" On the information available, it may be answered—No, but from dignified scorn of the contemptible

nature of that British-Indian court of "Justice," and of the conduct of the person presiding therein, whose conduct was obviously that of a bully rather than a judicial officer and amounted to an offence against §§ 107 and 353 of the Indian Penal Code. Such scornful silence or 'dumb'-ness, is obviously not Christ-like or Buddha-like love and humility, but it seems to be in accord with the principles of the N.-C.-O. movement which say that the present system of Government (and inferentially its outcome, the aggravated "insolence of office") deserves all the non-violent scorn it can get.

Another editorial remark is, "Silence or passivity must not be used as a cloak for fear or worse. Very true. But in this case there was obviously no fear. What could be the possible worse?"

When horrors of all kinds have been, and continue to be, inflicted upon the victims—upon men, and, far worse, upon women—of the Moplah outbreak in the South, of which horrors the public holds the existing system of government to be guilty by its failure (for whatever reasons) to prevent or speedily check the outbreak, and to protect the victims, though it draws cruelly heavy pay from a starving people in the shape of taxes for the primary duty of protecting the people's life and property, it seems rather out of place to discuss at much length a small affair like Mahavirprasad Tyagi's conduct under assault by a District Magistrate in the North. Yet editorial comments in *Young India* carry special weight throughout the country; and it would be unfortunate if such comment misjudge a worker for non-co-operation and mark him with undeserved blame.

It seems desirable therefore to request the editor of *Young India* kindly to revise his judgment in this case in the light of fuller information.

The reader will note that I made some amends last week as soon as I saw Mr. Tyagi's statement. I considered the caution to be necessary because of my experience of our silence being a result of our weakness. Unfortunately it is not confined to the individual. It has become a national vice. When I cited Mr. Tyagi, his case was merely the latest illustration of that vice. As I have explained before now, bad as the Moplah madness is, the fact of others having submitted to the madness is worse. Why did they live to tell the tale of their forcible conversions? Nobody can keep our religion for us. Each one of us man or woman must be one's own defender. God who has given us religion has given also the power of defending it. Every one has not the power to strike; all, the lame, the blind and the dumb have the power to die. The cowardly assault by the magistrate was an attack on Mr. Tyagi's manhood and therefore his religion. By some act of his be it called defiance, impudence, insolence, he ought to have invited more slaps and 'created a peaceful scene'. This would have been truest non-co-operation. But I do not blame Mr. Tyagi or anybody. Manliness has been deliberately killed out of us. And we been disarmed into mute submission. As the author of non-violence in its modern

presentation I am anxious to guard myself against our weakness being apotheosised. I would far rather not shower congratulations for bravery till we are positive about it. For the rest, we have every reason to be thankful for the progress we have made in shedding our fear and awe of authority. Non-co-operation arms both the weak and the strong with a powerful weapon. And I should not be ashamed of our submission to insults even out of weakness so long as we realised that it was due to weakness and attempted every time to outgrow it.

Babu Bhagwandas is curious to know what could be worse than fear. I had in mind cowardice.

It is curious to note that whilst Babu Bhagwandas has in view of Mr. Tyagi's statement and in ignorance of my amends, rightly protested against my condemnation of weakness I hastily inferred in Mr. Tyagi's case, Maulana Mahomed Ali has, as will appear from his letter printed elsewhere, energetically protested against his action being called a defiance. The word defence occurring in my notes at the end was a misprint for defiance. These protests are to me most welcome signs of the national desire to be correct to a fault. The Maulana will not appropriate even credit for an act which might, judged from the highest standard, be considered a breach of culture, and Babu Bhagwandas will not let me impute fearsomeness to an act which might be capable of being understood to be strictly in accord with non-violence of the brave. Let us close the controversy with the hope and the prayer, that our country may become brave and yet gentle and chivalrous to a nicety.

M. K. G.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

BISHANDAS CHADDAH—You should visit important centres in India and study the indigenous art before proceeding elsewhere. You will find the German spinning wheel producing no more than ours.

BHAGIRATH MISHRA—When you are non-co-operating in respect of a whole system which you deem evil, you cannot co-operate with it because another crops up. You must in that case non-co-operate in respect of both. Hence my 'threat' to seek the shelter of the Himalayas, should violence become universal in India and should it not have engulfed me.

M. S. SHANKAR RAMAN—Ritual is often a help to worship. Prayer is the intensest longing of the soul and is indispensable to our evolution.

BINDUMADHAV—One thing at a time is a golden rule. If we were to taboo many things, we shall succeed in tabooring everything else we desire. When you have shaken the centre, the rest falls at a touch.

M. K. G.

A GAOL LETTER.

"NONE SHALL PREVAIL BUT GOD"

DEAR BABU,

Naturally I have long been thinking of writing to you, but for one reason or another I put it off from day to day. However, when I read in the papers more than one reference from your pen to my wife's action after my arrest at Waltair and to her subsequent activities, I felt impelled to write to you, if only a line, —a thing so difficult for me as you have publicly admitted!—just to tell you how deeply you had touched me. As I have told you once perhaps, ours was a "love marriage" from the very first, which is somewhat uncommon in India; but even apart from that every year of our married life made my wife a dearer partner to me than she was before, and the way she took the last few eventful years of internment and incarceration and of the "risks" we have been running since our release at the end of 1919, endeared her to me more than ever. But to tell you the truth she was never half so dear to me as I found her at Waltair when she stepped into the little Railway Police station, and jauntily asking me not to worry about her or the girls, bade me good bye and marched off steadily to the train all within a minute or two. Well, I have read more than one reference in your writings to my own self or to "the Brothers"—all too complimentary—and I am too "natural" to deny that every such reference gave me pleasure and quickened my pulse. More than once I have read a "defence" or an "apology" from your pen when you stood up for us against some critic onslaught and cheered us up at a time when we were tempted to be not a little irascible. But nothing you have yet written in praise or in defence of us has gladdened my heart so much as your repeated reference to my dear brave wife! Indeed I have been so deeply touched that I am even inclined to forgive you and not be jealous of you for the seductive praise you have showered on her! So there! I only hope this very trying trial will now soon be over and she will be free once more to continue her work and earn more seductive praise from you.

By the way, I wonder if you ever saw my letter to Tairsee in which I gave him some idea of the things as they actually happened on the fourth day of the Magisterial Inquiry. You who know how vilely even the *Chronicle* reported my speeches can perhaps understand how risky it is to form one's opinion about affairs and incidents "reported" by "amateur" journalists innocent of all knowledge of stenography and so interested in hearing and seeing things when they become unusually lively as to ignore altogether the duty of noting them down for the paper they represent. When I was not in a prison, I had not enough time at my disposal, nor enough patience to go about correcting every day the inaccuracies in the reports of my speeches. Now that prison life gives me more leisure and preparation for a convict's life necessitates the cultivation of greater patience, I am not as free as I used to be to leave such inaccuracies uncorrected. But surely that is no reason for people to place implicit reliance in the printed word. When I read the meagre and inaccurate and wholly misleading reports of the court proceedings

of the fourth day, I felt that we would be misjudged by some people at least, and as I was referring in my letter to Tairson to the awful topsyturvydom of the *Chronicle* which misplaced paragraphs and sentences by the dozen in the report of my statement, I also took the opportunity of mentioning some of the circumstances which led to the "defiance" of the Court. But really we were not "out for mischief". For three days the proceedings went on smoothly and the Court could not accuse us of "defiance" any more than the Counsel for the Crown could accuse us of "defiance." But the trouble began with Maulana Husain Ahmad Sahab's statement. The Court refused to call a qualified interpreter, and it was this that led Kitchew to insist on speaking in Urdu when the Magistrate wanted to begin with another of the so accused for whom the interpreter would not, he said, be needed. On the following day the atmosphere was entirely changed though we do not know what led to the change overnight. It was the Court that was "defiant". Kitchew's statement which was on the same lines as mine was objected to at every fresh sentence and the Magistrate would not take it down. Then he insisted on asking the Shankaracharya to get up if he wanted to make a statement, which, the Shankaracharya said, he could not do on religious grounds. It was this which compelled me to expostulate with the Magistrate *without any passion*. I asked him whether he would insist on a religious personage of the Shankaracharya's position in the Hindu hierarchy paying respect to the conventions of a law-court even if he thereby had to show disregard of what he considered divine law itself. The Magistrate belonged to a community the origin of which in the history of India dated back to a migration from its own motherland for fear of having to disregard what it considered divine law. He had such a great belief in the respect due to a British law court. Had he no belief in God? And all that appears in the papers is the bare interrogatory: "Have you no belief in God?" His reply to my appeal was an order in the worst possible tone to sit down. But while I refused to comply, I *never* said "Let me see what you can do." I said he could use force; but there was no law which could compel an accused person to sit down. Poor Shaukat did his best to placate the Magistrate and pleaded with him not to interrupt him while he was making his statement, as it put him off completely. But clearly the Magistrate was determined that nothing like my statement of the previous day should go on record now or be even heard by those so operators and others who attended his court. When Maulana Husain Ahmad Sahab began his statement, he neither got it interpreted by the Court interpreter (who had already confessed his incompetence to interpret an exposition of Islamic law) nor made the least effort to understand what the Maulana Sahab was saying. Nothing was taken down. But even this was not enough. His indifference was impudent enough, but he added to that one or two direct insults, such as, "It is not necessary to recite the entire Quran here." Maulana Nisar Ahmad Sahab's very brief statement fared no better. And so indifferent was

the Magistrate to every requirement of law and procedure that he committed us to the Sessions *without* having received the remainder of my statement which at his own request I had promised to give him in writing if he sent me a shorthand typist. But then the whole thing was meant to be a farce for on the very second day when even the Prosecution evidence was not half finished, he passed order on the Public Prosecutor's application for summons being issued for two witnesses to the effect that it served no purpose to lengthen proceedings unnecessarily, and it would suffice if those witnesses were summoned for the Sessions trial! A foregone conclusion even for the Magistrate!! And on the 29th, before the inquiry was over, the Judicial Commissioner comes himself to inspect the Hall for the Sessions and discusses the plans with the Public Prosecutor!! As I said to the Court, they might as well have sent the carpenters to prepare the scaffold! When any reference was made to Islamic law, the Magistrate was impatient and used to say, "We have nothing to do with *Fikwa* here." Shaukat was so exasperated that he said to him, "What is the use of your asking me about such trifles? Ask me what Islamic law lays down for such a set of circumstances." But all in vain, and even Shaukat could stand this no longer and said "the whole blessed show"! But would you believe it, soon after this inquiry was over and the Magistrate retired for a time, he was a new man once more! In the second case against Shaukat and in the next case against me, he was once more the man he had been on the third day. What brought about this second metamorphosis I cannot say. But you can judge of the "normal" atmosphere of the Court (including the accused) from the fact that on the last day the Public Prosecutor came hurrying to me and asked, "Will you mind coming back into the court? One of the witnesses has put in the wrong exhibit and I should like to recall him". I agreed and said, "Anything you please," and I was the C. I. D. reporter had sworn again that the exhibit he was then putting in was my speech, I pleasantly told the Magistrate I waived my right of demanding the witness's prosecution for perjury for swearing before that quite another document was my speech, and the Magistrate equally pleasantly thanked me! The fact is the Magistrate, as we all knew, was always an automaton (and I told him on the eventful day I was sorry that a fellow-countryman of mine was being used to do a dirty job), but on the day following my statement he came "wound up." Since then, I understand, even those from whom he expected praise for his loyalty and compliance have expressed their indignation at his spoiling a "historic state trial", which was intended to typify "justice" under "the New Dispensation" by his disregard of law and procedure. That is why Ross Alston of Allahabad and an Alama are coming to improve the thing as best they can, and a qualified interpreter is coming from Lahore. But the whole thing was a farce and nothing can improve it. For our part, we have no desire to be defiant and are not out for mischief. Nevertheless we are not going to be dumb driven cattle, and non-violence does not

require that passivity. Violence has much to answer for and many a Musalman will have his eyes opened on the day of judgment when the true limits of "violence" are to be defined once more by his own leading case. But non-violence too has a good deal to answer for, and I already see that its apostle is already discharging some of its meek votaries who would cover cowardice with that label.

And good bye now. Have to Devdas and the little ones and affectionate seems to Ba.

The cheque must have been sent to the Khilafat fund. Mother and my wife do not need any financial assistance, but we are such awful beggars that we will swallow everything for our cause. Our affectionate greetings to your own great and dear self.

Jail, Karachi,

18th October 1921

Yours ever

Mahomed Ali.

[I am sure that the reader will appreciate my sharing the foregoing letter with him for more reasons than one. In my opinion it is a human document showing the whole of the man in the Marfana. The letter had naturally to be passed by the Magistrate. I had not the heart to expunge a single word from the letter. M. K. G.]

HONOUR THE PRINCE.

By M. K. GANDHI.

The reader must not be surprised at the title of this writing. Supposing that the Prince was a blood brother in a high place, supposing that he was to be exploited by neighbours for their own base ends, supposing further that he was in the hands of my neighbours, that my voice could not effectively reach him and that he was being brought to my village by the said neighbours, would I not honour him best by dissociating myself from all the ceremonial that might be arranged in his 'honour' in the process of exploitation and by letting him know by every means at my disposal that he was being exploited? Would I not be a traitor to him if I did not warn him against entering the trap prepared for him by my neighbours?

I have no manner of doubt that the Prince's visit is being exploited for advertising the 'benign' British rule in India. It is a crime against us if His Royal Highness is being brought for personal pleasure and sport when India is seething with discontent, when the masses are saturated with disaffection towards the system under which they are governed, when famine is raging in Khulna and the Ceded Districts and when an armed conflict is raging in Malabar: it is a crime against India to spend millions of rupees on a mere show when millions of men are living in a state of chronic starvation. Eight lacs of rupees have been voted away by the Bombay Council alone for the pageant.

The visit is being heralded by repression in the land. In Sindh over fifty six non-co-operators are in gaol. Some of the bravest of Musalmans are being tried for holding certain opinions. Nineteen Bengal workers have been just imprisoned

including Mr. Sengupta the leading Barrister of the place. A Musalman Pib and three other selfless workers are already in gaol for a similar crime. Several leaders of Karnatak are also imprisoned and now its chief man is on trial for saying what I have said repeatedly in these columns and what Congressmen have been saying all over during the past twelve months. Several leaders of the Central Provinces have been similarly deprived of their liberty. A most popular doctor, Dr. Paranjpye, a man universally respected for his selflessness, is suffering rigorous imprisonment like a common felon. I have by no means exhausted the list of imprisonments of non-co-operators. Whether they are a test of real crime or an answer to growing disaffection, the Prince's visit is, to say the least, most inopportune. There is no doubt that the people do not want His Royal Highness to visit India at the present juncture. They have expressed their opinion in no uncertain terms. They have declared that Bombay should observe *Hartal* on the day of his landing at Bombay. It is a clear imposition upon the people to bring the Prince in the teeth of their opposition.

What are we to do in the circumstances? We must organise a complete boycott of all functions held in the Prince's honour. We must religiously refrain from attending charities, fetes or fireworks organised for the purpose. We must refuse to illuminate or to send our children to see the organised illuminations. To this end we must publish leaflets by the million and distribute them amongst the people telling them what their duty in the matter is and it would be true honour done to the Prince if Bombay on the day of his landing wears the appearance of a deserted city.

But we must isolate the Prince from the person. We have no ill-will against the Prince as man. He probably knows nothing of the feeling in India, he probably knows nothing about repression. Equally probably he is ignorant of the fact that the Panjah wound is still bleeding, that the treachery towards India in the matter of the Khilafat is still rankling in every Indian breast, and that on the Government's own admission the reformed councils contain members who, though nominally elected, do not in any sense represent even the few lacs who are on the electoral rolls. To do or to attempt to do any harm to the person of the Prince would be not only cruel and inhuman, but it would be on our part a piece of treachery towards ourselves and him, for we have voluntarily pledged ourselves to be and remain non-violent. Any injury or insult to the Prince by us will be a greater wrong done by us to Islam and India than any the English have done. They know no better. We can lay no such claim to ignorance, we have with our eyes open and before God and man promised not to hurt a single individual in any way connected with the system we are straining every nerve to destroy. It must therefore be our duty to take every precaution to protect his person as our own from all harm.

In spite of all our effort we know that there will be some who would want to take part in the various functions from fear or hope or choice. They have as much right to do what they like as we have to do what we like. That is the test of the freedom we wish to have and enjoy. Let us, whilst we are being subjected by an insolent bureaucracy to a severe trial, exercise the greatest restraint. And if we can exhibit our firm resolve to have nothing to do with it by dissociating ourselves from its pageant at the same time that we show forbearance towards those who differ from us we would advance our cause in a most effective manner.

THE SECRET OF IT

BY M. K. GANDHI.

There is no doubt that non-co-operation is an education which is developing and crystallizing public opinion. And as soon as it is organised enough for effective action, we have Swaraj. We cannot organise public opinion in a violent atmosphere. Just as those who have been forced by the Moplahs to recite the Kalima are no Muslims, even so those who call themselves non-co-operators from fashion or compulsion are no non-co-operators. They are a hindrance and no help. Our tyranny, if we impose our will on others, will be infinitely worse than that of the handful of Englishmen who form the bureaucracy. Theirs is a terrorism imposed by a minority struggling to exist in the midst of opposition. Ours will be a terrorism imposed by a majority and therefore worse and really more godless than the first. We must therefore eliminate compulsion in any shape from our struggle. If we are only a handful holding freely the doctrine of non-co-operation, we may have to die in the attempt to convert others to our view, but we shall have truly defended and represented our cause. If however we enlist under our banner men by force, we shall be denying our cause and God, and if we seem to succeed for the moment, we shall have succeeded in establishing a worse terror.

We shall also retard our cause if we suppress opinion by intolerance. For then we shall never know who is with us and who is against us. The indispensable condition therefore of success is that we encourage the greatest freedom of opinion. It is the least we can learn from the present 'masters'. Their Penal Code contains drastic punishments for holding opinions they do not like. And they have arrested some of the noblest of our countrymen for expression of their opinion. Our non-co-operation is a defiantly open protest against that system. We may not in the very act of fighting the restraint on opinion be guilty ourselves of imposing it on others. These reflections are due to a sense of uneasiness I feel about publishing the names of correspondents who express opinions we may not relish. I do not wish to expose them to the mental violence of the readers who may not like those opinions. We must have the courage and the charity to hear or

read all sorts of nasty things said about us or to us. It gives us an opportunity of converting them. I propose to make the attempt in respect of a correspondent who has sent me a formidable list of questions about the struggle which deserve public notice. He commences thus, 'You will admit that both your followers and non-followers are in a state of suspense as regards the aims of your political activities. Can you therefore be charitable enough to enlighten them by answering the following questions?'

1. Are you really a Mahatma?

I do not feel like being one. But I do know that I am among the humblest of God's creatures.

2. If so, will you define the word Mahatma?

Not being acquainted with one, I cannot give any definition.

3. If not, did you ever tell your followers that you are not one?

The more I repudiate, the more it is used.

4. Is your 'soul force' attainable by the ignorant masses?

They have it already in abundance. Once upon a time an expedition of French scientists set out in search of knowledge and in due course reached India. They tried hard to find it, as they had expected, among the learned ones but failed. Unexpectedly they found it in a pariah home.

5. You say, machinery has been the bane of civilization. Then why do you allow yourself to travel in railway trains and motor cars?

There are certain things which you cannot escape all at once even whilst you are avoiding them. This earthy case in which I am locked up is the bane of my life, but I am obliged to put up with it and even indulge it as this friend knows. But does he seriously doubt that the machine age was responsible for the organised murders during the late war? Asphyxiating gas and such other abominations have not advanced us by an inch.

6. Is it a fact that formerly you travelled third class in railway trains and now you travel in special trains and first class carriages?

Alas! the correspondent is correctly informed. The Mahatma-ship is responsible for the special trains, and the earthy case for the degradation to the second class.

7. In what relation do you stand to Count Tolstoy?

As a devoted admirer who owes much in life to him.

8. Why do you not define Swaraj? Do you not feel that you are in duty bound to define the word at least to your followers?

In the first place the word is indefinable; in the second place, if the correspondent will turn to the file of *Young India*, he will find a workable definition there. I will try another here. It means complete freedom of opinion and action without interference with another's right to equal freedom.

of opinion and action. Therefore it means India's complete control of sources of revenue and expenditure without interference from or with any other country.

9. What will be your own position when Swaraj is obtained?

I would certainly like a prolonged and perhaps well-deserved holiday.

10. When Swaraj is attained, how are the political and religious interests of Musalmans to be safeguarded?

They will not need any safeguarding, because every Indian will be as free as every other Indian, and because there will then be mutual toleration, respect and love, and therefore mutual trust.

11. Do you honestly believe that Government will pack up and beat a hasty retreat from India on the 31st of October 1921 or at any other time within this year that you will be pleased to fix?

The Government is the system, and I do believe that it can be destroyed even before the 31st October, if the Hindus, the Musalmans, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews of India will. I am still hoping that they will destroy it before the end of the year. But under the new system not a single Englishman who wishes to remain in India as her faithful servant need leave the country.

12. Do you not think that the Government is too weak to check your propaganda?

I certainly do, and it is becoming daily weaker.

13. Would you leave your own son undefended if (which God forbid) he was being prosecuted for murder, not for sedition?

I really believe that I have the courage to do so. I certainly had the hardihood to give that advice to many a dear friend. And I have already advised a dear friend of the Andhra district to stake the whole of his valuable property by not defending a civil suit which has been brought against him from pure political malice.

14. What should your son (for example) do if some one defrauded him of some money and had made himself scarce?

My son if he is a good non-co-operator would certainly let the thief keep the money. Maulana Shaukat Ali was robbed of Rs. 600 nine months ago. He knew the person who had robbed him. He thought no more about it.

15. What was the effect of your Satyagraha on the Punjab?

Sir Michael O'Dwyer would not let the message of Satyagraha reach the Punjab. Some Punjabis therefore got excited, a few went mad. Sir Michael O'Dwyer became madder still and butchered innocent men by deputy. But Satyagraha is a powerful tonic, and now the Punjab is as lively as any other province of India, and is showing in spite of her mercurial population a degree of self-restraint that is worthy of emulation by the rest of the provinces.

16. Do you really believe that non-co-operation can remain non-violent?

Certainly. The wonderful restraint shown by the people over the arrests in Sindh, Karnatak and East Bengal is proof of it.

How do the forcible conversions of Hindus and pulage of Hindu homes reflect upon the unity of Hindus and Mahomedans in India?

They have put a severe strain upon Hindu patience, but it has stood the strain and its survival proves that the unity is based on knowledge. No Musalman approves of the Moplah fanaticism.

18. What is the actual cause of this rupture of Hindu Muslim unity in Malabar?

There is no rupture of the unity in the disturbed area. The Moplahs could not at any time have considered Hindus as their brethren. The causes of the violence are that as in the Panjab in 1919, so in Malabar now the message of non-co-operation was only vaguely delivered when its progress was arrested by the authorities. The Moplahs were never particularly friendly to the Malabar Hindus. They had looted them before. Their notions of Islam were of a very crude type. They were kept in utter darkness by the Government and neglected both by Musalmans and Hindus. Being wild and brave but ignorant, they have mistaken the mission of the Khilafat and acted in a savage, inhuman and irreligious manner. It is quite improper to judge Islam or the Musalmans of the rest of India by the present conduct of the Moplahs.

19. Can you say what made you to couple the Khilafat with the Punjab wrongs?

The Khilafat wrong was born before the Punjab wrong, and I made it my own in the year 1918 at the Delhi War Conference (*vide* my open letter to the Viceroy). Non-co-operation was conceived at Delhi in 1919 before the Punjab wrong had taken definite shape. The latter was tacked to the Khilafat, when it became clear that it required as drastic a remedy as the Khilafat.

20. Can you say why the Mahomedans of India are so demonstrative for the Khilafat, when the Mahomedans of other Islamic countries do not seem to care for it?

I do not know that non-Indian Musalmans do not care for the Khilafat, but if they do not and the Indian Musalmans do, for me it is proof enough that the latter have developed greater religious consciousness than the former.

21. Since the Sultan of Turkey has failed to defend the Muslim holy places, has he any right now to be considered a Khalifa?

This is hardly a question for a Hindu to answer. But if I may venture a reply, the Khilafat rests in the Turks by right of valiant defence for hundreds of years. The Sultan may have failed, the Turks have not. The Khilafat agitation does not centre round an individual but round an idea, which is at once temporal, spiritual and political. If the Turks cannot defend, if the Musalmans of the world do not by their power of opinion and active sympathy stand by the Turks, both they and the latter will suffer irretrievably. Such an event will be a calamity for the world, for I believe that Islam has its place in the world as

much as Christianity and every other religion. Chivalry demands the support of the Turks in the hour of their need.

22. Is the economic law that man must buy in the best and the cheapest market wrong?

It is one of the most fundamental among the maxims laid down by modern economists. Nor do we always regulate human relations by any such sordid considerations. An Englishman pays more (and rightly) for the English collier in preference to cheap (say, Russian) labour. Any attempt to introduce cheap labour into England will lead to a revolution. It would be sinful for me to dismiss a highly paid faithful servant because I can get a more efficient and cheaper servant although the latter may be equally faithful. The economists that disregard moral and sentimental considerations are like wax works that being life-like still lack the life of the living flesh. At every crucial moment these new-fangled economic laws have broken down in practice. And nations or individuals who accept them as guiding maxims must perish. There is something noble in the self-denial of the Mussaman who will pay more for food religiously prepared or a Hindu who will decline to take food unless it is ceremonially clean. We lost when we began to buy our clothing in the cheap markets of England and Japan. We will live again, when we appreciate the religious necessity of buying our clothes prepared by our own neighbours in their cottages.

23. Is picketing non-violent?

It certainly has been non-violent in the vast majority of cases. It was the easiest thing to resort to violence in picketing, but the volunteers all over have exercised great restraint.

24. Do you explain the beauty (spiritual or otherwise) of bonfires, when many people are going half-naked in the country and are shivering at the thought of the coming winter?

I do; for I know that their half-nakedness is due to our criminal neglect of the fundamental law of life in India that she should wear only handspan just as she must eat only home-cooked food. My giving my discarded foreign clothes to them will only prolong the agony. But the warmth generated by the bonfires will last for the coming winter, and if the bonfires are kept up till the last piece is burnt, the warmth will last for ever, and each successive winter will see the nation more and more incinerated.

UNTOUCHABILITY IN HINDU SHASTRAS.

(Concluded)

The word "outcaste" is ordinarily understood as denoting one who by his persisting misdeeds has fallen away from his caste. Even such a one is an "untouchable". But the word does not mean such a fallen casteman only but includes certain definite castes also. "The offspring of a Sudra by the woman of higher castes are outcastes; his children are the most sinful among them" (Gautama Ch. IV. Sutras 27, 28). What these offspring castes are and what their vocations, are detailed in Chapter X of

Manusmriti. Most detailed instructions are given in the Smritis as to what are the purificatory ceremonies that have to be performed by one who touches the "untouchables", talks to them, drinks water touched by them or owned by them or in wells or tanks dug by them, eats food seen, touched or owned by them, and so on. It will be clear from a perusal of all these rules, and also from the inclusion of a woman in her menses or recently confined (be she one's own wife) in the same category of "untouchables" that the Shastras do not base their rules on any consideration of personal arrogance or superiority but purely on that of spiritual purity. As long as the Shastras remain the spiritual guides of the Hindus for regulating their conduct, it will be more ignorance to say that untouchability is not a religious question but a social one. I request that Mr. Gandhi will take the trouble of reading the Shastras before he makes any pronouncement what is or is not contained therein.

I ought also mention that I remember Mr. Gandhi referring in one of his speeches to the friendship between Rama and Guha as a proof of untouchability being *manasirama*. If he had studied the Ramayana, he would have found that Guha was by caste a Nishada (one of the Anoma castes), and was therefore not an "untouchable."

Truvelly.

R. Krishnaswami Aiyar.

I gladly publish the fore-going so that the readers of *Young India* may have the other side. Mr. Aiyar is a learned Vakil, and one would have expected of him better knowledge of my position than he betrays in his letter. I lay emphasis in all my speeches in the Madras presidency on the unreasoning and cruel prejudice against the untouchables. Do we treat the 'untouchable' Panchamis as we treat our mothers and sisters whilst they are untouchable? I still confess my literary ignorance of the Shastras, but I do profess to understand the secret of Hinduism. And I venture to say in all humility but with all the strength I can command, that to perpetuate untouchability in the manner we have done is a serious blot in Hinduism, an unwarranted abuse of the Smritis and a negation of love which is the basis of Hinduism. I therefore do not hesitate to call 'untouchability' as practised to-day a satanic activity. I invite Mr. Aiyar, to devote the talents God has given him to the service of the outcastes among his countrymen, and I promise that he will see the meaning of life that I see in the Hindu Shastras.

M. K. G.]

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Edited by M. K. GANDHI.

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NOTES.

I cannot sufficiently ward non-co-operation
Hunger prisoners against the danger of
Strike hastily embarking upon hunger
strikes in their prisons. It cannot be justified as a
means for removing irksome gaol restrictions. For
a gaol is nothing if it does not impose upon us
restrictions which we will not submit to in ordinary
life. A hunger strike would be justified when
inhumanity is practised, or food issued which offends
one's religious sense or which is unfit for human
consumption. It should be rejected when it is
offered in an insulting manner. In other words it
should be rejected when acceptance would prove us
to be slaves of hunger.

Mr. Sengupta the leader of Chittagong and the
At soul of the A. B. Railway strike
last movement has at last got his
imprisonment with eighteen others. It is not a long
spell. He and his companions have got only three
months' rigorous imprisonment. Mrs. Sengupta
writing about her husband says he was quite happy
over the prospect of being sentenced. I was told whilst in Chittagong that its
citizens had nearly attained Swaraj. 'Nearly'
is an elusive word. It may be next to completion or
it may be farthest away from it, and yet 'nearly' may
be used for either state. But if the people of
Chittagong want to attain Swaraj completely, they
must spin and weave all their cloth in their own
homes and offer no temptation to dealers in foreign
cloth. Its courts must be deserted and the
Government schools must be empty. In that case
the citizens may not even need civil disobedience.
But they may not have that measure of strength
or unanimity. Still if the majority desire Swaraj, it
cannot be stopped by the minority. The majority
however in order to establish its authority must go
through the fire of suffering, by means of civil
disobedience.

Let there be no mistake about the meaning of
Why these imprisonments. They are
Suffer? not courted with the object of
embarrassing the Government, though as a matter of
fact they do. They are courted for the sake of
discipline and suffering. They are courted because
we consider it to be wrong to be free under a
Government we hold to be wholly bad. No stone
should be left unturned by us to make the
Government realise that we are in no way amenable

to its control. And no Government has yet tolerated
such open defiance however respectful it may be.
It might safely therefore be said that if we are yet
outside the prison walls, the cause lies as much
with us as with the Government. We are moving
cautiously in our corporate capacity. We are
still voluntarily obeying many of its laws. There
was, for instance, nothing to prevent me from
disregarding the Madras Government's order
and courting arrest, but I avoided it. There is
nothing to prevent me save my prudence or
weakness from going without permission into the
barracks and being arrested for trespass. I certainly
believe the barracks to be the nation's property and
not that of a Government which I no longer recognise
as representative of the people. Thus there is an
apparent inconsistency between the statement on the
one hand that it is painful to remain outside the
the prison walls under a bad Government and this
deliberate avoidance on the other hand of arrest upon
grounds which are not strictly moral but largely
expedient. We thus avoid imprisonment, because
first we think that the nation is not ready for complete
civil revolt, secondly we think that the atmosphere
of voluntary obedience and non-violence has not been
firmly established, and thirdly we have not done any
constructive corporate work to inspire self-confidence.
We therefore refrain from offering civil disobedience
amounting to peaceful rebellion, but court
imprisonment merely in the ordinary pursuit of our
programme and in defence of complete freedom of
opinion and action short of revolt.

Thus it is clear that our remaining outside the
gaols of a bad government has to be justified upon
very exceptional grounds, and that our Swaraj is
attained when we are in gaol or when we have bent
the Government to our will. Whether therefore
the Government feel embarrassed or happy over our
incarceration, the only safe and honourable place for
us is the prison. And if this position be accepted,
it follows that when imprisonment comes to us in the
ordinary discharge of our duty, we must feel happy
because we feel stronger, because we pay the price
of due performance of duty. And if exhibition of
real strength is the best propaganda, we must believe
that every imprisonment strengthens the people and
thus brings Swaraj nearer.

But friends whisper into my ears, we must do
Something something striking when the
Striking Prince comes. Certainly not
for the sake of impressing him, certainly not for the
sake of demonstration. But I would use the occasion

of his imposed visit for stimulating us into greater activity. That would constitute the most glorious impression upon the Prince and the world, because we would have made an impression upon ourselves. The shortest way to Swaraj lies through self-impression, self-expression and self-reliance, both corporate and individual. I would certainly love the idea of filling the gaols before the Prince arrives, but I see no way to it except after very vigorous Swadeshi. There is great progress undoubtedly in that direction, but there is not revolutionary or lightning speed. Arithmetical progression will not answer, geometrical progression is absolutely necessary. It is not enough for us to be washed by the Swadeshi spirit, we must be flooded with it. Then thousands of us involuntarily, as if by a common impulse, will march forward to civil disobedience. To-day we are obliged very rightly to measure every step for want of confidence. Indeed I do not even feel sure that thousands of us are ready to suffer imprisonment, or that we have so far understood the message of non-violence as never to be ruffled or goaded into violence.

The Government of Madras is fast weeding out Weeding all tall poppies. Mr. Yakub Hasan and Dr. Varadarajalu are the latest victims. Mr. Yakub Hasan is known to everybody as an indefatigable Khilafat worker and nationalist. He has already suffered imprisonment for civil disobedience he could not avoid if he was to prevent violence on the part of a Calicut mob. In a weak moment he allowed himself to be released before his time. He tendered a handsome apology for a weakness which anybody in Mr. Yakub Hasan's position might have been guilty of. The Government of Madras has given him an opportunity of showing the stuff of which he is made. Dr. Varadarajalu is not so well known outside the Madras Presidency, but he is locally known for his ability and industry, and respected for his self-effacing love of the country. He has been organising a band of earnest workers and has been doing most effective Swadeshi work. He has been now arrested for some speech or other of his like Mr. Yakub Hasan for his Tanjore speech. The fear of an outbreak of violence has now almost gone. People have realised, that their progress lies in remaining perfectly non-violent. Every such arrest leads to greater diminution of Government prestige and exposes it to contempt or ridicule. The ridicule and the contempt poured upon it by non-co-operators are not half as damaging as the ridicule and contempt invited by the Government itself by means of the arrests.

And prisons have lost their terror for the people. A Rest Hardly a non-co-operator
Cure save in one or two cases has betrayed the slightest hesitation to go to gaol. On the contrary the majority have regarded it as a rest cure. Given an atmosphere of non-violence,—a prime necessity,—disappearance of fear of gaol and greater activity by reason of imprisonments, and we have an ideal state for the establishment of Swaraj.

That imprisonments instead of producing Proof of demoralisation act as an Health incentive to healthier national growth is evidenced by two letters received from accurate observers. A friend writes from Barisal: "East Bengal is indebted to Pir Badshah Mian's arrest for the Hindu Muslim unity which is now quite firm and the boycott of foreign cloth which is now complete among the masses." Equally emphatic is the testimony from Andhradesha. The Andhra letter says, "The real Swadeshi spirit has not yet seized the hearts of the people though there is ample evidence of growing conviction in favour of the movement. In many places the required *Khadi* is not available. The weavers are not yet quite willing to weave the Swadeshi yarn, and for those that are willing there is not adequate supply of yarn.... One thing that seems to accelerate the progress is the policy of repression adopted by the Government. Many a Sleepy Hollow has been roused to activity by the arrest and imprisonment of some one or other of the Congress workers, and if these arrests and imprisonments are made on a large scale, there will undoubtedly be speedier progress in all directions. As we go on, we find apprehension of violence growing less and less." Every one who writes to me from Karachi testifies to the growing strength of the people side by side with their growing discipline and self-restraint and a growing adoption of Swadeshi. And all this, because the distinguished prisoners are being tried in Karachi. This trial is an object-lesson to the Government and the people in non-violence coupled with courage bordering on defiance. 'We have no respect for your courts' was for the first time heard at Karachi in a British Indian court of law. What is more, the judge is powerless to deal with this open contempt of court. Why? Because the big bulky brusque Shankar Ali who uttered the sentiment had no feeling against Kennedy the man. He showed real fellow-feeling for the man in the judge by letting him know that he loathed the system which he was blindly encouraging.

The logical result of all this reasoning is that we The Logics must quickly organise
Result ourselves for courting arrests wholesale, and that not rudely, roughly or blusteringly, certainly never violently, but peacefully, quietly, courteously, humbly, prayerfully and courageously. By the end of December every worker must find himself in gaol unless he is specially required in the interest of the struggle not to make the attempt. Let it be remembered, that in civil disobedience we precipitate arrests and therefore may keep few outside the attempt.

Those only can take up civil disobedience, who Requisite believe in willing obedience
Conditions even to irksome laws imposed by the state so long as they do not hurt their conscience or religion, and are prepared equally willingly to suffer the penalty of civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil has to be absolutely non-violent, the underlying principle being the

winning over of the opponent by suffering, i. e. love.

For the purpose of the Khilafat, the Panjab or Swaraj, civil resisters must implicitly believe in the necessity of Hindu Muslim unity based not upon expediency but upon real affection. Civil resisters must believe in Swadeshi and therefore use only handspun. Humanly speaking, if not even one out of the two hundred and fifty districts of India is thus ready, I consider the attainment of Swaraj during this year nearly impossible. If one district can be found where ninety per cent. of the population have completely boycotted foreign cloth, and are manufacturing all the cloth required by them by hand, spinning and hand weaving, if the whole of the population of that district, whether Hindu, Musalman, Parsi, Shikh, Christian or Jewish, is living in perfect amity, if the whole of its Hindu population is purged of the sin of untouchability and if at least one in every ten of its inhabitants is capable of suffering imprisonment or even mounting the gallows, and if while that district is civilly, peacefully and honourably resisting the Government, the rest of India remains non-violent and united and prosecutes the programme of Swadeshi, I hold it to be perfectly possible to establish Swaraj during this year. I shall hope, that there are several such districts ready. In any case the method now to adopt is for workers to concentrate on and develop their own districts without reference to the rest. They must not invite imprisonment till they are ready, nor must they avoid it if it comes to them unsought. They should make no speeches but simply finish the Swadeshi programme in a businesslike manner. Where workers find no response from their districts, they must not get disheartened but should simply become expert carders, spinners and weavers. Their outturn will be their best and whole work whilst their neighbours are thinking what to do.

..

A correspondent draws a moral from the arrest Divide of Mr. Yakub Hasan in Madras, and Rule and imprisonments of Mr. Ansari in Delhi, of Pir Mujadid in Sindh and Pir Badshah Mian in Bengal, that the Government are trying to divide us, that they are bribing the Hindus into submission by leaving them mostly alone, and that by the time the Congress meets no Musalman non-co-operator of note will be left free to attend and guide the Congress regarding its policy on questions affecting the Musalmans. I hope that the correspondent's prognostication is not true and that the Government will not commit any such fatal mistake. I think the Government has realised that it cannot divide Hindu and Musalman non-co-operators. If it has arrested Pir Badshah Mian, it has arrested Dr. Banerji, Nripen Babu and Babu Sengupta. If it has arrested Mr. Yakub Hasan, it has also arrested Dr. Varadarajulu. But if the Government does imprison all the noted Musalmans, it will still further solidify the two communities and give the Hindus a unique opportunity

of fighting the battle of the Khilafat single-handed. And if the Hindus have any grit in them, they will be able to force the Government by peaceful and honourable means to imprison them also.

..

The reader must have seen Chhotani Mian's A Welcome letter to me donating one Donation lakh of *charkhas*. Chhotani Mian deserves the warmest congratulations for his generous help. I have ventured to show to him how he can utilise the sum he might have set apart for the purpose. It is not a simple matter to distribute one lakh of *charkhas* in a useful way. They can only be given to deserving persons. Arrangements must therefore be made to supply spicers and collect yarn.

..

Messrs. Mahomed Husain and Shafique Rahman Two Kidwai are students of the Students National Muslim University. They were posted in the Andhra District by Maulana Mahomed Ali. They were there doing great work in a most unassuming manner. They have already gone to gaol whilst their chief is still on his trial. The circumstances in which they went to gaol are graphically described in their letter written on their way to prison, which I give below in full:

After seeing you off at Guntakal we went to Adoni where we received a wire from Mr. Hariservottam Rao calling us to Guddapah because three Congress workers had been arrested there. We went there on the eleventh October and were working with some of our Guntur friends. We held several meetings and formed Congress and Khilafat committees. On the 21st October in a monster meeting of over six thousand people, we distributed the *Fatwa* and the audience reiterated the Karachi resolution standing. We also procured 1400 signatures on the spot and collected two thousand and five hundred rupees for Angora. On the evening of the 24th all the workers were served with an order under sec. 144, gagging us for two months. Yesterday early in the morning we were served with summons to appear before the court and furnish securities for good behaviour. Accordingly we went to the court and had an informal talk with the Superintendent of Police (a European) for two hours, with the permission of the Collector. The case then began and we were charged under sec. 108 for seditious speeches and under sec. 124 A for seducing the soldiery by distributing the *Fatwa* and explaining it. After two prosecuting witnesses were examined, we gave our statement and the court adjourned till four in the afternoon. Every one was amazed to see that we were allowed to go to our place in the city without any sort of police custody. We returned to the court at four and the Magistrate asked us to furnish securities which we refused to do. The Magistrate then sentenced us to 6 months' simple imprisonment and said "Gentlemen, it is a painful duty to sentence men of your stamp." He then shook hands with us. The Superintendent then embraced us and said, "I wish to work hand in hand with you for the good of the country". Even then they did not take us in custody. We went to the mosque, said our prayers and walked to the station with the

people of the town and there we found a sub-inspector and two constables waiting to take us to Central Jail Vellore. This sort of behaviour was never expected from the police as they behaved with Mr. Ramamurti and others very roughly. We are glad that we have followed in the footsteps of our loving and respected Principal Maulana Mahomed Ali and congratulate ourselves that we are the first to be imprisoned for the so called seducing the military by distributing the *Fatra* and reiterating the Karachi resolution. We have done our duty and request you to bless us with your prayers. We are cheerful at heart and pray to God to endow us with courage and strength to undergo all rigours and hardships.

I do not know whom to congratulate most, the brave young men, the Magistrate and the police, or the Principal who has moulded the character of these young men. As for the Government which sends such innocent men to prison, I can only say it is digging its own grave in a way no non-co-operator can.

The Behar Government Publicity Bureau has Ten Precious issued leaflets in Hindustani Reasons giving ten reasons why foreign cloth should not be boycotted. The reader should know how the reforms are working and the public is being misled at its own expense. Here are the reasons:—

1. Cloth manufactured in India is not sufficient for our needs.
2. People being used to wearing fine cloth for a long time find it heavy to wear garments made from Indian yarn.
3. Even Indian Mills use foreign yarn for the fine cloth they weave.
4. If we give up foreign cloth, we shall be in the same plight we were in 1905, when owing to Swadeshi agitation Indian mills sent up prices and drained our wealth. Thus millowners will fatten themselves on our ruin.
5. So long as foreign cloth is imported, there is competition between Indian cloth and foreign cloth, and thus the millowners cannot raise prices very high.
6. There are not enough mills and handlooms in India for the cloth required.
7. Hand-spinning is not profitable because it yields no more than two annas per day.
8. Handlooms produce very little, therefore much cannot be produced from them.
9. By such boycott there will be great unrest and commotion, and India's progress will be greatly arrested.
10. By the rise in the price of cloth the poor will suffer much and discontent will spread all over.

I hope that Lord Sinha knows nothing of these precious reasons, but he cannot escape responsibility. I admit that it is not humanly possible for any man to control the details of all the departments of a big province. But that is just the reason why no self-respecting person should serve the Government. The system is designed to drain India dry and perpetuate the foreign yoke in the interest of the foreign capitalist, chiefly the Lancashire manufacturer. But for this selfishness running

through every department, the circular I have translated will be an impossibility. The most natural thing that a national Government will do will be to multiply handlooms and spinning wheels, and flood the market with plenty of handspun. A national Government will prevent the millowners from unduly raising prices, a national Government would take advantage of the glorious upheaval to stabilize a great cottage industry. It did not strike the author of the precious reasons, that the millions do not even now wear fine cloth, that spinning is intended for leisure hours, that millions will not need to pay anything for spinning, that they will do it themselves and that therefore handspun will always be comparatively cheap for them as home-cooked food is cheaper than hotel-cooked. The moral of the Government leaflet for us should be to redouble our efforts in behalf of Swadeshi and lose no time in ending a system which is like a canker eating into the very vitals of the nation.

A friend has sent me a Government *Communiqué*

The Kukis on my reference to the Kukis during my Assam tour. I am sorry, I did not see the note for many days after its publication. But even as it is, I am unable to withdraw anything I have written. My informants told me, that true facts were hushed up. Who would have known anything of the diabolical acts of the Punjab Government during the Martial law days but for the Congress inquiry? What did the public know of the cruelties practised by the military during the revolt of 1857 till Kaye and Malletson lifted the veil? Who knows the true facts of many an expedition undertaken to punish our neighbours from time to time? I am in a position to say, that even now the public do not know much, if any thing at all, of the fiendish cruelties practised in the Panjab during the dark recruiting days. I have evidence in my possession which was submitted to the Punjab Government but which I have withheld from the public because I was not able for want of time to follow up the details that came to light. I have seen enough of denials that cannot possibly be denied in an authentic manner. I have therefore deliberately preferred the evidence of the most respectable men of Assam to the authoritative but interested statement on behalf of the Government. I am reluctantly obliged to adhere to the note on the Kukis contradicted by the local Government.

A *Statesman* correspondent paints the Kukis in the blackest colours. I do not know the tribesmen. I hold no brief for them. They may be worse than they are painted. But if I was an officer in command of a punitive expedition, I would not be guilty of the atrocities that were attributed to the expedition by my informants.

A correspondent inquires, "Would you advise For the servants of railway Employees companies, European firms and others who do not want their servants to subscribe to national funds or wear *Khadi*, to resign in obedience to the Congress call?" I should have thought that such a question could

not require solution at this almost the last stage in the struggle. The surprise to me is, that any person can still remain in an office where he cannot follow his religion or maintain self-respect. That hundreds of clerks find it impossible to leave their offices although they are prevented from wearing the life-giving *Khadi* or subscribing openly to a national fund, shows the depth to which we have sunk. It did not require the stern lesson of non-co-operation to learn the elements of self-respect. And yet that is just what non-co-operation has been doing all these months. I commend to every employee the example of the brave Vizagapatam medical students who would not leave their *Khadi* dress for the sake of being able to remain in their school.

The brave people of these little places are still *Chirala* continuing their fight. Their *Pesala* leader Mr. Gopal Krishnayya is in jail. But they have not lost heart. They are still in their huts. A letter before me says, 'The people have remained firm. The fact that some of the most prominent leaders in the village have been but recently prosecuted for omission to pay the municipal taxes and have cheerfully gone to jail, has made them firmer in their resolve not to go back to the village. At the present moment both the villages are strong in their determination to stick to the position they have taken up in spite of all the losses, hardships and privations which the evacuation has brought upon them. There are some poor people whose huts have fallen down and some more requiring new huts.' It is such stuff from which *Swaraj* can be evolved. There should be no demoralisation when the leaders are gone, and there should be no surrender in the face of fire.

M. K. G

ANOTHER GURKHA CHARGE.

By M. K. GANDHI.

It almost seems as if Bengal is to be the first in suffering and therefore the first in winning *Swaraj*. The Chandpur outrage is still fresh in the memory. Now comes the news of an equally terrible outrage in Chittagong. Let Babu Prasanna-kumar Sen Secretary of the District Congress Committee tell the tale in his own words.

I take this opportunity of giving you an account of the latest turn of events at Chittagong. Mr. Sengupta, President, and St. Mohim Chandra Das, Secretary, Chittagong District Congress Committee and sixteen others were arrested on the 2nd July last for taking part in a procession without licence contrary to a notice previously issued by the local authorities under sec. 31 of the Police Act. Their trial came up on the 19th October. They were charged under sec. 151 I. P. C. and sec. 32 of the Police Act. The accused did not offer any defence and were each sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months on the 20th of October. It was known in the town that the noble prisoners would be taken to the Central Jail at Alipor the same evening. People began to collect before the Jail gate from 4 o'clock

Band parties, a procession and a *Swadeshi* party were also brought in. In the evening the whole town was illuminated and there was bomb firing and rocket firing. Then the people did without any instructions from the Congress Organisation. Shortly after 8 P. M. the prisoners were taken out of Jail and placed in Police carriages for being conveyed to the railway station. A procession with torch light, band parties, concert parties followed the carriages in an extremely orderly manner.

The procession having reached the approaches of the railway station, a *posh* of Gurkhas numbering about a hundred and armed with guns came out of ambush. Lights were put out by some person not yet known, and the Gurkhas suddenly and without any notice whatsoever sprang upon innocent and peaceful persons with all the savagery they could command with cries of 'maro', 'maro', 'lagao', 'lagao'. They assaulted right and left anything and everything that came in their way, hackney carriage drivers and their horses not excepted. They continued wounding people with the butt-end of their guns up to a considerable distance from the station premises and ceased when a whistle blew from the first class gangway. It is reported nearly a hundred persons got bleeding wounds in different parts of their bodies, and about three hundred persons received aching blows. The District Magistrate Mr. Strong and Additional District Magistrate Mr. Burrows were present on the spot. One prominent Peace and Order Association man was seen taking part in the assault and crying at the top of his voice, 'Maro, Maro', and after the assault was over, he was seen in company with the District Magistrate. After the assault outside the station premises, a European military officer presumably commanding the Gurkhas entered the platform. He made a show of proceeding to the compartment reserved for prisoners, but made a sudden left wheel and began to push people who had been there with platform tickets. No warning was given, no request was made to move away from or clear the platform. We suspect the object was to create an occasion for another assault, but the people moved away peacefully, so that when the Gurkhas were brought to the platform, they got nothing to fall upon. Both outside and inside the platform, serious loss of life would have occurred, had not people remained calm and non-violent under great provocation. They refrained from offering counter-assault upon the Gurkhas who in their fury got themselves mixed in the crowd and could be easily smashed to pieces, their arms notwithstanding. It should be noted, that the Chandpur tragedy took place on the night of the 29th June 1921 and is re-enacted at Chittagong on the night of the 20th October '21, in a perhaps more hideous form under circumstances which can offer no excuse whatever.

The local Congress Committee, the Chittagong Association and the local *Khilafat* Committee met in an extraordinary emergency meeting on the morning of the 21st instant and appointed an independent committee of enquiry. The committee is sitting in the Jatra Momen Sen Hall from day to day and recording evidence. Photographers have been engaged to take

photographs of the wounded. We shall be thankful if you kindly advise us as to what steps should be taken to redress our grievances in this respect.

Swadeshi propaganda is being pushed on with greater vigour than heretofore, and ere long we hope to banish the only about 5 p. v. foreign cloth which is visible now at Chittagong.

Up to now thirty persons have been convicted in connection with the Congress propaganda, and twenty seven of them are still in jail. Prosecution is pending against six.

The facts are set forth with such precision, that it is hard to suspect any exaggeration. And yet it is equally hard to credit the authorities with such utter callousness as is to be inferred from the description given by Prasanna Babu. Manifestly the crowd was in a holiday mood. Thank God, prisons have ceased to frighten us. The people therefore illuminated their houses, and went in a procession to see the prisoners off. There could be no violent intent in this. But it was too much for the Magistrate. He evidently thought, that the deterrent effect of the punishment he had inflicted was being counteracted by these rejoicings and that in time he might have to turn the whole of Chittagong into a prison to accommodate the whole population. He therefore resorted to the Gurkha charge. It is difficult (assuming the truth of the report) in any other manner to account for the brutal action taken against totally innocent holiday makers. It is clear, too, that the members of the so called peace and order associations are playing into the hands of the bureaucracy. These are no doubt trying circumstances. But we counted the cost when we entered upon the course. We must pay it. We must go through the fiery ordeal, and prove our purity before we are admitted to the promised land. The leaders and the people of Chittagong deserve to be warmly congratulated upon their exemplary self-restraint and calmness under circumstances the most provoking. I can tender no other advice than to say that they should pursue their even course in spite of greater dangers still. The only redress that is open to us is each time to show greater courage and greater self-control, till at last the tyrant falls exhausted under the weight of his own effort. The non-co-operators of Chittagong ought not to feel irritated against the members of Aman Sabhas or of the Government. They but act according to their natures. A non-co-operator's nature is neither to retaliate nor to bend. He must stand erect unmoved by the storm raging round him. If we may truthfully sing and pray, let us sing :

"So long Thy power has blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on, o'er moor and fen,
O'er crag and torrent, till the night is gone".

SUBSCRIPTIONS

For *Young India* must be sent strictly in advance by money order. The paper is not sent by V. P.

CO-OPERATION

By M. K. GANDHI.

Probably very few workers have noticed that progress of hand spinning means the greatest voluntary co-operation the world has ever seen. It means co-operation among millions of human beings scattered over a very wide area and working for their daily bread. No doubt agriculture has required much co-operative effort, but hand spinning requires still greater and more honest co-operation. Wheat grows more by nature's honesty than by man's. Manufacture of yarn in our cottages is dependent solely on human honesty. Hand spinning is impossible without the willing and intelligent co-operation of millions of human beings. We have to arrive at a stage when the spinner like the grain-seller is assured of a steady market for his yarn as well as the supply of cotton slivers if he or she does not know the process of carding. Is it any wonder if I claim that hand spinning can drive away as if by magic the growing pauperism of the masses? An English friend sends me a newspaper cutting showing the progress of machinery in China. He has evidently imagined that in advocating hand spinning I am propagating my ideas about machinery. I am doing nothing of the kind. I would favour the use of the most elaborate machinery if thereby India's pauperism and resulting idleness be avoided. I have suggested hand spinning as the only ready means of driving away penury and making famine of work and wealth impossible. The spinning wheel itself is a piece of valuable machinery, and in my own humble way I have tried to secure improvements in it in keeping with the special conditions of India. The only question therefore that a lover of India and humanity has to address himself to is how best to devise practical means of alleviating India's wretchedness and misery. No scheme of irrigation or other agricultural improvement that human ingenuity can conceive can deal with the vastly scattered population of India or provide work for masses of mankind who are constantly thrown out of employment. Imagine a nation working only five hours per day on an average, and this not by choice but by force of circumstances, and you have a realistic picture of India.

If the reader would visualise the picture, he must dismiss from his mind the busy fuss of the city life or the grinding fatigue of the factory life or the slavery of the plantations. These are but drops in the ocean of Indian humanity. If he would visualise the picture of the Indian skeleton, he must think of the eighty per cent. of the population which is working its own fields and which has practically no occupation for at least four months in the year and which therefore lives on the borderland of starvation. This is the normal condition. The ever recurring famines make a large addition to this enforced idleness. What is the work that these men and women can easily do in their own cottages so as to supplement their very slender resources? Does anyone still doubt that it is only hand spinning and

nothing else? And I repeat that this can be made universal in a few months' time, if only the workers will. Indeed it is on a fair way to becoming universal. Experts only are needed to organise it. People are ready, and what is most in favour of hand spinning is that it is not a new and untried method but people have up to recently been using it. Its successful reintroduction does need skilful endeavour, honesty and co-operation on the largest scale known to the world. And if India can achieve this co-operation, who shall deny that India has by that one act achieved Swaraj?

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

AVADH BEHARI LAL—I am sorry I cannot publish your letter as it is impossible to open the columns of *Young India* to a discussion of Hinduism. My article must be my last word on Hinduism till I have more leisure. It is in no way intended to serve as authority for others. It was intended merely to give my own definition of Sanatana Hinduism. I may be utterly wrong and be repudiated by every Sanatanist. I should hope even then to be able to stand by my faith. If the great mass of Hindus repudiate my claim, I shall be content to remain an outcast.

G. S. RAMAMURTI—Untouchability cannot be given a secondary place on the programme. Without the removal of the taint Swaraj is a meaningless term. Workers should welcome social boycott and even public execration in the prosecution of their work. I consider the removal of untouchability as a most powerful factor in the process of attainment of Swaraj and for that matter also the Khilafat. Impure Hinduism cannot help the process of Islamic purification.

LAL—Prayer is undoubtedly a great aid to national regeneration. The *charkha* assists prayer. It is never a hindrance. A mere mechanical prayer is worse than useless, for it deceives one into self-complacency. Non-co-operation is mass education. The masses do not need to be told to pray. Only life has to be breathed into their prayers.

J. BHATTACHARYYA—I wish I could publish your letter if only for its brilliance. But I am afraid it will be misunderstood. There is altogether too much blind following in the country. The instances you quote are inapplicable to the present movement which essentially consists in making every one think for himself. My conception of Swaraj is not that of many blindly following one man. The Poet has rightly protested against that tendency and not against enlightened obedience to chosen leadership.

M. K. G.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager, *Young India*,
Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

CANONS OF INTERPRETATION.

[Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University has contributed to the Gujarati monthly called *Vasanta* a learned article on the true method of interpretation of the Shastras and its applicability to the place of untouchability in them. Copious correspondence, some of a technical nature and some based on what in my opinion is an ignorant conception of the Shastras, has been received by me. The writers, I am aware, are actuated by honest motives. It is not possible to devote the columns of a small weekly like *Young India* to all this correspondence. I am anxious nevertheless to satisfy these correspondents through some learned authority. Principal Dhruva in my opinion is such an authority. His learning is beyond question and so are his honesty and impartiality. His article cannot fail to be of interest to those who are anxious to secure a just and speedy solution of the question of untouchability. I have had it translated for *Young India*. Nothing has consoled me so much as to find Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and the learned Principal both claiming to be and accepted as orthodox Hindus, ranging themselves whole-heartedly on the side of the removal of this blot upon Hinduism. M. K. G.]

The story goes, that some one went to a very learned Shastri to obtain from him a decision on a knotty point of Dharma-shastra. Shastri Maharaja was taking rest after a hearty dinner and was almost buried in the heaps of *Pothas* which surrounded him. Shastriji gave a *vyavastha* without getting up from his bed of comfort. The next day the same gentleman paid a second visit to the Shastri and referred a second difficulty of his to him. This time also the doctor was in the midst of his post-prandial repose, but he happened to face a direction opposed to that of the first day. The second day's decision turned out to be the very reverse of the first. The gentleman was puzzled, and said, "Learned sir, you say to-day something which is absolutely different from what you said yesterday. Will you please explain this discrepancy?" Shastriji queried, "Which direction did I face yesterday?" The gentleman replied, "You were on your left side." "And to-day?" "To-day you are on your right side." "Now you understand. Yesterday a certain set of books were before me, to-day there are others. That is the distinction."

If any one uses this story in order to pour ridicule on Hindu scriptures, he has failed to grasp its moral. "The Vedas differ, the Smritis differ, there is not a sage who does not differ from all other members of his fraternity"—this is an old remark of the author of the Mahabharata, and the existence of endless differences of opinion which it indicates, is a grand symbol of the vitality of Hinduism. The history of Hinduism goes back to at least five or seven thousand years ago, and it concerns no small community such as that of Athens or Palestine, but a whole continent as it were. Again it concerns not the people belonging to a single race but several races, their mutual relations and repudiations. Then to

वेदा विभिन्नाः स्मृतयो विभिन्नाः । तसौ मुनि रस्य मत
भ्रमम् ॥

Hindu scriptures do not mean ordinary religious maxims, but a co-ordination of the various civilisations of a large continent inhabited by various races with a history extending over thousands of years. The gold, the silver and the iron threads which go to form the complex fabric of Hinduism are clearly distinguishable. Sometimes we find the potent fire of some saint's teaching being successful in welding together a variety of metals. Sometimes the natural or adventitious dirt of the metals (e.g. meat eating and animal sacrifice) is burnt out the same fire. In this state of things, the variations noticeable in the Hindu scriptures, far from proving them to be the ravings of a lunatic, endow Hinduism with a sublimity all its own.

Over and above the differences arising from considerations of the times when, the place where and the persons to whom the teaching is addressed, there are still more differences which arise from the difference in the special standpoint of each Shashtra. So that a doctrine adumbrated in regard to one Shashtra is authoritative only in that Shashtra and not elsewhere, and in the final decision one has to determine the comparative importance to be attached to each Shashtra. For instance a *Dharmashastra* overrides an *Arthashastra* and a *Moksha* (or *Adhyatma*)-*shastra* overrides a *Dharmashastra*. This principle of supersession has been definitely recognised* by our text-writers.

Another thing to be noticed in this connection is, that the significance of the word *Dharma* in Sanskrit is at once wider and narrower than its meaning in Gujarati, and this leads us to mistake the authority of and respect due to a *Dharmashastra*. There was a point in the religious history of Hinduism when two ideals of religious life were sharply differentiated. These were *Pravritti* and *Nivritti*, *Karma* and *Jnana*, *Garhasthya* and *Vanaprastha* or *Sannyasa*. When this happened, the word *Dharma* was employed in a broad sense, with its two divisions of *Pravritti-Dharma* and *Nivritti-Dharma*, and secondly the same word came to have a contracted meaning, as in *Dharma-shastra* as different from a *Brahma*-or *Adhyatma-shastra*. The point is, that in order to get at the principles of what we call the religious life we must consult the works on *Brahma-vidyā* or *Adhyatma-shastra* as well as the so-called *Dharma-shastras*. And there too the authority of an *Adhyatmashastra* is admittedly superior to that of a *Dharmashastra*. Again when *Adhyatmashastra* parted company with *Dharmashastra*, this latter was divorced from the moral ideal, and there was an evident conflict between the customs of a country, race or family and the supreme ideal, consequently it so happened that in some cases we find a notice of both in the same book. The author cannot have intended to commend the customs, but to establish the higher ideal in spite of the customs which he records but which he would wish to see abandoned. He has to recognise

current custom naturally, but he also goes beyond it and points to a higher ideal. Moreover there are many apparently small but really very important things to be considered, when we proceed to interpret a scriptural text; if these things are left out of account, one can never hope to arrive at the right interpretation. For example one must ask oneself who is the source of a particular text, whether he is a blind follower of Shiva or of Vishnu, of Jainism or of Vedic religion. So also one must consider in whose mouth it is put, whether in the mouth of Arjuna or of Bhishma, of Yudhishtira or Duryodhana, of Dhritrashtra or Vidura. Then again, what was the occasion when it was uttered? Is it a *Purvapaksha* or the *Uttarapaksha*? Is it intended to teach a lofty ideal of humanity or only to picture ordinary human nature with its frailty? All these are relevant and important questions.

We shall now consider a few illustrations of the general principles we have enunciated, and then come to the proper subject of this article.

'One should always protect oneself at the cost of wealth and even of wife,'—this is a line from the Mahabharata. But who will say that the author intended to teach this morality? There is much truth in that line of Kalidasa, 'The body is the first instrument of religion.' People often cite it as a defence for pampering the body. No one remembers that it is only a *prima facie* argument advanced by Shiva in order to test the firmness of Parvati's determination to perform penance. Dhritrashtra often says in the Mahabharata, 'Luck is supreme, I think and human endeavour is no good.'† No one who devotes the least thought to the secret of the doctrine of the Mahabharata will say that this is its final word on that point. We read in the Manusmriti that 'there is no sin in telling a lie before women and in negotiations of marriage'.‡ And there are similar sayings of Gautama and Vasishtha. There is no reason to suppose that the authors here had any intention further than that of recording the frailty of human nature.

(To be continued)

* आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्दरैरपि धनैरपि ।

‡ शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्मसाधनम् ।

† दिष्टमेव परं मन्ये दौर्घ्यं नाप्यन्यकम् ।

‡ कामिनीषु विवाहेषु शपथे नास्ति पातकम् ।

If we remove this verse from the Manusmriti, the text does not suffer, and the verses before and after it make a good connection. A learned English annotator says, 'I regard this verse as a proverbial saying independent of the position in which it is found, like many others in our text'. For another illustration, the reader may look up a discussion in my 'Arjuna Dharma' of the *anurath* uttered by Yudhishtira, in which case also there is an injustice to the author of the Mahabharata in looking at the incident from a standpoint different from his.

* Vide the chapter on *Uttaradharma*, *Vijayadharma*, and *Kudhharma* in *Smritichandrika*.

अर्थसाक्षान्तु बलवदनसाक्षमिति स्थितिः । याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

Also of the Bhaskiyacharya's remarks re the *Dharma* (*Karma* or *Parva*) and the *Brahma* (or *Uttara*) *Mitras* etc.

HAND-SPINNING AND HAND-WEAVING.

By C. F. ANDREWS

It is necessary to repeat over and over again the main argument, which serves to prove, that for India herself, economic salvation, at this present critical time in her history, lies more in the recovery of hand spinning and hand weaving than in anything else; that by a universal interest in these things springing up once more among the people themselves especially in the villages, can the economic and political problems of India be solved.

Our educated classes in India have to be taught what supreme possibilities lie in this development of handicraft, compared with industrial organisation of a more complex kind. In these two articles, which are being written with some difficulty on board a steamer while crossing the Indian Ocean to East Africa, I hope to be able in my own way to make the economic facts plain, as I should try to do to my own students, if I were lecturing in Shantiniketan. I am writing in the columns of *Young India*, specially for our Indian students, because I believe it is still true that the students of India, who still come, for the most part, direct from the Indian villages where they were born and who go back to the Indian villages when their education is over, exercise an immense power and influence over the village population. If the students have any doubt in their minds about the need of these hand industries, then it is certain that this doubt will spread in the villages. But if, on the other hand, their minds are quite clear, and they can tell their fellow-villagers plainly that their economic salvation lies in their own hands and that they can win it by bringing back hand spinning and hand weaving into their daily lives, then they will be believed and the villagers themselves will take action. But nothing could be more deadly in its effect than for the educated classes to sneer, and mock, and gibe, and hold up to ridicule that which is the most vitally important of all considerations for the villagers at the present moment. It is for this reason then, that I am principally now appealing in *Young India* by means of these articles to the student world.

The principal argument, which practically all modern economists could accept, is this, that while hand agriculture continues to be universal all over India, that is to say, so long as the country districts of India are ploughed by hand and sown and reaped by hand and therefore the bulk of the population of India lives a simple village life on the land, while this hand agriculture continues and the agricultural population continually increases, two alternatives are possible,—

(1) A rapid increase of town industrial centres which will draw off the surplus population from the country districts to the towns,

(2) The encouragement of village industries and of co-operative methods in the villages themselves.

It is common knowledge to every one, that the former alternative has carried with it in the past immense evils. Even in industrial England, after more than a century of incessant struggle for improvement, and after the passing of the most stringent forms of factory legislation, it has not yet been possible to overtake the evil. The slums of the great English cities tell their own tale. The

unemployment, also, caused by strikes, or by over-production, is an equally lamentable part of the story. During the war when physical fitness was tested by medical examination, this industrial town population was proved to be nothing more than class C, i. e. 'third class', in its physical fitness, while the villagers who still followed the plough averaged much higher.

It is true, that great improvements have been made in recent years, and that some factories such as Cadbury's at Bournville, near Birmingham, have become models of their kind. But it must be remembered, that these model factories, as they are called, are few and far between. It must also be taken into account, that in a country like England, where distance hardly needs to be considered and publicity is always ready to correct abuses, the rate of amelioration of factory conditions ought to have been more rapid. Yet it has taken more than a hundred years of human misery to reach even the present level of health and comfort. The evils of the factories which existed a century ago can hardly even to-day be read about without a burning flash of indignation. The word 'slavery' rises to the lips. Indeed, Robert Southey, the Poet Laureate, said frankly and plainly that negro slavery was nothing in comparison.

I have spent a great deal of my life in factory examination and investigation, both in England and in India, in order to get at the true facts concerning the condition of the poor and the homes in which they live. I can say, without hesitation, concerning the factory life in London which I constantly inspected, that it was not, when taken as a whole, the life that I should wish any community of human beings to endure for long. There would be many exceptions, of course, to such a sweeping statement; and in every factory there would be certain forms of work, which made the industrial life interesting and free from monotony. But, on the average, the words I have used were true of England more than thirty years ago, when I was making my investigations. I understand that great changes have taken place, especially since the war; but I wonder still, in spite of all, whether my earlier judgment would not on the whole remain.

With regard to India, I can speak more certainly. The industrial development of India is going cruelly wrong. Scarcely any lessons are being learnt from the past. Very little is being done, by means of factory inspection, to make things at all humanly decent. Wholesale bribery and corruption exist. These make any radical improvement exceedingly difficult as things are at present in this country. The very worst examples of abuse of power over men and women and children, and of consequent degradation of human life, have come under my notice. These things have shown me, that the things happening to-day in India are hardly less inhuman than the things that happened under the Factory System in England. These evils can go on in India apparently unchecked by legislation and unrecognized by factory inspectors.

We have, therefore to ask ourselves the question, "Can we wish under these conditions, for an industrial development, which is certain to reproduce the evils of the Factory System?" There is an old Latin proverb easy to translate, which tells us, that we may, if we

are not careful, 'destroy the causes of living for the sake of life itself,'—'propter vitam, vivendi perdis causas',—that is to say, people may often, in order to get a living, destroy those very things that life is worth living for. These 'true causes of living' are such things as health, pure air, home life, moral ideals, love of God and man. It is true that more money is often obtained in the factories than in the fields, but at what a cost!

I asked a respectable man in the Buckingham Mills, Madras, why he did not live in Perambur, near the Mills. He said, that he was a married man, and it was not 'safe'. There was a world of meaning in that one word 'safe'. When I tried to reckon out with him his working day, I found that he had to get up every morning shortly after half past four. He never saw his children before going to work. They were still asleep. He came back in the evening about half past seven dead tired. As soon as he had finished his meal, he could do nothing but go to bed, he was so tired. His health was getting worse through continual exposure, but there was no relief and no sick leave. This went on year in, year out, with scarcely any holiday or break, and there was practically no comfortable prospect for him when he got old. His whole life had been turned into a machine. I saw him at his work. From six o'clock in the morning till twelve noon he had no interval. He was standing the whole time, watching the machine and performing purely mechanical acts, amid a din and noise and heat and dust that would have turned me sick in a single day. When he broke down with influenza or fever or ill health, he would, as I have said, get no sick pay; his wages would be stopped; he would be obliged to run into debt; he would have to go back to work long before he was fit and well. In a few years his vital energies would be wasted, and then he would be another victim of the Factory System, thrown out upon the scrap heap of human life, tossed away on the rubbish heap, just as one throws away the skin of an orange when all the juice has been extracted.

What a fate! Can any one, who sees and knows the village life of India, wish for that comparatively healthy human life to be changed with this unhealthy factory existence? I, for one, cannot wish it. And yet, all the forces of Government, and all the pressure of Capitalism, are being brought to bear, at the present time, to encourage what is called 'Industrial Development', meaning thereby this old Factory System.

(To be continued)

EDUCATION AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

TO THE EDITOR, *Young India*

Sir,—In the *Karti* issue of the *Pravasi*, Bengali monthly edited by the reputed journalist Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, appears an article over the initials S. C. on the present educational activities of Russia. In this article occurs a passage to which I wish to draw your attention. I am translating it below.

"But even under the stress of the present upheavals Russia has kept burning her torch of learning, faint though it is. None has advised her, like the wise patriots of our country (India), to let education wait. Russia knows that no vital

antagonism (incompatibility) exists between war and education, as exists between water and oil."

I apologise for the bad rendering but this is the idea contained in the few Bengali lines I refer to.

I do not exactly understand what the writer means by these lines and as Mr. Chatterjee is one of the "wise patriots who have advised us to let education wait", I would respectfully request him to express his views on the above passage, as such a view is held by a section of the community which declares itself to be "sane" and "rational".

Yours etc.,

Perumla.

Phanendranath Dasgupta

[I am not surprised at the view expressed in the *Pravasi*. In my humble opinion it betrays at once ignorance of the position of the 'wise patriots' and a distorted view of education. The Russians are not non-co-operating with their existing institutions. And yet in a state of war there 'too the torch of learning is burning faint' even as in non-co-operation schools. But what happened in England when it was at war with Germany? How many schools were then going on in England? I know, that the Inns of Court and many colleges were practically closed. I know, that during the Boer war not a Boer child had literary education. The Boer children's education consisted in suffering for the sake of their country. The fact is that the present peaceful movement is so silent and gentle on the whole, that it is possible for those who do not believe in the doctrine to continue the education of their children under a system against which the country is 'waging war.' That the movement is the more effective for its gentleness will, I prophesy, be recorded by the future historian with grateful appreciation. Lastly we have little reason to be proud of our educational institutions which by their very nature are accessible to a mere fringe of our population. In our state of intoxication we do not perceive the disastrous effect of the present system of education on the country. I have taxed myself to find some thing to the credit of the system in the way of a solution of the vital problems affecting the country: I have failed to find a single thing of that character. There are to-day 7,851,946 children receiving instruction in our schools. I claim, that it is impossible under the present system even to double the number of learners during the next fifty years. If education is to be universal, the system will have to be revised out of all recognition. This is possible only by non-co-operation. Public conscience cannot be brought into quickness with a milder remedy.

M. K. G.]

HINDUS IN AFGHANISTAN.

TO THE EDITOR, *Young India*.

So if an insignificant Indian, who does not care for the attainment of Swaraj by non-co-operation and who thinks that the Khilafat agitation is strengthening the hands of those who, in their hearts, are preparing for the restoration of Muslim rule, far more despotic and iniquitous than the present "Satanic" Government, if such an Indian,

who yet loves his country in his own way, deserves any attention, then may I make the following journey. I read in Bellow's 'Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan' that the Hindus of Afghanistan were subject to many indignities and iniquitous disabilities; for example they had to pay the 'Jaziya', they must wear a certain dress, they must not ride a horse upon a saddle, etc. These things were, of course, sanctioned by the Moslem Governments of Afghanistan. I am not aware of any change for the better since you have many Moslem Khilafas who have openly declared in favour of an Afghan invasion of India; will you inform the Hindus, if the legal disabilities of the Hindus of Afghanistan have been removed? If not, should you not press for their removal? I am not aware of the case of the so-called 'Satanic' Government? The race to which this 'Satanic' Government belongs never treated Indians so unfairly as the Moslem rulers of Afghanistan did the Hindus.

I believe that you are doing greater good by your strong attitude regarding untouchability than by your support of the Khilafat. If you can remove untouchability and the provincial differences among Hindus, you will become one of the greatest benefactors of humanity. The Moslems are strong enough to take care of themselves.

Ratanganj,

I am etc.,

24th Oct. 1921.

R. C. Banerjee.

[I do not know anything about the treatment of Hindus in Afghanistan, but I am prepared for the moment to assume the truth of the statement referred to by the correspondent. It would be relevant, if we were trying to introduce Afghan rule in India. I am only concerned with the present misrule in India, which, if it permits me to ride a horse, has refused me to serfdom in my own country. Nor can I be deterred from overthrowing the present misrule for fear of Afghan or other Moslem rule creeping in. The correspondent will find that when we have attained Swaraj, we shall have attained the ability to resist any other misrule. We shall have learnt, without the necessity of a training at Sandhurst, the art of dying for country and religion. M. K. G.]

HAND SPINNING IN ANCIENT TIMES.

By V. G. DESAI.

(continued)

THE RIGVEDA.

Cotton is supposed to have been indigenous in India (J. H. Balfour), though not mentioned in the hymns. Sheep and wool are mentioned in certain texts (I-126-7; V-52-9 where the Maruts are said to have put on robes of wool ऊर्मं वसनः; VI-15-16 where Agni is invited to be seated upon the wool-lined altar; X-26-6 where the god Pushan is said to weave and bleach sheep's wool; X-75-8 where the Sindhu is described as rich in wool). There are references in various places to well-dressed women (IV-3-2 वायव्यं वृक्षासाः; X-71-4; X-137-9); or to elegant, well-made garments (V-29-15 वस्त्रेभ्य मया मुह्यतः). No information is vouchsafed as to the shape or materials of the clothing worn. The only specific article of dress, mentioned is उष्णीष उल्बान (Atharvaveda XV-2-1).

Weaving was universally practised (Muir-Sanskrit Texts V-465). We find the verb वे 'to weave' often used metaphorically for the composition of hymns. In I-61-8 the wives of the gods are described as weaving a hymn to Indra on his slaughter of Ah (अहिभुजः). Weaving evidently played such a large part in the national economy that when the seer wanted to speak of 'composing a verse', the root वे immediately occurred to him. Sizing was also known. Trita who is imprisoned in a well complains to Indra that eels devour him, although he sings Indra's praises, as rats devour (a weaver's) threads.

तु तं न हि दाना व्यदन्ति मायः श्वेतारं वे वतकतो

हृ० १-१०५-८.

वयं नृषिणः शिलानि कुविन्देन नायिनाम्बन्धनेन विष्टाभि मृगाणे मध्वदन्ति । सायणः ।

and this probably points to the practice of threads being sized with rice-water; otherwise they would not be palatable to rats. The poet's hymn, again, is compared to a web (II-213-17). Sacrifice is compared to thread, and when the poet invokes Agni to perform the sacrifice ordained of old, he requests him to तन्नुं तनुष्व पृथग्म् (हृ० १-१४२-११).

तन्नुं विस्तृतं वस्त्रं तनुष्व विस्तारय । सायणः ।

'spin out the ancient thread'. The due performance of sacrifice is regarded as an unbroken thread running through a succession of Rishis from ancient to modern times (दीर्घतन्तुः; हृ० १०-६९-७). There are some foolish people who think it below one's dignity to spin even for such a tremendous—almost awful—task as the nation's welfare and independence. With the ancient poet, spinning was an occupation good enough even for his god (I-164-5; VIII-13-14; IX-22-6, 7; IX 86-32). When the Rishi wishes to express his sorrow at his own ignorance of the mysteries of religious rites, he says, 'I know neither the warp nor the woof, I know not the web which the priests weave in the sacrificial assembly (i.e. the sacrifice)'. The Atharvaveda नाहं तन्तुं न विजानाम्योतुषु ।

न ये वयन्ति समरेऽतमानाः ॥ हृ० ६-९-२ ।

तन्तवः पटस्य श्रगायनानि सूत्राणि । ओतवस्तिरश्चोनानि सूत्राणि । उभयवाप्य- पटो यज्ञस्त्रयो वे देवयजने ऋत्विजा वयन्ति तन्तुमेतुषु संतन्वन्ति । सायणः ।

in one place describes the verses of the Rigveda as the strings lengthwise and the Yajur for notes as the cross-tapes. The mysterious primeval

ह्रस्वः शब्दस्तन्तुवा वज्रं विर्वज्रः । अ० १५-२-६ ।

sacrifice of Prayaga which constitutes the creation is also related in terms of weaving (cf VII-33-9, 12,

वा यज्ञा विद्वत्तन्तुभिस्तत् एवमनं देववर्मेभिरामतः ।

इमे वयन्ति पितरो न जायन्तुः प्रवक्ष्यामयेत्याहते तदे ॥

पुंसो एनं तद्वत् उन्नुयति पुमान्विततने अग्निनाके अत्तिन् ।

इमे मयूषाः शयैर्दृष्ट सः सामानि चक्रुस्तसराण्योतवे ॥

हृ० १०-१३०-१, २ ।

पुनः तन्तुवद्भूयानि पुमानेनद् विजयारादिनाके । इमे मयूषाः तन्तुभिर्दृष्टाः सामानि चक्रुस्तसराणि वतये ॥ अ० १०-४-४३, ४४ । तन्तुभिर्वज्रशब्दभूयः सर्गात्मका वज्रो सर्वातो विस्तृतः । सायणः ।

The sacrifice drawn out with threads on every side, stretched by a hundred sacred ministers and one,— thus do these Fathers weave who hitherward are come: they sit beside the warp and cry, Weave forth, weave back. The Man (the first Man, the Creator) extends it and the Man unbinds it; even to the vault of heaven hath he outspun it. These pegs are fastened to the seat of worship; they made the Samasymas their weaving-shuttles."

Weaving would seem to have been the special care of women. 'Night and Dawn like women weavers weave in concert the long extended thread, the web of worship.' Night again is described as

साव्यपाणि सन्ता न उक्षिते उषासानक्ता वयं च रश्मिः ।
अन्तं तत्तं वेद्यन्तो समीची यज्ञस्य पेशः सुदुचे पयस्वती ॥

ऋ० १०-७३-१ ।

enwrapping the world like a woman weaving a garment. People who take no active part in religious duties are denounced as 'men who step not backward and move not forward, who are neither Brahmins nor preparers of libations, and who having attained to Vak in sinful fashion spin out their thread like spinsters (or women weavers).' The unbroken

त पत चाचमाभेयव पापया सिरोस्तन्त्रं तन्वते अप्रजज्ञयः ।

ऋ० १०-७३-१ ।

order of day and night is thus described in the Atharvaveda: 'singly the two young Maids of different colours (Ushas or Dawn and Night) approach the six-pegged warp in turns and weave it. The one draws out the threads, the other lays them: they break them not, they reach no end of labour.'

तन्त्रमेके युवतः ॥ १० ७३ १ ॥ म वयत षण्मयुक्षम् ।

ग्रन्था तन्त्रं स्तिरते क्षते अन्या नापवृज्जाते न गमातो अन्तम् ॥

अ० १०-७-४३ ।

Lastly we shall quote a verse from the Atharvaveda which seems to show that in ancient times the garment that the young husband wore on the first day of his wedded life used to be made for him by the bride. Weber refers to a similar custom among peasants in Saxony. 'May all the hems and borders, all the threads that form the web and woof, the

वे अग्रा यावतीः सिचो न ओतवो वे न तन्त्रवः ।

रासो यत्पतन्मिह तन्त्रं स्यान्ननुपश्यत् ॥ अ०-१४-२-११ ।

garment woven by the bride, be soft and pleasant to our touch.'

Whatever may have been the case in the days of the Atharvaveda, we may note, that at a modern Hindu marriage a garland of yarn is thrown over the necks of both the bride and the bridegroom when their hands are joined together in the *Hastamelap* ceremony. Again a *tarak* (spindle) is one of the four things with which the bridegroom is received, what is called the *Pankhanun* or *Prokshana* ceremony. These things seem to have been selected as typical of the life which the couple are called upon to follow; the three other things are *dhanjarun* (a yoke standing for agriculture, *sambelun* a pestle symbolising the various domestic treatment

of foodstuffs and *raavya* signifying the preparation of whey in particular and cow protection in general.

*References to the Rigveda, unless otherwise specified.

MANUSMRTI.

Manu lays down that the sacrificial string of a Brahman shall be made of cotton, that of a Kshatriya of hempen threads, and that of a Vaishya of woollen threads. Time, the great leveller, has set these venerable distinctions at naught.

काशिमृषवान स्याद्भस्मयन्वेदुत विदुः ।

यणमूत्रमयं रज्जा वैश्वस्य विक्रमिकम् । अ० १-४४ ।

Kshatriyas and Vaishyas have mostly given up the thread, though there are some neo-Kshatriyas like Luvanas and some neo-Drijas of Aryasamaj manufacture who have assumed it in recent times, a doubtful illustration of levelling up. Luvanas colour it red. To many wearers the thread has more to do with the safe keeping of keys than of religion.

There are two penal sections which also are of interest. One of these provides that a weaver who has received 10 *palas* of cotton thread shall give them back increased to eleven, by the rice water and the like used in weaving; he who does otherwise shall pay a fine of ten *panas*. The other

तन्तुवायो दशपलं दद्यादेकपलाधिकम् ।

अतोऽन्यथा वर्तमानो दाप्यो द्वादशकं दमम् ॥ अ० ८-३९० ।

वस्त्रनिर्माणाय दशपलानि सूत्रं गृहीत्वा पिष्टभक्ष्यायतु-

प्रवेशादेकादशपलं वस्त्रं दद्यात् । यदि ततो न्यूनं दद्यात्तदा द्वादश पणम् राज्ञा दाप्यः स्वामिनश्च दुष्टिः कर्तव्यः । कुक्कुभः ।

prescribes a penance to subsist during three days on milk for stealing cotton, कापसकोटजोषाणां द्विशकं फलस्य च ।

पलितन्त्रवीथीनां च रज्जाश्च अहं पयः ॥ अ० ११-१६६ ।

silk and wool among other things. To most of us now-a-days this would be a reward rather than a punishment.

PATANJALI-VYAKARANAMAHABHASHYA.

One would hardly expect to find any reference to yarn and cloth in a treatise on grammar. Yet friend pointed out to us a splendid illustration, and here it is. "Some one says to a

कथितन्तुवायमाह । अस्मै सूत्रस्य शाटकं वयेति । स पश्यति यदि शाटको न वातव्योऽथ वातव्यो न शाटकः शाटको वातव्यमिति विप्रतिषिद्धम् । भाविनी खल्वेतस्य संज्ञाभिप्रेता स मन्वे वातव्यो यस्मिन्नुते शाटक इत्येतद् भवतांति ।

weaver, 'weave a *Shataka* out of this yarn.' It is clear that there is here a contradiction in terms strictly speaking. If there is a *Shataka*, it is not still to be woven; if it is still to be woven, there is no *Shataka*. The name is given in anticipation as it were. The threads are to be woven, which when woven will be fit to be called a *Shataka*."

(To be continued)

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NOTES.

A determined opposition was put up against the A Plea for conditions regarding Swadeshi spinning that were laid down in the civil disobedience resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at Delhi. It was directed against two requirements, namely that the civil resister offering resistance in terms of that resolution was bound to know hand-spinning and use only hand-spun and hand-woven *Khadi*; and that in the event of a district or tehsil offering civil disobedience *en masse* the district or the tehsil concerned must manufacture its own yarn and cloth by the hand. The opposition betrayed woful ignorance of the importance of hand-spinning. Nothing but hand-spinning can banish pauperism from the land. Paupers cannot become willing sufferers. They have never known the pain of plenty to appreciate the happiness of voluntarily suffering hunger or other bodily discomfort. Swaraj for them can only mean ability to support themselves without begging. To awaken among them a feeling of discontent with their lot without providing them with the means of removing the cause thereof is to court certain destruction, anarchy, outrage and plunder in which they themselves will be the chief victims. Hand-spinning alone can possibly supply them with supplementary and additional earnings. Hand-weaving for many and carding for a limited number can provide complete livelihood. But hand-weaving is not a lost art. Several million men know hand-weaving. But very few know hand-spinning in the true sense of the term. Tens of thousands are, it is true, turning the wheel to-day but only a few are spinning yarn. The cry all over is that hand-spun yarn is not good enough for warp. Just as half-baked bread is no bread, even so ill-spun weak thread is no yarn.

Thousands of men must know hand-spinning to be able in their respective districts to improve the quality of the yarn that is now being spun in the country. Therefore those who offer civil disobedience for the sake of establishing Swaraj must know hand-spinning. Mark, they are not required to turn out yarn every day. It would be well if they did. But they must know how to spin even properly twisted yarn. It was a happy omen to me, that in spite of the opposition the amendment was rejected by a large majority. One argument advanced in favour of rejection was, that the Shikhs considered it an undignified occupation to spin and looked down upon hand-weaving. I do hope that the sentiment is not representative of the brave community. Any

community that despises occupations that bring an honest livelihood is a community going down an incline. If spinning has been the speciality of women, it is because they have more leisure and not because it is an inferior occupation. The underlying suggestion that a wielder of the sword will not wield the wheel is to take a distorted view of a soldier's calling. A man who lives by the sword does not serve his community even as the soldiers in the employ of the Government do not serve the country. The wielding of the sword is an unnatural occupation resorted to among civilized people only on extraordinary occasions and only for self-defence. To live by hand-spinning and hand-weaving is any day more manly than to live by killing. Aurangzeb was not the less a soldier for sewing caps. What we prize in the Shikhs is not their ability to kill. The late Sardar Lachmansing will go down to posterity as a hero, because he knew how to die. The Mahant of Naakhanasabeh will go down to posterity as a murderer. I hope, therefore that no man will decline to learn the beautiful life-giving art of hand-spinning on the ground of its supposed inferiority.

The attack against the requirement that a Mill-spun vs. resistant district or tehsil Hand spun should manufacture its own cloth had more reason than prejudice in it. And if the present intention was to require every tehsil to join in offering mass civil disobedience, the requirement would be impossible of fulfilment. But nobody expects every tehsil or district to be ready for civil disobedience and thus to be self-contained during the few remaining months. It is enough if only a few tehsils are ready. Swaraj must be held an impossibility during the year if not even a few tehsils are self-contained and thus ready for Swaraj. Any tehsil which grows its own food, spins its own yarn, weaves its own cloth and is ready to suffer for its freedom is certainly ready to establish Swaraj during the year. And if even one tehsil can accomplish the task, it will be like a light lighting a whole house. I hold successful civil disobedience to be impossible without the pioneer effort being made under almost ideal conditions. There are no doubt parts of India where complete manufacture of woollens and calico by hand-spinning is not a present possibility. But when those parts where it is a present possibility are completely organised, there should be no difficulty about relaxing the requirement regarding such parts.

lesson of non-violence and learn fearlessness. Our non-violence is mixed. It is most of the weak and somewhat of the strong. The safest rule for us is to run the risk of becoming and feeling strong. Therefore when a magistrate gives me a slap, I must so act as to invite another. I must however never give any cause for the first slap. If I am rude I must apologise, if I am defiant I must be meek, if I swear I must humble myself. My conduct before the court must be punctiliously correct. Need I say that it cannot be put on and off at will. It must, in order to appear graceful be natural. Lastly, whatever we do we must err on the side of non-violence if we would reach our goal in the quickest manner possible.

A friend sends the following note showing how Temperance the officials conceive their Work a Crime duty to the people:

"The visible symbols of our gathering national strength and the signs of ebbing life in the present Government are afforded by the series of prosecutions upon which the Government has launched in all parts of the country. Our progressive advance is marked by the thickening of repression. But so far as we know, no prosecution has been conducted in any part of the country expressly on the charge of doing temperance work. That privilege belongs to Bihar. There is no better illustration of the sinful character of the Government than the case against Kumar Kalika Prasad Sinha, nephew of the Maharaja Bahadur of Gidhaur, who has gone to gaol for one year having declined to furnish security. The charge sheet against the Kumar reads as follows:

"Whereas it appears to me from a report of the police dated the 3rd October 1921 that you Kalika Prasad Singh alias Hiraji son of Rao Maheshari Prasad Singh of Mahuligadh P. S. Jamui are a leader of the non-co-operation movement working in the sub-division of Jamui, one of your principal objects being the stopping of the sale and purchase of excisable articles, and whereas in your endeavour to attain that object you have yourself intimidated people and have imported and engaged and are importing and engaging persons to picket excise shops who, you knew or had reason to believe, were likely to commit acts of intimidation, mischief and violence, and some of whom have already committed such acts, and whereas your continuance of such organisation and your personal conduct is likely to lead to further breaches of the peace and disturbance of the public tranquillity, I hereby order you under Sec. 107 Cr. P. C. to show cause before me on 19/10/21 why you should not be required to execute a bond for Rs. 1000/ and furnish two sureties each in Rs. 500/ to keep the peace for one year."

Comment on this is superfluous. The Kumar submitted to the court a spirited statement denying the charge of intimidation and turning upon the Government by saying that the violence was all done by the so-called defenders of law and order.

A correspondent asks, 'Do you not in the bloodshed heart of your heart believe necessary? that Swaraj in the end can never be attained without bloodshed? Is not non-violent agitation a mere method suited to present times, to unite and discipline people ultimately for a stage of violence and bloody revolution?' This is a frank question. It shows that some people still do not believe in the truthfulness of the present struggle. There is no earthly reason why, if non-violence was a preparation for violence, I should not say so. When I have committed several offences against the state law, why should I hesitate to say that the present struggle is a preparation for violence? As a matter of fact, not only do I believe a bloodless revolution to be perfectly possible, but many others implicitly believe in non-violence for the purpose of gaining India's freedom. The Ali Brothers absolutely say what they mean and mean what they say. They believe in the use of physical force, i. e. violence, under certain circumstances; but they believe that the circumstances of India do not warrant the use of violence. When 'unity and discipline' are attained, we who are thirty crores will consider it unmanly and beneath our dignity to do violence to one lac of Englishmen. It is want of cohesive thought, calmness and charity in the face of fraud and terrorism, which is responsible for the still lingering impotent rage in our midst. And it is because I believe implicitly in non-violence and believe that violence is ruinous for India, that I have said that when violence becomes the creed of India, I should seek the shelter of the Himalayas.

The same writer further asks, 'Is it possible that Is Khadi a passing phase? when you will concentrate your energy upon some other part of the programme and pay less attention to the agitation of Swadeshi, Khadi may lose its popularity and people may revert to old fineries? Is not this inferable from the illustration of students now pouring in large numbers in Government schools and colleges which suffered tremendous loss at an hour when withdrawing students was the topic of the day?'

The illustration chosen is not happy. The schools and colleges have never recovered from the blow given by the agitation to their prestige. No doubt many who left under excitement have reverted to their old haunts. But witness Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee's wail over the loss suffered by the Bengal colleges. The correspondent is probably unaware of the fact that the leaven is still working. But in any case the school agitation was confined to an infinitesimal number and was in its nature of a temporary character, whereas Swadeshi applies to every man, woman and child in India. It is of a permanent nature. Swadeshi is not to be suspended on the attainment of Swaraj which is impossible without Swadeshi. Lastly reversion to foreign fineries is an expensive thing. Therefore, whilst I am prepared to grant that there are people who simply put on Swadeshi for show and they are likely to fall out in the end, the

vast majority will remain staunch to Swadeshi. Swadeshi is not merely a means. It is both a means and an end.

The correspondent's third question is: 'Do you not believe that the Government hesitates to arrest you not because of our moral victory but because it fears violent mobs bursting out throughout the country? And is it not your conviction that the movement will either go down in speed or be spoiled when you are in a lock up?'

It is difficult to know the Government's mind. I do not know that it has a mind. My surmise is, that Government feels the moral force of the movement and fears an outbreak also. That there is still fear of an outbreak is no credit to us. If we could absolutely ensure non-violence under every variety of provocation, we have Swaraj that very moment. We have certainly gone a long way in that direction, and it strengthens my faith in the possibility of Swaraj being established during this year. I should be deeply disappointed and feel hurt, if my arrest should result in the speed slackening or the movement being spoiled. On the contrary it is my conviction, that my arrest will result in removing all sloth and quickening the pace.

The final question of this searching examiner is, 'What guarantee is there that when Swaraj is obtained, the smaller communities such as the Parsees will not be ruled out by the larger? We often talk of our noble relations, but what crucial test is there that in the Swaraj Parliament racial prejudice will not assert itself?'

The movement is its own test. It is a movement of free growth of opinion. It is one of purification, and a nation purified will deserve the curse of mankind, if it allows petty prejudices to rule its deliberations. Moreover the methods being pursued by us provide every interest with power of self-defence. It is the secret of non-co-operation, that it arms the weakest of the community with the power of self-determination and protection.

M. K. G.

THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

By M. K. GANDHI.

The present All India Congress Committee met for the last time at Delhi on the 4th November. The arrangements were under the control of the renowned Hakimji Ajmal Khan. He is ailing and badly needs rest. But he will not have any. His spacious house and Dr. Ansari's have been turned into *Dharmshalas* for the accommodation of guests, whether Hindu or Mahomedan. The Hindus have their prejudices scrupulously respected. Those who will not take even water at a Muslim house are provided separate quarters. Here in Delhi one certainly finds Hindu-Muslim unity in full working order. The Hindus implicitly and gratefully accept Hakimji's leadership and they do not hesitate to place their religious interests too in his keeping.

The All India Congress Committee is the People's Parliament elected annually. It has year by year grown in importance and representative character. And to-day it is undoubtedly the mouth-piece of all those adult men and women belonging to any religion or party who can afford to pay four annas, who accept the simple creed of the Congress and who have cared to have their names entered in the Congress register. As a matter of fact, the delegates include Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians almost perhaps in their numerical proportion. I do not know whether it has Parsis and Jews. It has a very fair proportion of women delegates. It has also *Panchama* delegates. If any interest is under-represented, the fault lies with that interest. The delegates are all unpaid and attend at their own expense and pay for their own board and lodging. If the healthy practice on the part of the inviting cities of entertaining the delegates as guests has sprung up, it is a sign of the liberality of the citizens, no part of their statutory obligation. The majority of these elected representatives travel third class and are satisfied with mere elementary comforts. The house of this People's Parliament consisted of a temporary canvass pandal with a few shrubs to decorate it. Chairs and tables were provided, I presume, because it would have been difficult to ensure sufficient cleanliness and freedom from dust in the compound where the pandal was erected. Yellow-coloured *Khadi* cloth served as table-cloth for the President's table. The members, both men and women, were dressed mostly in coarse *Khadi*, a few only had what is now known as the *Bezwa* fineness. The dresses were simple and of Indian style. I have gone into these details, because the All India Congress Committee to many of us is a model for the future Parliament under Swaraj. It is in keeping with the real state of India. It is somewhat a reflection of the poverty of the country, its simplicity and of its climatic requirements.

Contrast this with the false show, the pomp and the extravagance at Simla and at the new Delhi!

As the outer, so the inner. The most important business of the nation was finished in a most business-like manner inside of twelve hours. Nothing was done or allowed without the closest scrutiny. The resolution on the dispute between the President and the Working Committee was discussed in the calmest manner possible. Jealous of its own rights, the Committee ratified the decision of the Working Committee that the right of interpretation of substantive law belonged to it rather than the President. It would not however allow anything to appear in the resolution which could by any stretch of imagination be considered discourteous to the President.

The resolution of the session was, however, the one on civil disobedience which I give below:—

Whereas there is not much over one month for the fulfilment of the national determination to establish Swaraj before the end of the year, and whereas the nation has demonstrated its capacity for

exemplary self-restraint by observing perfect non-violence over the arrest and imprisonment of the Ali Brothers and the other leaders, and whereas it is desirable for the nation to demonstrate its capacity for further suffering and discipline, discipline so befitting for the attainment of Swaraj, the All India Congress Committee authorises every province, on its own responsibility to undertake civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes, in the manner that may be considered the most suitable by the respective Provincial Congress Committees subject to the following conditions:—

(1) In the event of individual civil disobedience, the individual must know hand spinning, and must have completely fulfilled that part of the programme which is applicable to him or her, e. g. he or she must have entirely discarded the use of foreign cloth and adopted only handspun and hand woven garments, must be a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and in the unity amongst all the communities professing different religions in India as an article of faith, must believe in non-violence as absolutely essential for the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj, and if a Hindu, must by his personal conduct show that he regards untouchability as a blot upon nationalism.

(2) In the event of mass civil disobedience, a District or Tehsil should be treated as a unit, and therein a vast majority of the population must have adopted full Swadeshi and must be clothed out of cloth handspun and hand woven in that District or Tehsil, and must believe in and practise all the other items of non-cooperation.

Provided that no civil resister should expect to be supported out of public funds, and members of the families of civil resisters undergoing sentence will be expected to support themselves by earling, hand spinning, and hand weaving or any other means.

Provided further that upon application by any Provincial Congress Committee, it is open to the Working Committee to relax the conditions of civil disobedience, if it is satisfied that any conditions should be waived.

Those who were eager to start civil disobedience immediately brought forward a series of amendments which they supported with considerable skill, and yet the speeches were models of brevity. Every one of the amendments was rejected after the fullest discussion. The chief deponent was Maulana Hasrat Mohani, who being impatient for civil disobedience could not understand the imposition of the tests laid down for would-be civil resisters. One and only one addition was accepted at the instance of the Shikh delegates. They are most sensitive about their special rights. If, therefore, Hindu-Muslim unity was maintained, Hindu-Muslim-Shikh unity in the Punjab must also be insisted upon. 'Then why not mention the others?' was the burden of other speeches. The result was, that 'unity among all the communities professing other religions' was added. It is a wise addition, for it shows that Hindu-Muslim unity is not a menace but it is a symbol of unity among all.

Whilst, therefore, there is perfect unanimity in the Committee, it would be wrong to suppose that there is no obstruction or opposition in the

Committee. The Maharashtra party is a capable and drilled body. It has adopted the programme more from loyalty to the Congress and the rule of majority than from deep conviction. It is giving a trial to a programme in which it has not implicit faith. It makes its presence felt by mild obstruction. But it is too patriotic to carry obstruction to the point of destruction. Mr. Abhyankar fortifies it by his sledge-hammer oratory. Mr. Ane supports it by his calm logic. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta is the freelance of the party. He effectively uses the Committee for developing his debating skill and obstructive tactics. The Committee refuses to treat him seriously, and he lets you know that he does not expect to be treated seriously. The house laughs at his expense and he heartily joins in it. He enlivened the proceedings at the outset by proposing himself to the chair if no other member would allow himself to be proposed in the place of a member of the Working Committee. He considers the members of the Working Committee to be all honourable men, and the measure of the honour is, that they are constantly in his opinion arrogating to themselves rights they do not possess. The reader, however, must not think that all this is done with any poison in the performance. I have not known a better-behaved or more good-humoured assembly. And I regard the Maharashtra party to be an acquisition of which any nation would feel proud. Indeed I refer to the party to emphasise my contention that the Committee is composed of men who know their minds and who are determined to give a good account of themselves in their effort to win India's freedom.

THE MOMENTOUS ISSUE.

By M. K. GANDHI.

The next few weeks should see civil disobedience in full working order in some part of India. With illustrations of partial and individual civil disobedience the country has become familiar. Complete civil disobedience is rebellion without the element of violence in it. An out and out civil resister simply ignores the authority of the state. He becomes an outlaw claiming to disregard every immoral state law. Thus, for instance, he may refuse to pay taxes, he may refuse to recognise the authority of the state in his daily intercourse. He may refuse to obey the law of trespass and claim to enter military barracks in order to speak to the soldiers, he may refuse to submit to limitations upon the manner of picketing and may picket within the prescribed area. In doing all this he never uses force and never resists force when it is used against him. In fact, he invites imprisonment and other uses of force against himself. Thus he does because and when he wins the bodily freedom he seemingly expects to be an intolerable burden. He argues to himself, that a state allows personal freedom only in so far as the citizen submits to its regulations. Submission to the state law is the price a citizen pays for his personal liberty. Submission, therefore, to a state wholly or largely unjust is an immoral bargain for liberty. A citizen who thus realises the

evil nature of a state is not satisfied to live on its sufferance, and therefore appears to the others who do not share his belief to be a nuisance to society whilst he is endeavouring to compel the state without committing a moral breach to arrest him. Thus considered, civil resistance is a most powerful expression of a soul's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil state. Is not this the history of all reform? Have not reformers, much to the disgust of their fellows, discarded even innocent symbols associated with an evil practice?

When a body of men disown the state under which they have hitherto lived, they nearly establish their own government. I say nearly, for they do not go to the point of using force when they are resisted by the state. Their 'business' as of the individual is to be locked up or shot by the state, unless it recognises their separate existence, in other words bows to their will. Thus three thousand Indians in South Africa after due notice to the Government of the Transvaal crossed the Transvaal border in 1914 in defiance of the Transvaal immigration law and compelled the Government to arrest them. When it failed to provoke them to violence or to coerce them into submission, it yielded to their demand. A body of civil resisters is, therefore, like an army subject to all the discipline of a soldier, only harder because of want of excitement of an ordinary soldier's life. And as a civil resistance army is or ought to be free from passion because free from the spirit of retaliation, it requires the fewest number of soldiers. Indeed one PERFECT civil resister is enough to win the battle of Right against Wrong.

Though, therefore, the All India Congress Committee has authorised civil disobedience by Provincial Congress Committees on their own responsibility, I hope they will put due emphasis on the word 'responsibility' and not start civil disobedience with a light heart. Every condition must be given its full effect. The mention of Hindu-Muslim unity, non-violence, Swadeshi and removal of untouchability means that they have not yet become an integral part of our national life. If an individual or a mass have still misgivings about Hindu-Muslim unity, if they have still any doubt about the necessity of non-violence for the attainment of our triple goal, if they have not yet enforced Swadeshi in its completeness, if the Hindus among that mass have still the poison of untouchability in them, that mass or that individual are not ready for civil disobedience. Indeed it would be best to watch and wait whilst the experiment is being carried on in one area. Reverting to the analogy of the army, those divisions that watch and wait are just as much co-operating actively as the division that is actually fighting. The only time, whilst the experiment is going on, that individual civil disobedience may be resorted to simultaneously, is when the Government obstruct even the silent prosecution of Swadeshi. Thus if an order of prohibition is served upon an expert spinner going to teach or organise spinning, that order should be summarily disregarded and the

teacher should court imprisonment. But in all other respects, in so far as I can judge at present, it will be best for every other part of India scrupulously to respect all orders and instructions whilst one part is deliberately taking the offensive and committing a deliberate breach of all the unmoral state laws it possibly can. Needless to add that any outbreak of violence in any other part of India must necessarily injure and may even stop the experiment. The other parts will be expected to remain immovable and unperturbed, even though the people within the area of experiment may be imprisoned, riddled with bullets or otherwise ill-treated by the authorities. We must expect them to give a good account of themselves in every conceivable circumstance.

CANONS OF INTERPRETATION.

BY PRINCIPAL DHRUVA.

(Continued)

Again in the *Paranas* we come across innumerable sayings in censure and in praise of gods like Shiva, Vishnu etc., which contradict one another. In one place we shall find a panegyric of *Bhama* and *Andraksha*, in another place these things are condemned with equal emphasis. If *Tripundra* is enjoined in one place, it is prohibited in another. But it is well known that these sayings have been interpolated by people who forgot the unity of *Paramatma* variously manifested in these gods and were blinded by sectarian fanaticism. And a consideration of the story of the destruction of *Daksha Prajapati's* sacrifice in the *Bhagavata* will show that at the root of this vituperation lies the historic reason of the various customs of those people.

We are told about the *Mahabharata* and the *Smritis* which constitute the treasure house of sacred sayings that 'the things which are here many be found elsewhere, what is not here is nowhere to be seen'. What may one not find in works, which have received this kind of praise? The *Mahabharata* reflects the civilization of various races, of various provinces and that for hundreds of years.

It is well put in the *Uma-Maheshvara-dialogue* (*Anushasanaparva-Mahabharata*) that *Dharma* presents an extensive variety on account of first the differences in *Shruti* and then the differences of country, race, family, age, qualities, physical characteristics, time and adversity.

In the *Smritis* there is an attempt to hold up a high standard, but even they proceed on the recognition of the variety of current customs. *Baudhayana* says, "there is a difference between customs in the North and the South on five points. Dining with one who has not still been invested with the sacred thread, dining with one's wife, eating stale food, marriage

॥ यदा दत्तं न तद्वत्तु यन्नेहान्ति न तद्वत्तु ॥

इवमां बहुविधा लोके श्रुतिमेदमुक्तोद्भवः ।

देवधर्माश्च दृश्यन्ते कुलधर्मास्तथैव च ।

जातिधर्माश्च रीतिधर्माश्च शोभन्ते ।

शरीरकालधर्माश्च आपदधर्मास्तथैव च ।

पञ्चधर्माश्च नान्यत्र विद्यन्ते लोकास्तत्र ॥

with the daughter of one's maternal uncle or paternal aunt,—these are Southern customs. Selling wool, drinking liquor, eating double-teethed animals, obtaining one's livelihood by the profession of arms or service as a sailor,—these are Northern customs.* + Brihaspati, Devala, Gautama and Varahamihira also enumerate different customs of various countries and enjoin an observance of them. Brihaspati gives the reason for this rule, viz. that otherwise the people would be agitated and disturbed. Manu generally insists upon Aryansing such customs, and says that the general practice of good people and pious Brahmins may be considered as unobjectionable. What a bewildering variety of customs must the Aryans have witnessed during the time that they spread from the Indus right up to Kanyakumari? How largely must their own customs have been influenced and modified by an observation of and association with people who had customs widely divergent from their own? One who understands the value of history cannot afford to lose sight of these considerations. Manusmriti records marriages such as the Asura, the Rakshasa and the Paishacha and sons such as Kanda, Golaka, Gudaka, Kanva, etc. Will it be fair to have such sons depending upon Manu for justification and defence? As the lawgiver of a vast country and of a number of races, Manu was bound to notice the objectionable customs of previous times as well as of his contemporaries. He also tried to mend or end those customs in the light of the moral ideal. But he could not shut his eyes to facts. For example, he describes the custom of *niyoga*, but finally says, that since the king Vena created a confusion of castes, *niyoga* has fallen into disrepute.† To take another illustration, Manu notices meat-eating even among Brahmins and distinguishes between different kinds of meat in point of fitness for food. But in a single sentence,‡ while he records the current custom, the ordinary conduct of human beings in that respect, he unmistakably betrays his own inclination towards the lofty ideal of *Ahimsa*. He lays down the penalty of transportation for gambling. But if this were rigorously inflicted there would not be any gamblers at all. Still it is only on the assumption of their existence that one can explain the ban on inviting gamblers to a *Nivada* feast. Manu describes the Brahmin's as a life of plain living, high talking and a faith that God will provide for the morrow, and in return for or rather on the strength of this he invests Brahmins with some special rights and privileges yet there is a verse in

Manusmriti, which seems to show that there were some Brahmins who followed the occupation of selling flesh! Manu recommends marriage with a woman belonging to the same caste (*Savarna*), he only tolerates marriage with a woman of a caste lower than one's own (*Anuloma*). Still he describes the various progeny of the marriage of a man of lower caste with a woman of higher caste (*Pratiloma*). This leads to one or the other of two alternative inferences with regard to the state of things in Manu's time. Either, the rule about *Savarna* and *Anuloma* marriages was a recommendation for the future, and *Pratiloma* marriages took place freely. Or, only the *Savarna* and *Anuloma* marriages were considered proper, and *Pratiloma* marriage was brought in in order to explain the origin of certain races in the past. This last inference has the beauty of probabilities in its favour. The names given to the progeny of these *Pratiloma* marriages are many of them not Sanskrit or Sanskrit derived Prakrit, but non-Aryan* (e. g. *वैशक पुत्र*). There are some Sanskrit names, such as *Vandhaka*, but these words have no connection with their own meaning. That means that the non-Aryan origin of these races was forgotten in Manu's time, non-Aryans had become part and parcel of Aryan society and a fine theory had arisen that they were originally Aryans.† These people were first counted *Antyavasyas*, *Antyajas* or *Atishodras* and eventually some of them were even recognised as *Shodras*. Their degradation and untouchability are originally the consequence of their non-Aryan origin and of the attributes and occupations associated with that origin.

(To be continued)

* Non Aryan in this article means one who is not one of the Aryan settlements on the banks of the Indus and the Sarasvati. May scholars believe that the existing Sanskrit is the language only of one of the many Aryan colonies in India, and that the languages of the other colonies have been lost, leaving only a few words behind them. The Aryan races which were thus lost are also included in the term Non-Aryan. This hypothesis has the support of Manu who says that among *dyus* were people whose, like both Aryan and non-Aryan languages: *सुवर्वाहृन्मृज्जन्ता या लोके जातये बद्धिः*.

+ *वैश्याः क्षत्रियो वैश्ययो वर्णा द्विजातयः*.

There are four castes and no fifth.† On the other hand we have the other verse of Manu quoted above, which shows that *Dasyus* were the people who did not belong to any of the four castes. The apparent conflict between these two texts must be reconciled by supposing that in Aryan society there were at first only four castes, not five, and *Dasyus* were beyond its pale, but that gradually the same *Dasyus* were assimilated to Aryan society. With a wider outlook on the subject that *Savarna*, *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* marriages are all one and the same thing, the origin of the term *Antyavasyas* or *Antyajas* or *Atishodras* is clear. This idea arose from a desire to suppose that the non-Aryan races were also Aryans. *सर्वस्मिन् विशालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः*। *सुवर्वाहृन्मृज्जन्ता लोके जातये बद्धिः*। *दशमेन च ग*। *वैश्याः क्षत्रियो वैश्ययो वर्णा द्विजातयः*। *काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः*

कुर्वन् दुष्यतेति । देशप्राप्यश्च ।

+ देशप्रतिकुलानां च ये धर्मोद्वेगप्रवर्तितः । तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रमुन्यन्त्यया प्रजाः ॥

६२३ ॥ १०० ॥ १०० ॥ १०० ॥

तद्विक्रमवतीनामविक्रम प्रकल्पयत् ॥

इति प्रवृत्ति यो माहृत्प्रवृत्तिर्लोके विद्यमानः ।

१०० ॥ १०० ॥ १०० ॥ १०० ॥

१०० ॥ १०० ॥ १०० ॥ १०० ॥

HINDU-MOSLEM RELATIONS IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY.

By SARTHA C. GUHA.

Dr. Taylor's "Topography of Dacca" was written in the early part of the nineteenth century and published in 1839 A. C. The book relates that the relation between the two religions was amicable in general. In Chap. " (P. 257) of Dr. Taylor's book we read:

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same *Hoka*".

Although both from the sanitary and religious points of view, it may not be an ideal practice for any two smokers to use the same *Hoka* without properly washing it after each use, the practice as observed amongst friends belonging to different religions in those days clearly shows how amicable the relations between the two peoples were in those days.

Another book, a rather earlier publication, 'The East India Gazetteer' by Walter Hamilton (published in 2 Vols. in 1823 A. C.) notices a similar state of things existing all over India and even the border of India where Hindus and Mahomedans live side by side. The book particularly refers to the following places, (1) Hindustan (Northern India), (2) Banpur, (3) Malabar and (4) the Deccan within the borders of India, and such places outside the borders as (5) Kheist, the capital of Baluchistan, (6) Afghanistan with its capital Kabul and Kandahar. The materials from which the above work was compiled were either printed documents or manuscript records deposited at the India board. The following extracts from the book are given in support of our statement that there was no Hindu-Moslem problem in those days:

(1) "*Hindustan*:- Open violence produced little effect on so patient a people, and although the Mahomedans subsequently lived for centuries, intermixed with the Hindus, no radical change was produced in the manners or tenets of the latter, on the contrary, for almost a century past, the Mahomedans have evinced much deference to the prejudices of their Hindu neighbours, and a strong predilection towards many of their ceremonies" (Vol. I. p. 245).

"*Banpur*:- The two religions, however, are on most friendly terms, and mutually apply to the deities or saints of the other when they imagine, that application to their own will prove ineffectual." (Vol. II. P. 478)

"*Malabar*:- When the Portuguese discovered India, the dominions of the Zamorin, although ruled by a superstitious Hindu prince, swarmed with Mahomedans, and this class of population is now considered greatly to exceed in number all other descriptions of people in the British District of S. Malabar. This extraordinary progress of the Arabian religion does not appear (with the exception of Hydrabad) to have been either assisted by the countenance of the Government or obstructed by the jealousy of Hindus, and its rapid progress under a series of Hindu princes demonstrates the toleration or rather the indifference, manifested by the Hindus to the peaceable diffusion of religious practices and opinions at variance with their own."

(Vol. II. P. 181)

"*Dacca*:- There is a considerable Mahomedan population in the countries subject to the Nizam, but those of the lower classes, who are cultivators, have nearly adopted all the manners and customs of the Hindus." (Vol. II. P. 81).

"*Kheist*:- The Hindus are principally mercantile speculators from Multan and Karpur who occupy about 400 of the best houses and are not only tolerated in their religion, but allowed to levy a duty on goods entering the city for the support of their pagoda" (Vol. II. P. 81)

"*Afghanistan* - Brahmanical Hindus are found all over Kabul especially in the towns, where they carry on the trade of brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths and grain sellers." (Vol. I. P. 81).

"*Kabul*:- Many Hindus frequent Kabul, mostly from Peshawar; and as by their industry they contribute greatly to its prosperity they are carefully cherished by the Afghan Government" (Vol. I. P. 307)

"*Kandahar*:- Among the inhabitants he (Syed Mustafa) receives a considerable number of Hindus (partly Kanooje Brahmins), both settled in the town as traders and cultivating the fields and gardens in the vicinity. With respect to religion, a great majority of inhabitants are Mahomedans of Sunni persuasion, the country abounds with Mosques, in which Syed Mustafa asserts both Hindu and Mahomedan worship and in other respects merely assimilates" (Vol. I. P. 341).

May we not infer that the policy of 'Divide and rule' adopted by the foreign Government especially during the latter half of the 19th Century and after was the root cause of so many disorders between the two religious peoples inhabiting the country?

GOANS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

THE EDITOR, *Young India*,

Sir,—It is with deep regret that I heard that some of my Goan brothers have ill-treated the pickets, and as this action of these fanatics brings stain upon the whole community who are in every way ready to follow you, I humbly request you to forgive them.

The fanatic brothers of mine are under the impression that they have no concern at all with Indians. They do not know that they are called Canarins by the Portuguese Government; I hope they will cease to make such mischief immediately they are made aware of their original birth.

My humble suggestion is, that some lecturers well acquainted with the Goan language be entrusted with this work (far better it would be if we can get priests) to call meetings on Sunday or any other day convenient for this work to attract the Goan brothers and make them to understand that they are in no way far from us, that Indian blood is circulating in their veins and that they should remove the veil of ignorance from their eyes, embrace

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

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The Manager, *Young India*,
Ahmedabad.

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

the mother land, pledge themselves to serve her according to their capacity and ask forgiveness for the wrong they have done by remaining blind to the original fact up to this time.

The fact lies at the door of priests, doctors, pleaders and influential people who knowing every thing never tried to bring light to ignorant brothers like us, and I request that they should be asked to give up their folly and wake up.

I have not laid before you my personal opinion but believe me, a great majority is waiting anxiously to see the day when Bharatmata will obtain her lost freedom and see her sons scattered about suffering all sorts of troubles abroad, embracing one another setting aside all the differences.

Bharatmata ki Jai. No sacrifice can be too great for the sake of regaining our lost honour.
Dar-es-Salam, } Yours etc.,
East Africa, }
7th October, 1921 } C. D'Souza

HAND SPINNING AND HAND WEAVING.

By C. F. ANDREWS.

II

I do not wish to be misunderstood. I believe myself that industrial development of a certain type in India is greatly needed. I am quite certain that many things that are now imported from abroad ought to be manufactured in India itself. But I do not believe, that it is necessary, in a vast agricultural country like India, for the village-life to be completely broken up, in order that this industrial development may take place. I do not think, that the problem of over-population in India is to be solved, either by emigration to the towns for factory labour, or by emigration to the colonies abroad. I believe, on the other hand, that the true solution lies in producing these manufactured industries in the villages themselves, and in utilizing the spare energies of the villagers and the surplus population of the village for industrial undertakings carried on at their very door. This, combined with co-operative organisation for collecting and distribution and putting things, would make a far healthier form of industrial progress than the massing of Indian village populations into the towns for the modern factory-life.

But it may be asked, "Where is the power and the skill to come from, which can make these smaller industries successfully compete with works carried out on an immensely larger and more concentrated scale? Will not the concentrated industrial town centre win every time?"

No! I think not. At least, not in India, with its peculiar conditions. For instance, I fairly believe that hand spinning and hand weaving can compete successfully for a long time to come against mill-made cloth. Let me quote from a lecture given by Mr. E. B. Havell, before the Industrial Association, on the 'Industrial Development of India'. I gratefully acknowledge the discovery of this passage from a leading article in 'The Servant' of February 19, 1921. It will well bear repeating.

"The idea that the handicraftsmen of India must look abroad to foreign markets, when there are over

300,000,000 customers at their own doors, whose wants they know and understand, seems to me altogether hog-sal. First, let them struggle to recover the home markets, which they have lost. If they succeed in that, they may possibly acquire the skill and knowledge for attempting the other. But you may ask, is it possible that Indian workmen can stand against foreign competition, without copying foreign methods of trade and manufacture? I will assert this, that those who believe that hand labour in manufacture is becoming a thing of the past, are entertaining a delusion fatal to real progress in India. Nowhere in the world, is there a more splendid field for the development of hand industries than there is in India. If the same amount of thought, enterprise and capital had been spent in developing the handicrafts of India as has been spent in establishing mills and factories on the European system, I do not hesitate to affirm that India would have been richer by crores and crores of rupees and we should hear little to-day of the decline of Indian industries."

Mr. E. B. Havell then goes on to show, that hand manufactures can be developed quite as much as mechanical industries. He points out, that the old hand industries in India are not actually dead, beyond all hope of reviving, but that there is still the tradition which can be appealed to and a handicraft faculty which can be revived. There is potential wealth capable of almost indefinite expansion. Mr. Havell states, that it is the most famous and suicidal policy to assume, that the skilled Indian hand-craftsmen, who have inherited the skill of a hundred generations, should be compelled to throw away their ancient industrial arts and crafts, and become merely links or cogs in a machine!

Mr. E. B. Havell ends by summing up the practical situation as follows:—

"Two thirds of the artisan population of India today are handicraftsmen, and the value of the output of handwoven fabrics is still a matter of crores of rupees. We know that the competition between these handwoven fabrics and European manufactured articles has reduced profits to a very small margin. But if the mechanical efficiency of the Indian handloom could be improved, say, by fifteen per cent. (which would be equivalent to a fifteen per cent duty on the import of foreign piece-goods), it is reasonable to suppose that the Indian weaver might retrieve his position to a very large extent. Now, it is not only probable, but an indisputable fact, that the ordinary Indian handloom can be made more effective, not merely by fifteen per cent. but by nearly 100 per cent."

Mr. Havell therefore, urges upon all practical minded men who have to do with Indian affairs, to take count of this problem and to try to solve it. He ends with a sentence, which reiterates all that I have said in my first article.

"I think" he writes, "that no friend of India could view with unconcern the prospect of a coming era of congested cities and depopulated rural districts in India itself, of unhealthy conditions of work, of interminable struggles between capital and labour, of uneven distribution of wealth, of social unrest, and all the attendant evils of the present industrial development of Europe and America."

These are Mr. E. B. Havell's words. He is recognised as an authority both in England and in India on the subject with which he deals. It has been of great interest to me to find the following statement, by a European writer in East Africa which corroborates, in a new direction, what Mr. Havell has said. The statement runs as follows:-

"A curious feature of the latest economic thought in Europe has been the reaction against machine production and the insistence upon the value of the old handicrafts, especially those connected with artistic work. Of the greater beauty of the output of the old handicrafts there can be no question, but the argument that the older work was of equal value economically under modern conditions as the machine-made article is a startling one and will bear studying. In the era before the war, all the markets of the world were flooded with machine-made goods, furniture, pottery, fabrics of the cheap and nasty variety. The old handicrafts were discredited. They were carried out only in obscure villages or by remote nationalities. But the curious feature of the situation always was, that, while machine-made goods were unsatisfactory to persons of taste, these hand productions of former centuries filled the antique shops and fetched fabulous prices.

"Hence the argument that modern factory productions were not only ugly, they were flimsy and soon worn out and broken, while the hand-made goods were substantial, they lasted a lifetime and longer, their value increased with the passage of time. It was found also that the productions of so called 'uncivilized' nations were of greater artistic worth the less they were touched by modern European or American influences; that national work in respect to furniture, ornaments, fabrics, etc., is of greater value the more it follows ancient craft traditions and the less it is influenced by nineteenth century ideas.

"In England, at the present time, a feature among artistic circles is the setting up of hand-loom for weaving of cloth, and the encouragement of metal workers who are producing ornaments with no more elaborate appliances than can be found in their own homes. That these are turning out good and useful work, in the face of the most elaborate machine production of the time, is a remarkable fact and one that has an important bearing on the post-war situation in Africa and India as well as Europe.

The writer goes on to explain, that one of the chief features of the present situation in East Africa has been the lack of machinery owing to the dislocation of trade in England and America, and the dearth of machine-made goods owing to war and labour troubles. This situation, he says, seems to provide an opening for a revival of handicrafts by Indians in East Africa of an extremely favourable description, especially taking into account things now prevailing in Africa and in the East, the cheapness of labour, the abundance of raw materials, and the high price of European machine-made articles.

This especially applies, he goes on, to the construction of artistic fabrics, and the weaving of durable and serviceable cotton cloth, for

her cotton fabrics used to be highly prized all over the world. She has still the old weaving and spinning tradition. Hence it would be both possible and profitable to set up and encourage both in India itself, and among the African inhabitants, the simpler handicrafts, especially those of spinning and weaving and thus to provide those articles which Europe is unable to supply. Any means of this kind by which India could supply the lacking elements in the industrial life of the African villagers would be of the utmost importance in East Africa. It would show, that India had much more to contribute to the building up of East Africa, in the future, than the mere occupation of store-keeping. It would ensure to Indians a vital position in the economic development of the country and would give the lie to the argument that they are useless.

Such is the interesting statement of this European writer and his words would be applicable to Indian influences, as they might in the near future be exercised peacefully and fruitfully, all over the tropical regions of the earth, and not in Africa alone.

For the great world problem has still to be solved whether, in the Tropics, the complex and intricate machine industries, which have now, after a whole century, come to prevail in the West, are really suited to the social life of tropical peoples. For it may well be found, that just as climate differs in different regions of the earth's surface, so in like manner industrial development will differ also. It is becoming probable, that the social system of tropical countries will not bear the strain of the intensive industrial machine-system of the West and North. If this is so, and there is ever-increasing evidence which goes to prove it, then it is of vital importance to India not to lose by neglect and disuse her rich inheritance of handicrafts, which made her, in ancient times, the centre of hand industrial development in the East.

The more I have tried to study, carefully and impartially and without any national bias, all the facts, the more I have felt certain, that there is, on the one hand, a lasting position in the economic and social structure of the West and North (including Japan) for a complex mechanical development of industry, stretching out in the future far beyond our present conceptions of intricacy and mechanical perfection. But, on the other hand, I seem to become more and more convinced, that it is neither necessary, nor healthy, nor in accordance with the highest dictates of humanity, that the very same mechanical development of industry should take place in the Tropics. To me at least, as I face the immediate future of the world, the goal of India appears to be different. The climate, the tradition, the social system, all go far to determine this difference. Thus, handicraft and hand industry appear to me to have a fundamental place in India, and a more suitable, at second hand, of the economic of the Temperate Zone might in the long run stir up disaster.

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NOTES

A correspondent asks some pertinent questions
My Inconsistency in the following pungent fashion.

When the Zulus broke out for liberty against the British usurpers, you helped the British in suppressing the so called rebellion. Is it a rebellion to try to shake off the foreign yoke? Was Jean D'arc a rebel? Was George Washington a rebel? Is De Valera one? You may say that the Zulus had recourse to violence. I then ask, Was the end bad or the means? The latter may have been so but certainly not the former, so you will be kind enough to explain the riddle. In the last war, when the gallant Germans and Austrians were fighting so bravely against a world combination, you raised recruits for the British to fight against the nations, that had done India no harm. Whenever there is a war between two races, one has to bear both parties before coming to a decision either for or against any of them. In the last war we had a one sided version only and that from a nation certainly not renowned for truthfulness or honesty. You have all along been an advocate of passive resistance and non violence. Why then did you induce people to take part in a war the merits of which they knew not, and for the aggrandisement of a race so miserably wallowing in the mire of imperialism? You may say you had faith in the British bureaucracy. Is it possible for any person to have faith in an alien people all whose acts have run so gloriously counter to their promises? It cannot have been so with a person of such high attainments as yourself. So you will please answer the second riddle.

There is another point to which I should like to refer. You are an advocate of non-violence. Under the present circumstances we should be strictly non-violent. But when India will be free, should we strictly eschew arms even if a foreign nation invaded us? Would you also boycott railways and telegraphs and steamers even when they will have ceased to promote exports of the products of our soil?

I hear and read many charges of inconsistency about myself. But I do not answer them as they do not affect any one but myself. The questions however raised by the correspondent are of general importance and deserve notice. They are by no means new to me. But I do not remember having answered them in the columns of *Young India*.

Not only did I offer my services at the time of the Zulu revolt but before that at the time of the Boer war, and not only did I raise recruits in India during the late war, but I raised an ambulance corps in 1914 to

London. If therefore I have sinned, the cup of my sins is full to the brim. I lost no occasion of serving the Government at all times. Two questions presented themselves to me during all those crises. What was my duty as a citizen of the empire as I then believed myself to be, and what was my duty as an out and out believer in the religion of *Ahimsa*—non-violence?

I know now, that I was wrong in thinking that I was a citizen of the empire. But on those four occasions I did honestly believe that in spite of the many disabilities that my country was labouring under, it was making its way towards freedom, and that on the whole the Government from the popular standpoint was not wholly bad and that the British administrators were honest though insular and dense. Holding that view, I set about doing what an ordinary Englishman would do in the circumstances. I was not wise or important enough to take independent action. I had no business to judge or scrutinise ministerial decisions with the solemnity of a tribunal. I did not impute malice to the ministers either at the time of the Boer war the Zulu revolt or the late war. I did not consider Englishmen nor do I now consider them as particularly bad or worse than other human beings. I considered and still consider them to be as capable of high motives and actions as any other body of men and equally capable of making mistakes. I therefore felt, that I sufficiently discharged my duty as a man and a citizen by offering my humble services to the empire in the hour of its need whether local or general. That is how I would expect every Indian to act by his country under Swaraj. I would be deeply distressed, if on every conceivable occasion every one of us were to be a law unto oneself and to scrutinise in golden scales every action of our future National Assembly. I would surrender my judgment in most matters to national representatives, taking particular care in making my choice of such representatives. I know that in no other manner would a democratic Government be possible for one single day.

The whole situation is now changed for me. My eyes, I fancy are opened. Experience has made me wiser. I consider the existing system of Government to be wholly bad and requiring special national effort to end or mend it. It does not possess within itself any capacity for self-improvement. That I still believe many English administrators to be honest does not assist me, because I consider them to be as blind and deluded as I was myself. Therefore I can take no pride in calling the empire mine or describing myself as a citizen. On the contrary, I fully realise that I am a pariah, untouchable of the

empire. I must therefore constantly pray for its radical reconstruction or total destruction, even as a Hindu pariah would be fully justified in so praying about Hinduism or Hindu society.

The next point, that of *Ahimsa*, is more abstruse. My conception of *Ahimsa* impels me always to dissociate myself from almost every one of the activities I am engaged in. My soul refuses to be satisfied so long as it is a helpless witness of a single wrong or a single misery. But it is not possible for me, a weak, frail, miserable being, to meet every wrong or to hold myself free of blame for all the wrong I see. The spirit in me pulls one way, the flesh in me pulls in the opposite direction. There is freedom from the action of these two forces, but that freedom is attainable only by slow and painful stages. I cannot attain freedom by a mechanical refusal to act, but only by intelligent action in a detached manner. This struggle resolves itself into an incessant crucifixion of the flesh so that the spirit may become entirely free.

I was again an ordinary citizen no wiser than my fellows, myself believing in *Ahimsa* and the rest not believing in it at all but refusing to do their duty of assisting the Government because they were actuated by anger and malice. They were refusing out of their ignorance and weakness. As a fellow worker, it became my duty to guide them aright. I therefore placed before them their clear duty, explained the doctrine of *Ahimsa* to them and let them make their choice which they did. I do not repent of my action in terms of *Ahimsa*. For under Swaraj too I would not hesitate to advise those who would bear arms to do so and fight for the country.

That brings to me the second question. Under What of the Swaraj of my dream there Future? is no necessity for arms at all. But I do not expect that dream to materialise in its fulness as a result of the present effort, first because the effort is not directed to that end as an immediate goal and secondly because I do not consider myself advanced enough to be able to prescribe a detailed course of conduct to the nation for such preparation. I am still myself too full of passion and other frailties of human nature to feel the call or the capacity. All I ask for myself is, that I am incessantly trying to overcome every one of my weaknesses. I have attained great capacity, I believe, for suppressing and curbing my senses, but I have not become incapable of sin, i. e. of being acted upon by my senses. I believe it to be possible for every human being to attain that blessed and indescribable unless state in which he feels within himself the presence of God to the exclusion of everything else. It is, I must confess, as yet a distant scene. And therefore, it is not possible for me to show the nation a present way to complete non-violence in practice.

The question about railways and telegraphs is really too insignificant in relation to the great doctrine I have just discussed. I am not myself banishing the personal use of these conveniences myself. I certainly do not expect the nation to discard their use nor do I expect their disuse under Swaraj. But I do expect the nation under Swaraj not to believe, that these agencies necessarily advance our moral growth or are indispensable for our material progress. I would advise the nation to make a limited use of these agencies and not to be feverishly anxious to connect seven hundred fifty thousand villages of India by telegraph and railway. The nation, when it feels the glow of freedom, will realise that they were needed by our rulers more for our enslavement than for enlightenment. Progress is a lame woman. It can only come hopping. You cannot send it by wire or rail.

The reader will be glad to learn that the work of Fallen reclaiming the fallen sisters of Barisal Sisters has been taken up in right earnest. Dr. Rai writes, saying that many of them have been visited, and spinning is being introduced among them. Jagadish Babu who has been in charge of Babu Ashvinikumar Dutt's school for years has promised to guide the young workers who have undertaken this responsible service. I hope that those who have taken up this much-needed service will not leave it half finished. They must be prepared for disappointments, they must expect slow progress. It is only in such work that is free from excitement or immediate promise of renown that one's love of service for its own sake is tested. I commend the example of Barisal to the other cities also. This purifying work has to be done even after Swaraj. Not every one is qualified for it. Those therefore who feel the call and have the requisite purity should turn their attention to the eradication of this growing vice. The movement naturally has two branches, the reclamation of fallen sisters and the weaning of men from the degrading vice which makes man look upon his sister with lust and tempts him to make her a prey to it. The qualities required for both the branches of work are the same, and the work should be simultaneously done in both the branches if it is to bear fruit.

In the same letter in which he describes the work influence of an among the fallen sisters of imprisonment Barisal, Dr. Rai writes as follows: "East Bengal is indebted to Pir Badshah Mian's arrest for the Hindu Muslim unity which is now quite firm and boycott of foreign cloth which is now almost complete among the masses." Evidence of this character is pouring in from every direction. We must not however rest on our oars. There is still much work to be done. Both the unity and the boycott are tender plants requiring protection and careful watering. The Hindu Muslim unity must be sustained by each seeking every occasion to serve the other in a self-sacrificing manner. Boycott

of foreign cloth can be perpetuated only by the universal adoption of hand spinning, and every cottage spinning the health-giving music of the wheel. Every group of villages must have an expert who will insist upon the yarn improving in strength, evenness and then fineness. There are enough weavers in India if we can supply them with hand-spun yarn that can be woven just as well as mill-spun yarn. This one act will bring down prices of Indian mill-woven cloth as nothing else will.

A friend sends me the following from George A Mystic's Macdonald's 'The Prince Praise of Spinning and Curdie' on hand spinning :—

"As he hesitated, he heard the noise of a spinning-wheel. He knew it at once, because his mother's spinning-wheel had been his governess long ago, and still taught him things. It was the spinning-wheel, that first taught him to make verses, and to sing, and to think whether all was right inside him; or at least it had helped him in all these things. Hence it was no wonder he should know a spinning-wheel when he heard it sing."

In reply to my wire, Prasanna Babu has sent the The Chittagong further details which I Outrage give below :—

"Though the people were strictly non-violent and the Gurkhas fell upon them and assaulted them, the bureaucracy have devised noble means of saving their necks by issuing notices under Sec. 144 upon leaders, volunteers, and outsiders indiscriminately, prohibiting them from forming and joining in processions in public streets on the ground that the people who formed the procession on the 20th instant pelted the police and did other violent acts. Such notices were issued on the 27th instant, wherein it is alleged that the Magistrate came to know of the procession and the injuries done to the police by the people only on the 25th from the report of the Police Superintendent.

"They have also managed to institute a false case under Sec. 144 and 117 I. P. Code against Maulvi Mahomed Kajimali, President Khilafat Committee, St. Kalishankar Chakravarti the Editor Jyoti (the local vernacular daily), Premabanda Datta, Shukhandabikes Sen, and Mahomed Sirajul-haque, volunteers yesterday. All the five accused were arrested and except the second and the fifth counsel who have come out on bail, the rest have preferred Hajat. Premabanda Datta was at Dacca on the 20th, still he has been brought on the record as an accused.

"The people are calmly working out Congress programme. Hardly any one is seen in the street with foreign cloth on. We may assure you that the boycott movement is a success here."

This studied attempt to throttle the movement is bound to fail. The non-official commission referred to in the previous notice of the outrage has acted with the greatest promptness and already issued its report, which bears out the facts, as stated by the local Congress secretary. The report shows

that at least 100 persons were hit and wounded. Among these was a nine year old boy and at least one lady whose protestation that she belonged to the female sex availed nothing. Some of the wounds were of a serious nature.

..

Whilst the All India Congress Committee was in Brave session, the following Students interesting telegram was received from the brave medical students of Vizagapatam who, it will be remembered, have been dismissed from their college for their effrontery to wear Khadi :—

"Thirty nine medical students Vizagapata recently dismissed for wearing Khadi caps offer their respectful Pranam on eve this eventful Congress Committee session which must decide question of Swara by December. Response Mother's call resolved suspend education during period struggle join national service. Therefore organised ourselves into Sevashrami Itamandana carrying Swadeshi propaganda to every doors. Been so far self-reliant for funds. Assure you Congress Committee our loyalty our humble services in Swaraj cause. Prepared share hardships future struggle. Awaiting your instructions and help through our President Sundarrao or barrister Prakasham."

I commend this wire to the attention of every student. These young men have shown themselves self-respecting by wearing Khadi caps and bravely suffering for the sake of self-respect, and patriotic by devoting their time to national service. This country is suffering from the chronic disease of slavery. Those who spend themselves in finding and applying the true remedy for that disease become true surgeons and physicians, and when that universal disease is cured, most of the other diseases will disappear without further application, and the country will be better prepared to train medical men and women in order to treat the rest.

The All India Congress Committee having defined Feudatory the Congress policy States regarding foreign states, the demand was naturally made to define its policy towards our own states. The broad outlines of Congress policy were formulated by the Congress at the Nagpur session, namely of non-intervention in the internal affairs of these states. The states themselves could not wish for anything better or more unequivocal. And the All India Congress Committee can only define the policy within the four corners of that resolution. Strictly in accord with that resolution, Congress workers have refrained from taking the message of non-co-operation to the states, except its permanent, purifying or economic parts which would hold good even without non-co-operation. These are the drink evil, Swadeshi, Hindu Muslim unity, non-violence and untouchability. The Congress can have nothing but good-will towards these states, so long as their subjects are well treated. And even when they are ill treated, the Congress cannot and will not exercise any

pressure or force save that of public opinion. And therefore nationalist organs do not hesitate to discuss, when necessary, in strong language the grievances of the subjects in some of these states. The thoughtless and wanton ill-treatment, for instance, of Sheth Jagnulaji and his party in the confines of Bikaner state whilst they were prosecuting merely their campaign of Swadeshi has justly evoked hostile criticism. The liberal states may therefore look for every encouragement from the Congress, and the reactionary ones at the most fierce criticism of their methods and measures. Moreover the Congress cannot but sympathise with the states in their humiliating plight. The imperial power has used them as pawns in its game of exploitation. They are least able to resist the illegitimate and insidious pressure that is brought to bear upon them from time to time. They must therefore realise that the increase of people's power means decrease of the humiliating influence described by me.

How the Karachi prosecutions have been
From across appreciated even beyond the
the Ocean seas will appear from the
following cable just received from Mr. Asvat chairman
of the Transvaal British Indian Association

'Convey community's heartiest congratulations
families Ali Brothers Dr. Kitchlew and others for the
cause of the Motherland. We pray to God to crown the
movement with success

I have only printed one out of many such telegrams
or letters received from our countrymen living outside
India.

Our countrymen in America too are actively
helping the country's cause. Two cablegrams have been
received of late from New York. I reproduce the
latest, -

'Greetings from one thousand Americans open air
meeting. We wish civil disobedience programme
a success.'

To all the young students and others living in
the far West I would like to say one word.
They would best serve the country by
interpreting the movement as it is and in terms of
the East instead of seeking to find Western parallels
and giving it a Western colour. It is my conviction
that in its present form it has no parallel. It is
Eastern, better still Indian in conception and peculiarly
suited to the Indian soul. It is too early to say how
the West with its modern rush will receive it when it
has taken deep root enough to spread its branches
to the West. As yet it is still in its infancy and
often appears in a Western setting. It has
unfortunately to be confessed that it still
appears and commends itself to many only in its
destructive form. Whilst the latter is absolutely
essential, it is the constructive which is the
permanent and the best part of it. I am painfully
conscious of the fact that to many it appears only
to be a preparation for violence, whereas non-violence
is not only an integral but the only sustaining part
of non-co-operation. It is by itself the largest part
of construction. Non-violence at once makes it a
religious movement and throws man on God as

his only Rock and Refuge. By non-violence the
non-co-operator burns his boats and makes steady
headway in all weathers. By non-violence the
non-co-operator appears before his maker in his
nakedness and commands divine help. He may not
appear before him with his Bible or the Koran or
the Gita in the one hand and his gun in the other.
He appears on the contrary with hands folded, a
humble suppliant before the great white Throne. Let
the young men abroad understand the essential part
of the movement and then attempt to interpret it to
the West. Help thus intelligently given will, they
will find, bear far richer results than what they
have achieved already.

The ensuing Congress is expected to present
New Features of several new features.
The Congress Addresses by distinguished
men irrespective of political profession on their
special subjects is one. The second is a musical
concert in which musicians of all India are invited
to take part. It is being arranged by Mr N. M.
Khare of the Gaudharva Mahavidyalaya. I trust, that
there will be a general response from the country.
Secretaries of Provincial and District Congress
Committees can assist the enterprise. Some artists
may not even see the Congress notices. Indian
music of the best type is a decaying art for want
of encouragement. We little know the wonderful
results that the simple musical instruments of
India yield. Somehow or other we have come to
labour under the delusion that nothing that does
not cost much money or does not come from the
West has any real art or value in it. The coming
concert is intended from the Congress platform to
disabuse the popular mind of the fallacy. There
will be in connection with the concert an exhibition
of Indian musical instruments. I hope that lovers
of Indian music will assist Mr. Khare by
corresponding with him at the earliest possible
time. Needless to say only those who are at the
top of the profession should be invited by Congress
officials to send in their names.

I believe in God working through us and for or
The Bar against individuals and nations
Sinister as surely as I believe in the sun
rising regularly at the appointed hour from day to day.
When therefore I hear that a particular school debar
'untouchables' from attendance, a shudder runs
through me and I know that we are not yet fit for
Swaraj. A letter from the Madras Presidency lies
before me, complaining that the head master of a
school even instigated his boys against the pending
admission of a Panchama boy. I am hoping that such
unthinkable prejudice is fast becoming a thing of
rare occurrence. I have no manner of doubt, that if we
seem yet to be far from Swaraj, it is because of our
weaknesses and our not having carried out the
self-imposed conditions, one of the greatest of which
is the removal of the bar sinister against one sixth of
our countrymen. The Congress workers should realise
the necessity of conducting a vigorous campaign

(Continued on page 375)

THE PEN OR THE SWORD.

By M. K. GANDHI

In Lahore on the Mall there is a statue of John Lawrence with a defiant look in the face with the pen in the right hand and the sword in the left. The writing underneath is, 'Will you have the pen or the sword?' As a work of art it is said to be very good. But it has always been a matter of offence to the citizens of Lahore. They neither want the pen nor the sword imposed upon them.

The statue is municipal property. It was put up in the early eighties when the sense of self-respect was not so keen as now, though I understand that even when it was put up, some of the citizens keenly felt the indignity. Recently the Lahore Municipality passed a resolution by a majority vote ordering removal of the statue to the Town Hall building pending final disposal. The resolution was sent in due course to the Government as all resolutions are. Three or four days after, an engineer was sent by the Municipality to see how the statue could be removed. Without any notice to the Municipality, the Deputy Commissioner sent a party of police to turn away the engineer and his men. And when the Municipality wanted to know why and how this undue interference took place, the Commissioner issued the following order:

"At a general meeting of the Lahore Municipal Committee held on the 8th instant, the following resolution was passed with regard to the Lawrence Statue:

- (1) That the statue be removed,
- (2) that it may be removed for the present to the Town Hall building,
- (3) that a sub-committee be appointed to consider the final disposal of the statue

I consider at present from a perusal of such records as I have been able to consult, that the statue cannot be removed from the present site without the consent of the Punjab Government.

Secondly, I consider from the tone of the debates in the committee on this subject that it is possible that the statue, after removal by the committee, will not be treated with proper respect, with the result that annoyance will be caused to a number of the residents of Lahore.

For these reasons, and pending consideration and decision by the Government of its rights in this matter, I suspend the execution of the two first parts of the above resolution relating to the immediate removal of the statue."

It is clear, that the Deputy Commissioner was guilty of assault in having sent the police to turn out the engineer who was doing his legal duty. The Commissioner's order is an illustration of the meaning of the pen. The Commissioner's pen is just as much an outrage as the Deputy Commissioner's sword. The Commissioner, because he has the sword, has arrogated to himself judicial powers which do not belong to him. Whether the Municipality has or has not the power to dispose of its own property is

purely for a court of law to decide. And what right has the Commissioner to impute malice to the Municipality? The fact is that the Commissioner cannot tolerate the disappearance from a fashionable quarter of Lahore of the spirit that the statue represents. So he has not hesitated to dictate the law to the Municipality.

Thus what was but an ordinary incident in the affairs of a Municipality which has responded to the new awakening has become a matter of the highest public importance. The citizens, the ratepayers of Lahore must by public meetings support the councillors who have been instrumental in passing the resolution. The councillors must take prompt action and give notice, if they have not already done so, that unless Government show good reason to the contrary, the Municipality must do its duty and remove the statue.

The Commissioner has unintentionally given a golden opportunity to the civil resisters of Lahore to try civil resistance in the cleanest and the most intensive manner. If the Government defy the Municipality and use its brute force to prevent removal of the statue, the civil resisters can, after due notice to the Government, proceed to the site with the intention of removing the statue and offer themselves for arrest or being shot if the Government so wishes.

But this last step can only be taken by disciplined people. It can only be taken when Lahorians are ready to act as one man. There should be no crowds gathering. Only a few individuals can go at a time, say five, of whom one will become the spokesman. They must not bluster, must not argue but simply court arrest. For the immediate object would be not the removal of the statue but inviting arrest. Removal must be the result, if enough men and women offer themselves as sacrifice. There must be a perfect spirit of non-violence prevailing among the people in order to ensure the success of such civil disobedience. Whilst I point out the drastic remedy of civil disobedience, I must warn the citizens of Lahore against adopting the advice without the greatest deliberation. My own experience of a Lahore crowd is that it does not think. It knows no discipline. The volunteers must work methodically amongst the people to create an atmosphere of peace and discipline. I was grieved to notice, that at the Convocation meeting organised on the 9th instant by the National Board of Education several people had entered Bradlaugh Hall without tickets and without permission. This is not merely uncivil but criminal disobedience. For they entered by force where they knew their force would not be resisted by force. Such men are unfit for civil disobedience which presupposes a scrupulous and willing observance of all laws which do not hurt the moral sense. Obedience to laws of voluntary associations as the rule of the managers of the Convocation is only the first step to voluntary and ungrudging obedience to the laws imposed by the state. Thoughtless disobedience means disruption of society. The first thing therefore for those who aspire after civil disobedience is to learn the

art of willingly obeying laws of voluntary associations such as Congresses, Conferences and other bodies and similarly obeying the state laws whether they like them or not. Civil disobedience is not a state of lawlessness and licence, but presupposes a law-abiding spirit combined with self-restraint.

WHAT IS ABUSE ?

BY M. K. GANDHI.

A correspondent from the United Provinces writes:

Now-a-days the atmosphere is surcharged with clamorous denunciations against the Government. Almost all have on their lips an inexhaustible fund of abuse for it. Every one calls it wicked, uncivilised, and what not. Every one, as it were, makes it his special study how to outdo the rest in abusing the Government. Practically every speech is a mere list of invectives and imprecations. Not a single lecture but is replete with effusions and fulminations, and the fun of it is that only such a lecture is called soul-stirring. In short, the thing has come to a head. It has become a fashion as it were.

I for my part heartily abhor this evil. Fuming and frating, in my view, is indicative of weakness. It shows the total dearth of energy in doing real work on the part of the speaker, who wants to draw a veil on it by thundering forth before his audience his abusive eloquence. In my strict view of the matter no angry word, not even against the Government, should be uttered. True, we are an injured nation, and our anger is a righteous one. But should we give vent to that anger by abuse? Should we direct our energy in this channel? On the contrary should we not profitably utilise whatever amount of energy we waste in abuse in doing substantial work? Surely abusing is not doing real work, nor is it a service to the motherland.

Violence, to me, does not mean actually assaulting and killing others, but covers also bad language. If so, I cannot see how to justify your own use of the epithets, "satanic," "devilish" and "barbarous" for the Government. There is not the least shadow of doubt that these words come under violence, but that you being the apostle of non-violence utter violence is even in dream unimaginable.

So much for abusive language. Now I take up another question. You always say that you and your followers have arrayed yourself against the English Government, and not against Englishmen. While you hate the system and want either to mend it or end it, you have absolutely no ill feeling towards Englishmen themselves. Clearly therefore, though you want to do away with the system, you do not desire to expel the English. If so, even those who claim to be your true followers have not fully imbibed this high principle. I may substantiate this with a typical instance. In the U. P. Political Conference recently held at Agra Pt. Jawahirlal Nehru, while advocating the boycott of foreign cloth, said that if there were any who earnestly desired to expel the English from India, he was one of them, and the means he had found for achieving this was only Swadeshi. This has appeared in the press, and I think you might have read it. Now can Pt. Jawahirlal Nehru be said to have understood your doctrine which makes us differentiate between

a man and his action, so as to make it quite possible for us to condemn the man's action without bearing any ill will towards him? Here at least I can emphatically say, that Nehruji's words can be justified in no case, but still I want to know whether you approve or disapprove of them.

In so far as non-co-operators indulge in abuse, it is undoubtedly violence, and a breach of the pledge of non violence. But I must dissent from the opinion that 'practically every speech is a mere list of invectives and imprecations. I assure the writer that the speeches are as full of invectives against ourselves as against the Government, and they are more full of argument in favour of non-violence, Hindu Muslim unity and Swadeshi than of invectives. The best proof of my statement perhaps is, that the people have made such wonderful response in all these three matters. Surely the people have not made the progress without having been effectively appealed to.

But after all what is abuse? I find, that the dictionary meaning is 'misuse, perversion, bad use.' When therefore we call a thief a thief or a rogue a rogue, we do not abuse him. A leper takes no offence being described as such. Only the man using a particular adjective must mean it and be prepared to prove it. I am therefore unable to condemn the use of adjectives in every case and on every occasion, nor is the use of condemnatory adjectives always a sign of violence. I am fully aware, that the use of even deserved adjectives may be a sign of violence as it would be when it is used to excite violence against the person condemned. Condemnation is legitimately used when it is employed to wean the person from his bad habit or the audience from association with him. The Hindu Shastras are full of condemnation of evil-doers. They have pronounced curses upon them. Tulasidas who was the quality of mercy personified has filled the Ramayana with adjectives against the enemies of Rama which it would be difficult to excel. Indeed the names themselves chosen for the evil-doers are significant of their qualities. Jesus did not hesitate to draw down divine wrath upon those whom he called 'a generation of vipers, hypocrites, whited sepulchres.' Buddha did not spare those who killed the innocent goats in the name of religion. Nor are the Koran or the Zend Avesta free from such use. Only all these seers and prophets had no evil intention to them. They had to describe persons and things as they were and resort to language so as to enable us to make our choice between good and evil. Having said this much, I am at one with the writer that the more sparing we are in describing the Government or the Governors, the better it is for us. There is too much passion and too much evil in ourselves to warrant the constant use of offensive language. The best use we can make of this Government is to ignore its existence and to isolate it as much as possible from our life, believing that contact with it is corrupting and degrading.

I have said repeatedly, that this movement is not intended to drive out the English, it is intended to end or mend the system they have forced upon

us. I have not read Pandit Javahirlal Nehru's speech referred to by the correspondent, but I know him too well to believe that he could have said what is imputed to him. I know, that he does not desire their withdrawal from wanton delight and that he will be the first man to harbour as a bosom friend every Englishman who is a lover of India and who wishes to remain as her servant indeed. Nor even in an independent India, do we contemplate prohibition against the residence of Englishmen in our midst on terms settled by the future state of our hope.

CANONS OF INTERPRETATION.

BY PRINCIPAL DHURVA

(Concluded)

Let us now see what castes have been described by the Shastrakaras as Antyajas:

रजकर्मकारश्च नटो वुड्ड एव च ।

कैरवेमेदसिवाश्च सप्तमे चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः ॥

Agas,

चाण्डालः श्वपचः क्षता सूतो वैदेहकस्तथा ।

मानवाऽऽसुराश्चैव सप्त दान्यावसायिनः ॥

If these the Rajaka (washerman) and the Uharman (tanner) are described as Antyajas on account of the dirty work they have to do. But why are all the rest Antyajas? The dramas of Kalidasa and other poets are very ancient, but they do not seem to show that the Nata was an Antyaja. It is clear, that Nata here does not refer to the Aryan dancer but to some non-Aryan caste of ancient times following the occupation of rope-dancing and the like, which was considered Antya not on account of the occupation but of its non-Aryan origin and the uncleanness associated with it. The word 'Baruda' is clearly non-Aryan. The occupation of 'Kaivaria' (fisherman) is also non-Aryan, 'Mada' and 'Bulla' are obviously non-Aryan names. 'Ayogava' also seems to signify some such race. The occupation of 'Vaidehaka' and 'Magadha' is not dirty, and we know that they are only the names of people who inhabited particular parts of India. Now when all the inhabitants of a province are described as Antyajas, the only reason can be this that they were not regarded as members of the Aryan society of their own time. 'Suta' was perhaps connected with the root 'su' and taken to mean a natural son; and thus Sutas might have been included in the category of Antyajas.

The root of the word 'Kshatta' cannot be connected with its meaning. So that although Magadha, Vaidehaka, Suta and Kshatta are described as Antyajas in the above verses, there is no historical evidence to show that they were considered untouchable. Were Vidura, and Karma,

*ब्राह्मण्यं क्षत्रियात्मनः । * A Suta is the son of a Brahman wife by a Kshatriya husband. * Kaumarapurana describes him as having arisen from sacrifice. वैजयस्य पृथोर्ध्वे वर्त्तमाने महात्मनः । सुतायामभवत्सूतः प्रथमं वर्णवैकृतम् ॥ And in another Purana, the Suta Romaharshana who recited the Puranas before Shannaka and other Rishis is described by Shannakamuni in these words :

अत्रिकुम्भसमुद्भूतसूतनिर्मलमानसो ऽतो.

and Romaharshana, and Junaka and Sudakshina, untouchables? Since the days of Buddha, the Mahabharata and even the Upanishads, these people have not been looked upon as untouchables. It is therefore clear that these texts refer to some state of things obtaining in very ancient, almost pre-Aryan times. And Manu's statement that these castes are the result of Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages between various Aryan castes contains only a part* of the historic truth.

All this discussion was intended to show, that mere rewriting of the Shastras to the exclusion of the light which history throws upon them cannot help us to arrive at the truth. We now come to an issue which is very much alive. We found above, that Chandala and Shvapacha were classed as Antyajas. Shvapacha is described as the son of a Kshatta father by an Ugra mother, Kshatta here is the son of a Shudra father and Kshatriya mother, and Ugra the daughter of a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother. Now consider the etymological meaning of the word 'Shvapacha'. * 'Shvapacha' thus is one who cooks (and eats) a dog. Now is it possible that intermarriage between Kshatriyas and Shudras for two generations would lead to so much degradation as is indicated in the eating of dogs' flesh and consequent untouchability? So it is clear that the originally untouchable caste was some non-Aryan race which devoured dogs' flesh. Now take the second, Chandala. A Chandala is the son of a Shudra father by a Brahman mother. § The qualities of a Chandala are thus enumerated in the Bhagavata—uncleanliness, untruth, theft, atheism, quarrelsomeness, anger, greed, etc. Here also we ask, is it possible that the progeny of a Shudra by a Brahman girl would all at once contract all these vices? The inference therefore is, that Chandala was some 'chanda' (fieree) non-Aryan race and there was a bar of untouchability against it in order to avoid friction with it. The description of a Chandala in the Ramayana also points to his non-Aryan character:—

अथ रात्र्यां व्यतीतायां तस्यां रात्रां बभूव ह ।

चाण्डालदर्शने राम सद्य एव दुराकृतिः ।

नीलश्रीनाम्बरधरो रक्ताम्बरकुतोत्तरः ।

संरञ्जिताम्बरोरुहः करालो हरिपिङ्गवः ।

दुश्चर्मोत्तवासी च लोहानरणभूषेत् ॥

'red and fierce, with ornaments of iron, dressed in the hide of a bear etc.'

†Dilipa's wife. तस्य दाक्षिण्यरुडेन नाम्ना मगधवंशजा । पत्नी
सुदक्षिणोत्तवासी च रम्भेन दक्षिणा ॥ रघुवशे ।

*Only a part, because Varnasankhara may have been responsible for new castes arising in Manu's times and times previous to him. But many of the castes which are described as having so arisen did not really arise that way but were non-Aryan, as can be seen from their names and from the fact that there is no connection between their names and their supposed origin. Particularly see the chapter on Varnajativyakti in the Balambhatta commentary on the Mitakshara.

क्षत्रुजानस्तथोपायां श्वपाक इति कीर्तितः ।

आयोगवश्च क्षता च चाण्डालश्चाधमो वृणाम् ।

प्रातिलोभ्येन जायन्ते शूद्रादपसदास्त्रयः ॥ मनु० ।

†अशौचमनृतं स्तेवं नास्तिक्यं शुष्कविग्रहः ।

कामः क्रोधश्च लपश्च स्वभावोऽन्तैवसायिनाम् ॥

From this and from characteristics mentioned elsewhere such as living in the burning ground, it is obvious that Chandala was the proper name of some non-Aryan race. Let us have a look at the Dhedhs, Chamars and Bhangias of the present day and say whether we can observe in them any of the features described above. On the other hand they have among them Kshatriya names such as Parmar, Chauhan, Solanki etc., and the tradition goes that they are degraded members of those families. Again, in ancient books we find the word 'Paulakasa' along with the word 'Chandala,' and that is certainly non-Aryan. Among the victims for the sacrifice enumerated in the Yajurveda we have the Paulakasa, this also proves its non-Aryan character.

Our ancestors admitted non-Aryans to the Aryan fold; shall we condemn Aryans as untouchables and thus drive them out? One can understand a desire not to touch them on account of their dirty work and ways of life; but if we touch them when they become Christian converts and are cleanly, why should they remain untouchable if they observe cleanliness and continue as Hindus? But popular prejudice on this point cannot be easily overcome. There is no race on earth which is so cleanly as the Brahmans, and Hindu society headed by Brahmans has naturally an extraordinary aversion for filth. But the ancient custom has been reduced to an absurdity, as now-a-days even Brahmans are not so cleanly as they used to be. At the same time, the untouchable classes must give up their uncleanness and thus prove the unreasonableness of the popular prejudice to the hilt.

Finally I shall only say this, that we should not blindly stick to the letter of the law as laid down in the Shastras but attend also to the history which underlies it and try to get at the secret of the Shastras in the light of that history. One is almost inclined to say with Mr. Wells, 'Upon the matter of the teaching of history I am a fanatic.' This historical standpoint is not at all convenient to the people who wish to interpret the Shastras so as to accord with current customs. But there are many cases in which our ancestors adapted Shastras to the conditions of the time and even wrote new Shastras.

सिन्धुसौवीरस्यैराष्ट्रास्तथा श्रव्यन्तवासिनः ।

ब्रह्मकलिद्राघं गत्वा संस्कारमर्हति ।

This means that a man after a visit to the countries of Sindhu, Sanvira, Saurashtra etc., must be consecrated with the sacred thread. Shri Krishna lived and died in Saurashtra, the Pandavas paid frequent visits to him at Dwarka and at Mount Raivata (modern Girnar). Did any one ever hear of their re-investiture with the sacred thread? And who goes through this ceremony again even to-day? The reason of the rule was that at that time these countries were largely non-Aryan, and the rule was obeyed when the reason for it existed. Now the state of things has changed altogether, and so the rule has become a dead letter. Medhatisithi, in considering the question which countries are Aryan and which Mlechchha, says, 'If the Mlechchhas conquer a country like Brahmanavarta and settle there, it is to be considered a Mlechchha country; and if some Aryan

king conquers a Mlechchha country and establishes the four castes therein and assigns to the Mlechchhas there the position which Chandalas occupy in Aryan society, that Mlechchha country becomes Yajnya (fit for sacrifice), i.e. Aryan'. In interpreting Shastras we must bring to bear upon them the same discriminating standpoint.

Besides this historical standpoint, we also need a broad and deep religious standpoint in interpreting Shastras. As we have already seen, *Dharma* in Sanskrit is sometimes synonymous with custom and at other times employed in the narrow sense of ritual as distinguished from metaphysics. Consequently ordinary people fail to have the broad outlook necessary in matters of religion, they make an artificial distinction between *Vyavahara* (ordinary life) and *Paramartha* (supreme reality) and rigidly limit particular things to particular *adharma*s. For example people are under the gross illusion that a *Grihastha* has nothing to do with *Sannyasadharmas*, that *jnana* is impossible without leaving the world, that the *Grihastha* may not even dare to consider as touching himself in any way. Shankaracharya's realization in his *Manishapanchaka* of identity with *Dhedhs*. Human life is a most precious gift; and it is very hard on a religious man that having acquired it, he should pass all his life in observing the positive and negative commands of *Karmakanda* and not have even a glimpse of *Sannyasa* because he cannot leave the world entirely. Even as the sun sheds light on the earth while he is still behind Udayagiri and has not yet risen, why should not our *Adhyatmashastra* enlighten our *Dharmashastra*?

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. N. Venkataswastri—For the reasons already given in these columns, your letter, I am sorry, cannot be published. I would, however, recommend a reperusal of my article on Hinduism, and you will find more points of contact than of differences between us. You have scratched the surface, I have gone to the root. Our efforts have therefore yielded necessarily different results.

A. H. Jayasinhani—(1) As a non-co-operator, I neither own nor disown George as my King. I have dissociated myself from the system administered under the King's name. I keep myself free to give my allegiance to him, if I can attain my full growth in his kingdom and can secure full redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs.

(2) As non-co-operators we must work in the gaols for we do not non-co-operate with gaols as such. We submit to the courts' discipline when we are dragged to the courts. Civil disobedience by its very nature requires us to yield complete obedience to gaol regulations, for as civil resisters we invite imprisonment and therefore are bound to suffer the rigours of its discipline. But we can civilly resist such regulations as are not only irksome or hard to bear but are humiliating or specially designed to degrade non-co-operators. Our self-respect demands willing obedience to gaol discipline. The same self-respect may require resistance to misbehaviour euphemistically called discipline. For instance we would refuse to draw lines with our noses whether within or without gaols. M. K. G.

(Continued from page 370)

against it. It need not in any way interfere with their Swadeshi work, for the simple reason that intensive Swadeshi work itself is one of the most potent influences in favour of our suppressed countrymen. India cannot be self-contained if the message of the spinning wheel does not enter the homes of these the most helpless of our fellow-countrymen. And the message cannot be delivered to them unless we think of them as our blood brothers and sisters requiring all the gentleness and love we can give them.

The secretary of the District Congress Committee Dera Ismailkhan writes, saying that Messrs. Parnaghan, Devidas, Nirmaldas, Krishan and Binitia, Haji Ahmed Din, Allah Bakh and Mahomed Ramzan were required to file security because they had repeated the Karachi resolution. They having refused to give security were convicted to two years' simple imprisonment. The secretary adds that the trial was farcical and lasted only two hours. Late Parnaghan is a member of the All India Congress Committee. He was for fifteen years in Government service in Baluchistan, but left it after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and joined the Congress of which he was local secretary when he was arrested. The correspondent says, that these convictions took place before judgment in the Karachi case. What however is more puzzling is, that while those who repeated the resolution at Bombay and led the way are left untouched, those who followed the signatories to the Bombay manifesto have been imprisoned. I congratulate the more fortunate men of Dera Ismailkhan.

The secretary of the District Khilafat Committee The Koran Alipurah writes to say, that taken away Maulvi Abdul Karim Sahib who was recently convicted and is serving imprisonment in the Hyderabad jail has been deprived of the Koran. Is it because the Maulvi is comparatively unknown that the Koran has been taken away from him and not from the distinguished prisoners of Karachi? It is this kind of thoughtless and unnecessary persecution that breeds ill will which it is difficult to check. No one wants a fair fight, but the deprivation of his religious book from a prisoner is the extreme of meanness.

A correspondent from the Tanjore District writes, Prejudice and Insolence saying that he and his brother though Brahmans felt that rather than lead a lazy life, they should do some work and they 'turned their hands to the plough.' So they began agriculture. Thereupon their fellow villagers became disgusted and excommunicated them. They however remained firm in their resolve. When the Shankaracharya of Kumbakonam visited their part of the district, they went with their offering which was rejected because they had committed the sin of labouring for their livelihood. My correspondent tells me he is not at all put out by the Shankaracharya's action. I congratulate the brothers on their public spirit. Excommunication from a tyrannical society is indeed a reward of merit and should be welcomed. To say that a Brahman should not touch a plough is a parody of Yarasbama and a prostitution of the

meaning of the Bhagavadgita. Surely the qualities predominantly ascribed to the different divisions are not denied to the others. Is bravery to be the prerogative only of the Kshatriya and restraint only of the Brahman? Are Brahmans Kshatriyas and Shudras not to protect the Cow? Can any one remain a Hindu without readiness to die for the Cow? Yet strangely enough, I have a letter from the Madras Presidency seriously telling me, that Cow protection has nothing to do with any but the Vaishyas. When there is so much ignorance combined with insolence, the best thing to do is to incur all risks and pursue the path of reform expecting time to prove the truth of one's position. If we combine love with firmness, we shall disarm all opposition in the end. Reformers may neither relent nor become angry.

A correspondent suggests, that if all the theatres Khadi in at Bombay and elsewhere only Theatres adopt Khadi for their costumes, the use of Khadi would become still more fashionable than it is already. The idea is certainly good. But its enforcement largely depends upon the audience. If the spectators were to insist upon Khadi dresses, the proprietors will be compelled to adopt them. They have as a rule no taste save what the public imposes upon them. The best way to enforce the adoption of Khadi dresses in theatres is for the regular theatre-goers to ask for Khadi costumes. They will have to see to it, that no sham Khadi creeps in by stealth. For in theatres more than elsewhere truth is likely to be sacrificed to so-called art or taste. The audience, I suppose, will insist on colours and gaudiness. And whilst it is perfectly possible to have a subdued and beautiful blending of colours on Khadi and to have a certain amount of ornamentation about it, the thick variety—and that is the only thing that requires to be made popular—does not lend itself to fantastic combinations without giving rise to positive ugliness. The adoption of Khadi on a large scale in theatres therefore means a revolution in public taste and return to simplicity and natural beauty. Our theatres of to-day are no test of national morals or national taste as in other countries. They are an answer to meretricious tastes and an unnatural, unassimilable growth in the nation. Any enterprising manager who recognising the progressive improvement in public taste will make radical changes in his scenery and costumes will certainly deserve the thanks of the theatre-going public.

The interest that is being taken in the Khadi movement all over India is really An Ingenious Suggestion remarkable. The suggestion about popularising Khadi through the theatres comes from a Poona graduate. A Punjab correspondent bases this upon his experience of the Punjab. The winter in the Punjab is probably the severest in India, and one of the most popular ways adopted to keep up the warmth of the body is by wearing cotton-padded garments and by using cotton padded blankets. They really give greater warmth to the body even than woollen vests and woollen rugs. But the cotton clothing gets indescribably dirty after a time. What the correspondent suggests is, that these garments or the cotton inside them should be renewed every winter. The blankets lend themselves to renewal in the easiest manner. So what he

says is that the cotton used for padding should be re-carded and spun for manufacturing *Khadi*. The first covers if they are foreign must naturally be destroyed, and one need not go into the merits of destruction for justifying the burning of these things which have gathered dirt in many cases for years. But after the covers are made of *Khadi*, they can be used for summer wear after removing the padding. And for the winter following, according to the correspondent's suggestion, new cotton should be purchased. For an industrious home the suggestion is really fine, and for the poor most economical. For there is no waste and cleanliness is ensured. If the poor people will but learn the necessary simple tailoring, they can have warm or cool health-giving clothing from year to year to suit the different seasons without much cost. If the whole thing is managed judiciously, the reader will observe that a family can be clothed and covered by purchasing a certain quantity of cotton from year to year and at the most paying the family weaver for weaving. The cost of carding and spinning and tailoring is saved. These things can be attended to without difficulty during leisure hours and without encroaching upon the hours required for recreation, or, as the late Lord Kelvin used to say of himself, recreation might be had from change of occupation. But I know the Punjabi as well as I know the Gujarati. And I know that he has ample time at his disposal for attending to his sartorial requirements. But to carry out the correspondent's wise suggestion necessitates a transformation in national habits. Who can deny that it is needed if the nation is no longer to live in a penurious state? As Mr. Andrews has very properly pointed out in his two articles, the economics of the Torrid Zone cannot be the same as of the Temperate. To make India industrial by concentrating labour in one place is to kill the nation. To make India industrious by providing healthy and necessary supplementary occupation in the cottage is to make India healthy, wealthy and therefore happy and contented.

M. K. G.

CIVIL VERSUS CRIMINAL.

By M. K. GANDHI.

When a man wilfully breaks his own laws, the disobedience becomes criminal. For he commits the breach not against himself but against some one else, and not only escapes punishment for the breach for there is none provided against himself by the maker of laws, but he avoids also the inconvenience caused by their observance. What is true of the individual is true of the corporation. At the present moment one observes this criminal breach by the Government of its own laws throughout India. Sections of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code are being freely abused. And because non-co-operators refrain from questioning orders issued by officials, bare-faced illegalities are being committed by them with impunity. We have seen this in Bulandshahr, in Chhatta-gong, all over Sindh, and nowhere so systematically and so deliberately as in the Madras Presidency. Mr. Yakub Hassan has pointed out with great justification that his arrest and conviction are contrary to the spirit of the Viceregal pledge.

Indeed, it is against not only the spirit of Lord Reading's pledge but it is against the letter even of his predecessor's communique in which it was declared in solemn tones that so long as non-co-operation remained non-violent there would be no repression. No one dare accuse Mr. Yakub Hassan of having incited to violence in his Tanjore address before an audience of picked representatives. Nor was any violence done in the Tanjore district as a result of his speech. The Magistrate in the case of Mr. Iyer of the *Deshabhoctan* actually admitted that there was not a trace of violence in the writing that was impeached and that it actually contained exhortations to non-violence. Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar leading pleader of Coimbatore has been arrested for a spirited letter to the *Hindu* though there was no violence in it. And so have Dr. Varadarajulu and Mr. Gopalakrishnayyah been arrested for their speeches and writings, although it is known that they not only do not incite to violence but that theirs is actually a restraining influence in the face of provocation. Is it any wonder if one infers from this campaign of repression an intention on the part of the Government to invite violence? In not one of these cases I have mentioned has there been any outbreak of violence as a result of the speeches and writings concerned. And so we see that the Government is guilty of criminal breach of its own laws. And what legal remedy has the afflicted individual against the Government? There is certainly no sanction provided against the Government in law when it prostitutes the law itself to its own base ends. When therefore a Government thus becomes lawless in an organised manner, civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty and is the only remedy open specially to those who had no hand in the making of the Government or its laws. Another remedy there certainly is, and that is armed revolt. Civil disobedience is a complete, effective and bloodless substitute. And it is as well that by exemplary restraint and discipline in the way of submission to unjust and even illegal orders we have created the necessary atmosphere for civil disobedience. For thereby on the one hand the tyrannical nature of the Government has been made more manifest, and on the other by willing obedience we have fitted ourselves for civil disobedience.

It is equally as well that civil disobedience is being confined even now to the smallest area possible. It must be admitted that it is an abnormal state, even as a corrupt and unpopular Government should be in civilised society like disease an abnormal state. Therefore, only when a citizen has disciplined himself in the art of voluntary obedience to the state laws is he justified on rare occasions deliberately but non-violently to disobey them, and expose himself to the penalty of the breach. If then we are to achieve the maximum result in the minimum of time, whilst fiercest disobedience is going on in a limited area, perfect submission to the laws must be yielded in all the other parts so as to test the nation's capacity for voluntary obedience and for understanding the virtue of civil disobedience. Any unauthorised outbreak of disobedience, therefore, in any part of India will most certainly damage the cause and will

betray an unpardonable ignorance of the principles of civil disobedience.

We must expect the Government to take the strictest measures to suppress this impending defiance of authority, for on it depends its very existence. Its instinct of self-preservation alone will actuate measures of repression adequate for suppression. And if it fails, the Government of necessity disappear. That is, it either bends to the national will or it is dissolved. The greatest danger lies in violence breaking out anywhere by reason of provocation. But it would be wrong and unmanly to invite the sternest measures and then to be incensed against them, apart from the fact that it will be a breach of our solemn pledge of non-violence. I may be arrested, thousands who take part in the peaceful revolt may also be arrested, imprisoned even tortured. The rest of India must not lose its head. When the proper time comes, the rest of India may respond by undertaking civil disobedience and inviting arrests, imprisonments and tortures. It is the sacrifice of the innocent we want to make. That alone will appear pleasing to God. And therefore, on the eve of the great battle the nation is embarking upon, my earnest exhortation to every non-co-operator is to fit himself for civil disobedience by fulfilling to the letter and in the spirit the conditions of civil disobedience laid down at Delhi, and to ensure non-violence everywhere. Let us not be satisfied that we remain non-violent individually. We boast that non-co-operation has become universal in India. We boast that we have acquired sufficient influence even over the unruly masses to restrain them from violence. Let us prove true to our claim.

INTROSPECTION.

By M. K. GANDHI

Correspondents have written to me in pathetic language asking me not to commit suicide in January, should Swaraj be not attained by then and should I find myself outside the prison walls. I find that language but inadequately expresses one's thought especially when the thought itself is confused or incomplete. My writing in the *Naculeen* was, I fancied, clear enough. But I observe that its translation has been misunderstood by many. The original too has not escaped the tragedy that has overtaken the translation.

One great reason for the misunderstanding lies in my being considered almost a perfect man. Friends who know my partiality for the Bhagavadgita have thrown relevant verses at me, and shown how my threat to commit suicide contradicts the teachings which I am attempting to live. All these mentors of mine seem to forget, that I am but a seeker after Truth I claim to have found the way to it. I claim to be making a ceaseless effort to find it. But I admit that I have not yet found it. To find Truth completely is to realise oneself and one's destiny, i. e. to become perfect. I am painfully conscious of my imperfections, and therein lies all the strength I possess, because it is a rare thing for a man to know his own limitations.

If I was a perfect man, I own I should not feel the miseries of my neighbours as I do. As a perfect man I should take note of them, prescribe a remedy and

compel adoption by the force of unchallengeable Truth in me. But as yet I only see as through a glass darkly and therefore have to carry conviction by slow and laborious processes, and then too not always with success. That being so, I would be less than human if with all my knowledge of avoidable misery pervading the land and of the sight of mere skeletons under the very shadow of the Lord of the Universe, I did not feel with and for all the suffering but dumb millions of India. The hope of a steady decline in that misery sustains me; but suppose that with all my sensitiveness to sufferings, to pleasure and pain, cold and heat and with all my endeavour to carry the healing message of the spinning wheel to the heart, I have reached only the ear and never pierced the heart, suppose further that at the end of the year I find that the people are as sceptical as they are to-day about the present possibility of attainment of Swaraj by means of the peaceful revolution of the wheel. Suppose further, that I find that all the excitement during the past twelve months and more has been only an excitement and a stimulation but no settled belief in the programme, and lastly suppose that the message of peace has not penetrated the hearts of Englishmen, should I not doubt my *tapasya* and feel my unworthiness for leading the struggle? As a true man, what should I do? Should I not kneel down in all humility before my Maker and ask Him to take away this useless body and make me a fitter instrument of service?

Swaraj does consist in the change of government and its real control by the people, but that would be merely the form. The substance that I am hankering after is a definite acceptance of the means and therefore a real change of heart on the part of the people. I am certain that it does not require ages for Hindus to discard the error of untouchability, for Hindus and Muslims to shed enmity and accept heart friendship as an eternal factor of national life, for all to adopt the *charkha* as the only universal means of attaining India's economic salvation and finally for all to believe that India's freedom lies only through non-violence and no other method. Dehate, intelligent and free adoption by the nation of this programme I hold as the attainment of the substance. The symbol, the transfer of power, is sure to follow, even as the seed truly laid must develop into a tree.

The reader will thus perceive, that what I accidentally stated to friends for the first time in Poona and then repeated to others was but a confession of my imperfections and an expression of my feeling of unworthiness for the great cause which for the time being I seem to be leading. I have enunciated no doctrine of despair. On the contrary I have felt never so sanguine as I do at the time of writing that we will gain the substance during this year. I have stated at the same time as a practical idealist, that I should no more feel worthy to lead a cause which I might feel myself diffident of handling. The doctrine of labouring without attachment means as much a relentless pursuit of truth as a retracing after discovery of error and a renunciation of leadership without a pang after discovery of unworthiness. I have but shadowed forth my intense longing to lose myself in the Eternal and become merely a lump of clay in the Potter's divine hands so that my service may become more certain because uninterrupted by the baser self in me.

HAND SPINNING IN ANCIENT TIMES.

By V. G. DESAI.

(Continued)

For one thing, two out of the famous thousand
Tbakorji names of Vishnu represent
and Yarn him as a spinner and a
 good spinner at that. Again it is well known, that on
 सुतन्तु स्तन्तुवर्धनः । विष्णुसहस्रनाम ।

the twelfth day of the bright half of Shravan (Pavitra-
 Dvadashi), it is held to be an act of great merit to
 offer a garland of yarn to Vishnu and other gods. And

प्राविणस्य स्मृते पक्षे कर्कसस्य दिवाकरे ।

द्वादश्यां दामुदेवाय पवित्रारोपणं स्मृतम् ।

हेमाद्रिविष्णुहस्ये ।

it is expressly enjoined in Ramarchanachandrika
 that the yarn offered ought to have been spun by a
 हेमरोप्यताम्रक्षौमेः सूत्रैः कौशेयपद्मजैः ।

कुशैः काशैश्च कार्पासैः त्राक्षण्या कर्त्तितैः शुभैः ।

Brahman woman. According to the Smritikanustubha
 the yarn ought to have been spun by an unmarried
 हेमरोप्यताम्रान्यतरसूत्रस्य कुमारीकर्त्तितकार्पाससूत्रस्य वा ।

girl. In the act of offering the yarn, the devotee
 prays, that Vishnu may ever carry the holy yarn and
 his own homage typified by that yarn near his heart
 बनमालां यथा रेव कौस्तुभं स्ततं हृदि ।

तद्वत् पवित्रतत्त्वं पूजां न हृदये वह ॥

even as he carries Vanamala and the Kaustubha
 jewel.*

Kashinath the author of Dharmasindhu advises,

The Sacred Thread
 Thread sacred thread of a Brahman

ought to have been spun by Brahman

कार्पास यज्ञोपवीतम् । तन्निर्माणप्रकारः । ब्राह्मण

ब्राह्मणस्त्रीभिः विधवादिभिश्च निर्मितं सूत्रं प्रथमम् ।

women, widows and the like. Baudhayana says, that
 this yarn ought to have been spun by a Brahman, or

ब्राह्मणकन्यया वा ब्राह्मणविधवा वा स्तातया शुद्धया कृता-
 चसनया निर्मितं सूत्रं गृहीत्वेषादि । ब्राह्मणेन तत्कन्यया वा कृतं
 मूढमानांश्चेत्यादि ।

Brahman girl or widow. Another text provides,
 that it should have been spun by an unmarried girl or

छेदं विनाशे वा मृततः कन्यया निर्मितं शुभम् ।

विधवाद्याभिरयवा सूत्रं गृहीतं वै शुचिः ॥

by widows and the like. In this connection my
 friend Mr. Kalelkar was kind enough to draw my
 attention to the following apt illustration from
 Buddhist literature.—

When Buddha was living at Shishumargir in

A Story of Bhargadesha, there was

Buddha's Days in the same place a

gentleman of the name of Nakula-pita who was
 dangerously ill. All felt that he was on his death-bed.
 So his wife said to him, "Dear husband, it is not
 right that you should die with your mind engaged
 upon things of this world. The Lord has said that

such a death entails no end of misery. You are
 perhaps anxious as to how Nakula-mata (I) being
 alone will be able to bring up her children or to
 drive forward the chariot of worldly life. But you
 must bid a good-bye to this anxiety. For I know
 the art of spinning cotton into yarn, and also know
 how to prepare wool. By means of this I will
 be able to bring up the children. So it is not good
 for you to die without calling away all your thoughts
 from the world. Again you perhaps apprehend
 that I shall remarry after you are dead. But you
 know that I have now been observing continence
 in marriage for the last sixteen years. In view
 of this you should be able to drive away any such
 fear and die a peaceful death.'

The hoary-headed philologist was rather
 Yaska's puzzled to derive तर्कु

Nirukta (= a spindle = Gujarati तराकु)

and cut the Gordian knot by saying that we get तर्क
 अध्याप्याद्यन्तविपर्ययो भवति ।

from कर्तुं (= to spin = Gujarati कातवुं) by
 transposition of letters.

Herein we have a verse very much like one
 The Taittiriya from the Atharvaveda
 Brahmana already cited. We quote
 it below with the lucid comment of Sayana upon
 it. Day and Night are two sister goddesses who
 weave the garment which we call the year. It is
 an everlasting garment; no one has seen the source
 of the current of years. The six seasons are six pegs upon
 which the yarn is spread. Some time they hold
 particular threads (light) and then they put them
 down and hold others (darkness). And the weaving
 operations of these sisters never end

द्वे स्वसरी वयस्तन्मयमव ।

सनातनं विततं षण्मयूखम् ।

अवान्यास्तन्निरतो धृती अन्यान् ।

नावपुज्याते न गमते अन्तम् ।

तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण २-५-५-३ ।

अहं रात्रिर्धृते द्वे देवते स्वसरी परस्परमग्न्यौ ते
 एतत्संवत्सरान्मयं तन्म तन्तुनिष्पन्नं वस्त्रं वयतो यथा कुबिन्दस्तन्तुभिः
 वस्त्रं वयति निष्पादयत्येवमेतत् संवत्सरं निष्पादयतः । तच्च संवत्सरा-
 त्मकं वस्त्रं कोदशो सनातनमनादिकालसिद्धम् । वहि संवत्सरप्रवाह-
 स्यात्सामिदंश्यमान आदि कश्चिदोक्तः । अत एव विततं षण्मय-
 दार्धतन्तुवद्विस्तीर्णं षण्मयूखं षट्संख्याकां कृत्वा मयूखाः शङ्कु
 स्थानीया यस्य तादृशो कुबिन्देन हि तन्तुप्रसरणाय शङ्कुवो निखन्वन्ते
 तद्वत्तव इव । कुबिन्दो हि वस्त्रनिर्माणकाले कश्चिदोपेतन्तुमय
 कृत्वा मध्ये तिर्यक् तन्तुप्रसरणवेवमेतत् अदोराग्रदेवते अन्यान्काश्चिह
 विज्ञेयास्तन्तुनस्तमयकालेध्ववकिरताऽभोगतान्कुस्तः । अन्यांश्च रात्रि-
 र्माणमन्तुस्तमयदूर्ध्वं गतो प्रसरन् । एतत् अदोराग्रदेवतं
 कदाचर्धं नावपुज्यात् । नस्यैव व्याख्यानमन्तं न गमते
 संवत्सरतमकवस्त्रनिर्माणस्य समाप्तिं न गच्छतो निरतरे संवत्सरपरंपरां
 निष्पद्यत इत्यर्थः ।

(To be continued)

* I owe some of these references to the courtesy
 of my friend Shastri Vahrepath Devnath.

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NOTES

During these days of great trial for me, I have felt the greatest need of Shaikat Ali. Maulana Shaikat Ali by my side. I can wield no influence over the Musalmans except through a Musalman. There are many stalwart and good Musalmans I know. But no Musalman knows me through and through as Shaikat Ali does. Now I feel that I have to represent him and to speak to the Musalmans things I used always to reserve for him. I observe that one of my appeals has already been misinterpreted. If Maulana Shaikat Ali was by me, I would not perhaps have needed to write the paragraph relating specially to Musalmans. Probably if he was in Bombay on the 17th, the disturbance would not have occurred at all. Many things could have been prevented. Indeed on the 17th if Man Chhotani had been in Bombay, if Mr. Ahmed Haji Khattr had not been laid up in bed, things would have taken a different turn. But I do not wish to cry over spilt milk. I have introduced Maulana Shaikat Ali in the matter to tell my Musalman friends that I shall shoulder the additional burden and that I expect them not to misunderstand me. I consider their interests a special trust which I shall not be consciously guilty of betraying. I expect too friends unhesitatingly to tell me where I err, and I assure them that I shall make the fullest confession if I am satisfied of my error. Only I warn them betimes, that as I do nothing hastily and without good grounds, they must not be surprised if I do not easily admit errors. That it is necessary for me to pen this paragraph shows that each has to write about or to the other with the greatest delicacy. It is a torturing performance like walking on thin ice. But we must take facts and things as they are and turn them to the best account.

The reader will appreciate the statement Good that during these four days I have and Bad been receiving accounts both good and bad. Non-co-operators injured! Hindus and Musalmans assaulting Parsis! Parsis shooting them! Christians assaulting those wearing *Khad* caps or dress! Hindus and Musalmans assaulting Christians! These bits of information are interspersed with the news that Parsis are saving Hindus and Musalmans from the other Parsis, some Christians saving Hindus and Musalmans, the latter sheltering both, non-co-operators at great peril to their lives seeking to bring about peace.

It has never been my misfortune to be torn between two powerful and conflicting emotions. And then to guide friends in such a difficult situation, to send them to enter the jaws of Death and yet for me to avoid death! It is the fast that has been my outward staff and it is heart prayer that has been my inward strength. On the 17th I felt as if all my strength had vanished. Why was I unable permanently to influence the crowd? Where was the power of *Ahimsa* in me? What was I to do. I could not, I would not, ask the aggrieved parties to seek Government aid. We had no Panchayats to deal out justice. There was no one I could approach who could bring about peace. I could not and would not organise a trained physical force party. What relief could I give to the sufferers from mob violence? If I allowed myself to be torn to pieces by justly incensed Parsis or Christians, I would only give rise to greater bloodshed. Whilst as a soldier I must avoid no unavoidable risk, I must not recklessly run the risk of being killed. Then what was I to do? At last came the fast to my rescue to soothe my soul. If I may not give myself to be killed through human agency, I must give myself to God to be taken away by refusing to eat till He heard my prayer. For me a bankrupt that was the only thing left. I could not draw upon the people from their innocence. They dishonoured the cheque I presented personally on the 17th. I must now somehow or other reconp lost credit or die in the attempt. I must draw upon God for further credit to enable me to transact His business. I could only do so by humbling myself, crawling in the dust before him, denying myself the food He has given. I must in a thousands ways show Him that I am in earnest, and if I am not found worthy to conduct His business, ask Him to recall me and refashion me according to my worth and His will. And so I have taken up the fast. The news of the hurt received by co-workers or the hurt received by the combatants no longer perturbs me. For me there is only my own non-violence as my help. If it does not answer, I must not worry. Thousands die in other parts of India and their deaths trouble me but do not worry me. Even so in this case if I could but do all I know, I need not then fret and fume. This fast then has been to me a penance, purification and reparation. It is also a warning to workers that they may not play with me in the movement. Only those who believe in non-violence need remain in the struggle. It could be conducted without difficulty.

and complications by a few staunch and true workers. It can only be harmed by insincere workers though many. Lastly it is a remedy for hastening peace. But the last is the derivative end. It comes as a result of penance, purification and reparation. It is the credit sent by God.

I am receiving remonstrances against the fast. **Workers** Some have taken up sympathetic **Beware** fast. I assure all these that they are wrong. For me fast was a necessity. I was the guilty party, I was the bankrupt. The business of the others is to understand the situation, to rid themselves of violence if any, to spread non-violence among others and believe that the slightest violence must injure the cause. They must take up the *Charkha*, they must promote not merely Hindu Muslim unity but they must now promote unity among all communities. Hindu Muslim unity is not worth a day's purchase if it does not prefer the interests of smaller communities to its own. Christians and Jews in India are not foreigners, nor are Parsis. We must go out of our way to be friendly to them and to serve and help them, above all to protect them from harm from ourselves. The workers must similarly make friends with co-operators. They must not speak ill of them whether they are English or Indian. We must believe in the truth of our cause and in our capacity for self suffering. We have at any rate for the time being announced to the world in the name of God, that we do not propose to harm any Englishman no matter what he does to us. We shall be guilty before God and man if under the cover of our pledge we injure a single English or Indian co-operator.

Friends have misunderstood the meaning of **The Meaning of Peace** the peace that I have referred to in my second appeal. The peace I want has to be made by non-co-operators. It does not mean surrender of principle or policy so as to find a common platform for work. That in my opinion is an impossible task, for the methods of the various groups are so radically different. When one party finds it for the good of the country to enter the councils and another to abstain, there is no meeting ground. But because we differ from one another, we need not behave indecently towards one another, nor need we break one another's heads. The creed of non-violence, while it persists, requires us not to retaliate. I am convinced, that if we can produce an atmosphere of toleration, we can extend our scope limitlessly. To-day we are caged by our own doubts and suspicions. We are not sure that the thousands who flock to our meetings will observe non-violence. If we were not so popular, we should make much greater progress than we have made hitherto. And for this good will on our part towards our opponents is an absolute necessity. Let us not talk of the errors and omissions of the Government or its supporters. Let us dispassionately devote our energy, our speeches, writings and action to the working out of our own programme. Let us attain control over the rowdiest element, and we can establish *Swaraj* immediately.

I am able this week to publish the correspondence. **More about** referring to the **Medical Students** Vizagapatam medical students. It is long but both interesting and instructive. It shows the mentality of the medical authorities and also of the Government. The final orders dismissing the students were passed under advice or with the cognisance of the Government of Madras. The reader will note that the dress regulations were not strictly carried out at all and that after the caps were coloured black there was no excuse whatsoever for banning them. But the fact that the students had the audacity to wear *Khadis* was enough to rouse the ire of the college authorities. The reader will also note the humiliating character of the dress regulations. The tuft of hair or a bald head, a mark both of religion and respectability, must be hidden because it offended the western taste of the western professors. They could not enter the college with Indian shoes on. They must wear English shoes or remain bare-foot. Thus the students are taught at an impressionable period of their lives to discard national dress. As a matter of fact Indian shoes for the Indian climate are infinitely superior to the English shoes as being airy and therefore more hygienic. The introduction of socks is inelegant and totally useless for the hot climate of India. Sock wearers know the stench that their socks emit in this climate. But for our slavery, we would sweep away without a moment's thought all these injurious and unbecoming innovations.

M. K. G.

A DEEP STAIN.

Under the above heading Mr. Gandhi published the following note after having witnessed the unfortunate disturbances in Bombay:

The reputation of Bombay, the hope of my dreams, was being stained yesterday even whilst in my simplicity I was congratulating the citizens upon their non-violence in the face of grave provocation. For the volunteers with their captain were arrested during the previous night for pasting posters under authority on private property. The posters advised the people to boycott the welcome to the Prince. They were destroyed. The *Swaraj Sabha's* office was mysteriously entered and the unused posters, so far as I am aware not declared unlawful, were also removed. The Prince's visit itself and the circumstances attending the ceremonials arranged and public money wasted for the manufacture of a welcome to His Royal Highness constituted an unbearable provocation. And yet Bombay had remained self-restrained. This, I thought, was a matter for congratulation. The burning of the pile of foreign cloth was an eloquent counter-demonstration to the interested official demonstration.

Little did I know that at the very time that the Prince was passing through the decorated route and the pile of foreign cloth was burning, in another part of the city the mill hands were in criminal disobedience of the wishes of their masters emptying them first one and then the others, by force, that a swelling mob was molesting peaceful passengers in the tramcars and holding up the tram traffic, that it was

forcibly depriving those that were wearing foreign caps of their headdresses and pelting offensive Europeans. As the day went up, the fury of the mob now intoxicated with its initial success rose also. They burnt tramcars and a motor, smashed liquor shops and burnt two.

I heard of the outbreak at about 1 o'clock. I motored with some friends to the area of disturbance and heard the most painful and the most humiliating story of molestation of Parsi sisters. Some few were assaulted, and even had their *sarees* torn from them. No one from among a crowd of over fifteen hundred who had surrounded my car denied the charge as a Parsi with hot rage and quivering lips was with the greatest deliberation relating the story. An elderly Parsi gentleman said, "Please save us from this mob rule." This news of the rough handling of Parsi sisters pierced me like a dart. I felt that my sisters or daughters had been hurt by a violent mob. Yes, some Parsis had joined the welcome. They had a right to hold their own view free of molestation. There can be no coercion in Swaraj. The Moplah fanatic who forcibly converts a Hindu believes that he is acquiring religious merit. A non-co-operator or his associate who uses coercion has no apology whatsoever for his criminality.

As I reached the Two Tanks I found a liquor shop smashed, two policemen badly wounded and lying unconscious on cots without anybody caring for them. I alighted. Immediately the crowd surrounded me and yelled "Mahatma Gandhiji jai." That sound usually grates on my ears, but it has grated never so much as it did yesterday when the crowd unmindful of the two sick brethren choked me with the shout at the top of their voices. I rebuked them and they were silent. Water was brought for the two wounded men. I requested two of my companions and some from the crowd to take the dying policemen to the hospital. I proceeded then to the scene a little further up where I saw a fire rising. They were two tramcars which were burnt by the crowd. On returning I witnessed a burning motor car. I appealed to the crowd to disperse, told them that they had damaged the cause of the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj. I returned sick at heart and in a chastened mood.

At about five a few brave Sindhi young men came to report that in Bhindi Bazar the crowd was molesting every passer-by who had a foreign cap on and even seriously beating him, if he refused to give up his cap. A brave old Parsi who defied the crowd and would not give up his *Puggie* was badly handled. Maulana Azad Sobhani and I went to Bhindi Bazar and reasoned with the crowd, told them that they were denying their religion by hurting innocent men. The crowd made a show of dispersing. The Police were there but they were exceedingly restrained. We went further and on retracing our steps found to our horror a liquor shop on fire. Even the fire brigade was obstructed in its work. Thanks to the efforts of Pandit Nekiram Sharma and others, the inmates of the shop were able to come out.

The crowd did not consist of hoodlums only or boys. It was not an unintelligent crowd. They were not all

mill hands. It was essentially a mixed crowd unprepared and unwilling to listen to anybody. For the moment it had lost its head. And it was not a crowd but several crowds numbering in all not less than twenty thousand. It was bent upon mischief and destruction.

I heard that there was firing resulting in deaths and that in the Anglo-Indian quarters every one who passed with *Khadi* on came in for hard beating, if he did not put off his *Khadi* cap or shirt. I heard that many were seriously injured. I am writing this in the midst of six Hindu and Musalman workers who have just come in with broken heads and bleeding and one with a broken nasal bone and other lacerated wounds and in danger of losing his life. They went to Parel led by Maulanas Azad Sobhani and Mouzam Ali to pacify the mill hands, who, it was reported, were holding up tramcars there. The workers, however, were unable to proceed to their destination. They returned with their bleeding wounds to speak for themselves.

Thus the hope of reviving mass civil disobedience has once more in my opinion been dashed to pieces. The atmosphere for mass civil disobedience is absent. It is not enough to say that such an atmosphere is to be found in Bardoli, and, therefore, it may go on side by side with the violence in Bombay. This is impossible. Neither Bardoli nor Pome can be treated as separate, unconnected units. They are parts of one great indivisible whole. It was possible to isolate Malabar. It was also possible to disregard Malegaon. But it is not possible to ignore Bombay.

Non-co-operators cannot escape liability. It is true that non-co-operators were ceaselessly remonstrating everywhere with the people at considerable risk to themselves, to arrest or stop the mischief and that they are responsible for saving many precious lives. But that is not enough for launching out on civil disobedience or to discharge us from liability for the violence that has taken place. We claim to have established a peaceful atmosphere, i.e. to have attained by our non-violence sufficient control over the people to keep their violence under check. We have failed when we ought to have succeeded. For yesterday was a day of our trial. We were under our pledge bound to protect the person of the Prince from any harm or insult. And we broke that pledge inasmuch as any one of us insulted or injured a single European or any other who took part in the welcome to the Prince. They were as much entitled to take part in the welcome as we were to refrain. Nor can I shirk my own personal responsibility. I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being the spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit. I must do penance for it. For me the struggle is essentially religious. I believe in fasting and prayer, and I propose henceforth to observe every Monday a twenty-four hours fast till Swaraj is attained.

The Working Committee will have to devote its attention to the situation and consider in the light thereof whether mass civil disobedience can be at all encouraged until we have obtained complete control over the masses. I have personally come deliberately to the conclusion that mass civil disobedience cannot be started for the present. I confess my inability to conduct a campaign of civil disobedience to a successful issue unless a completely non-violent spirit is generated among the people. I am sorry for the conclusion. It is a humiliating confession of my incapacity, but I know that I shall appear more pleasing to my Maker by being what I am instead of appearing to be what I am not. If I can have nothing to do with the organised violence of the Government I can have less to do with the unorganised violence of the people. I would prefer to be crushed between the two.

MR. GANDHI'S APPEAL TO BOMBAY CITIZENS.

Men and Women of Bombay

It is not possible to describe to you the agony I have suffered during the past two days. I am writing this now at 3-30 a.-m. in perfect peace. After two hours' prayer and meditation I have found it.

I must refuse to eat or drink anything but water till the Hindus and Musalmans of Bombay have made peace with the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews, and till the non-co-operators have made peace with the co-operators.

The Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils. Hindu-Muslim unity has been a menace to the handful of Parsis, Christians and Jews. The non-violence of the non-co-operators has been worse than the violence of co-operators. For with non-violence on our lips we have terrorized those who have differed from us and in so doing we have denied our God. There is only one God for us all, whether we find him through the Koran, the Bible, the Zend Avesta, the Talmud, or the Gita. And He is God of Truth and Love. I have no interest in living save for proving this faith in me. I cannot hate an Englishman or any one else. I have spoken and written much against his institutions, especially the one he has set up in India. I shall continue to do so as I live. But you must not mistake my condemnation of the system for that of the man. My religion requires me to love him as I love myself. I would deny God if I did not attempt to prove it at this critical moment.

And the Parsis? I have meant every word I have said about them. Hindus and Musalmans will be unworthy of freedom if they do not defend them and their honour with their lives. They have only recently proved their liberality and friendship. The Musalmans are especially beholden to them, for the Parsis have, compared to their numbers, given more

than they themselves to the Khilafat funds. Unless Hindus and Musalmans have expressed full and free repentance, I cannot face again the appealing eyes of Parsi men and women that I saw on the 17th instant as I passed through them. Nor can I face Andrews when he returns from East Africa if we have done no reparation to the Indian Christians whom we are bound to protect as our own brothers and sisters. We may not think of what they or the Parsis in self-defence or by way of reprisals have done to some of us.

You can see quite clearly that I must do the utmost reparation to this handful of men and women who have been the victims of forces that have come into being largely through my instrumentality. I invite every Hindu and Musalman to do likewise. But I do not want any one to fast. Fasting is only good when it comes in answer to prayer and as a felt yearning of the soul. I invite every Hindu and Musalman to retire to his home, ask God for forgiveness and to befriend the injured communities from the bottom of his heart.

I invite my fellow workers not to waste a single word of sympathy for me. I need or deserve none. But I invite them to make a ceaseless effort to regain control over the turbulent elements. This is a terribly true struggle. There is no room for sham or humbug in it. Before we can make any further progress without struggle we must cleanse our hearts.

One special word to my Musalman brothers. I have approached the Khilafat as a sacred cause. I have striven for Hindu-Muslim unity because India cannot live free without it and because we would both deny God if we considered one another as natural enemies. I have thrown myself into the arms of the Ali brothers because I believe them to be true and God-fearing men. The Musalmans have to my knowledge played the leading part during the two days of carnage. It has deeply hurt me. I ask every Musalman worker to rise to his full height, to realize his duty to his faith and see that the carnage stops.

May God bless every one of us with wisdom and courage to do the right at any cost.

19th November 1921.

I am
Your servant,
M. K. GANDHI.

AN APPEAL TO THE MAVALIS.

To the Mavalis of Bombay.

The most terrible mistake I have made is, that I thought non-co-operators had acquired influence over you and that you had understood the relative value, the political wisdom of non-violence though not the moral necessity of it. I had thought that you had sufficiently understood the interests of your country not to meddle with the movement to its detriment and that therefore you would have wisdom enough not to give way to your worst passions. But it cuts me to the quick to find that you have used the mass awakening for your own lust for plunder, rapine and even indulging in your worst animal

appetite. Whether you call yourself a Hindu, Musalman, Parsi, Christian or Jew, you have certainly failed to consider even your own religious interests. Some of my friends would, I know, accuse me of ignorance of human nature. If I believed the charge, I would plead guilty and retire from human assemblies and return only after acquiring knowledge of human nature. But I know that I had to do this, in order to reach the Indian Mavalis in South Africa. I was able because I had succeeded in approaching them through co-workers where I had no personal contact with them. In your case I see now that we have failed to reach you. I do not believe you to be incapable of responding to the noble call of religion and country.

See what you have done! The Hindu and Musalman Mavalis have violated the sanctity of Parsi temples, and they have exposed their own to similar risk from the wrath of Parsi Mavalis. Because some Parsis have chosen to partake in the welcome to the Prince, the Hindu and Musalman Mavalis have roughly handled every Parsi they have met. The result has been, that the Parsi Mavalis have now turned their attention to Hindus and Musalmans. Certainly the Parsi Mavalis are less to blame. Hindu and Musalman Mavalis have rudely, roughly and insolently removed the foreign cloth worn by some Parsis and Christians, forgetting that not all Hindus and all Musalmans, nor by any means even a majority of them have religiously discarded the use of foreign cloth. The Parsi and the Christian Mavalis are therefore interfering with the Hindu and Musalman wearers of *Khadi*. Thus we are all moving in a vicious circle, and the country suffers.

I write this not to blame but to warn you and to confess that we have grievously neglected you. I am doing the penance in one way. The other workers are doing it in another way. Messrs. Azad Sobani, Jayakar, Jambadas Mehta, Salhe, Moazzam Ali and many others have been risking their lives in bringing under control this unfortunate ebullition. Shrimati Sarojini Naidu has fearlessly gone in your midst to reason with you and appeal to you. Our work in your midst has only just begun. Will you not give us a chance by stopping the mad process of retaliation? The Hindus and the Musalmans should be ashamed to take reprisals against the Parsis or the Christians. The latter must know it to be suicidal to battle against Hindu and Musalman ferocity by brute strength. The result is they must seek the assistance of an alien government, i. e. sell their freedom. Surely the best course for them is to realize their nationality and believe that the reasoning Hindus and Musalmans must and will protect the interests of minorities before their own. Any way the problem before Bombay is to ensure the absolute protection of the minorities and the acquisition of control over the rowdy element. And I shall trust, that you the Mavalis of Bombay will now restrain your hand and give a chance to the workers who are desirous of serving you. May God help you.

I am,

Your friend

M K Gandhi.

TO CO-WORKERS.

Comrades

Past few days have been a fiery ordeal for us, and God is to be thanked that some of us have not been found wanting. The broken heads before me and the dead bodies of which I have heard on unimpeachable authority are sufficient evidence of the fact. Workers have lost their lives or limbs, or have suffered bruises in the act of preserving peace, of warning mad countrymen from their wrath. These deaths and injuries show, that in spite of the error of many of our countrymen, some of us are prepared to die for the attainment of our goal. If all of us had imbibed the spirit of non-violence, or if some had and the others had remained passive, no blood need have been spilt. But it was not to be. Some must therefore voluntarily give their blood in order that a bloodless atmosphere may be created. So long as there are people weak enough to do violence, there will be others weak enough to seek the aid of those who have superior skill or means for doing it. And that is why the Parsis and the Christians sought and received the assistance of the Government such that the Government openly took sides, and armed and aided the latter in retaliatory madness, and criminally neglected to protect a single life among those, who though undoubtedly guilty in the first instance were the victims of the pardonable wrath of the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews. The Government has thus appeared in its nakedness as a party doing violence not merely to preserve peace but to sustain the aggressive violence of its injured supporters. Its police and military looked on with callous indifference whilst the Christians a their justifiable indignation deprived innocent men of their white caps and hammered those who would not surrender them, or whilst the Parsis assaulted or shot, not in self-defence but because the victims happened to be Hindus or Musalmans or non-co-operators. I can excuse the aggrieved Parsis and Christians, but can find no excuse for the criminal conduct of the police and the military in taking sides.

So the task before the workers is to take the blows from the Government and our erring countrymen. This is the only way open to us of sterilising the forces of violence. The way to immediate Swaraj lies through our gaining control over the forces of violence, and that not by greater violence but by moral influence. We must see as clearly as daylight, that it is impossible for us to be trained and armed for violence effective enough for displacing the existing Government.

Some people imagine, that after all we could not have better advertised our indignation against the welcome to the Prince than by letting loose the mob frenzy on the fateful seventeenth. This reasoning betrays at once ignorance and weakness, ignorance of the fact that our goal was not injury to the welcome, and weakness because we still hanker after advertising our strength to others instead of being satisfied with the

consciousness of its possession. I wish I could convince every one, that we materially retarded our progress to our triple goal.

But all is not lost if the workers realise and act up to their responsibility. We must secure the full co-operation of the rowdies of Bombay. We must know the mill hands. They must either work for the Government or for us, i. e. for violence or against it. There is no middle way. They must not interfere with us. They must either be amenable to our love or helplessly submit to the bayonet. They may not seek shelter under the banner of non-violence for the purpose of doing violence. And in order to carry our message to them, we must reach every mill hand individually and let him understand and appreciate the struggle. Similarly we must reach the rowdy element, befriend them and help them to understand the religious character of the struggle. We must neither neglect them nor ponder to them. We must become their servants.

The Peace that we are aiming at is not a patched up peace. We must have fair guarantees of its continuance without the aid of the Government, sometimes even in spite of its activity to the contrary. There must be a heart union between Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Christians and Jews. The three latter communities may and will distrust the other two. The recent occurrences must strengthen that distrust. We must go out of our way to conquer their distrust. We must not molest them if they do not become full non-co-operators or do not adopt Swadeshi or the white *Khad* cap which has become its symbol. We must not be irritated against them even if they side with the Government on every occasion. We have to make them ours by right of loving service. This is the necessity of our situation. The alternative is a civil war. And a civil war, with a third power only too happy to consolidate itself by siding now with the one and then with the other, must be held an impossibility for the near future.

And what is true of the smaller communities is also true of the co-operators. We must not be impatient with or intolerant to them. We are bound to recognise their freedom to co-operate with the Government if we claim the freedom to non-co-operate. What would we have felt if we were in a minority and the co-operators being in a majority had used violence against us? Non-co-operation *can* non-violence is the most expeditious method known to the world of winning over opponents. And our struggle consists in winning opponents including Englishmen over to our side. We can only do so by being free from ill-will against the weakest or the strongest of them. And this we can only do by being prepared to die for the faith within us and not by killing those who do not see the truth we enunciate.

22nd Nov. 1921.

I am,

Your faithful comrade,
M. K. Gandhi

CITIZENS' APPEAL

The following appeal signed by representatives of all communities was issued to the public

The citizens of Bombay will be glad to learn that thanks to the concerted efforts of Hindu, Musalman and Parai leaders, peace has been restored in most parts of the town. From morning till night they went about in the town, in carriages, pleading with people to be quiet and to preserve peace, and the latter responded to their appeals. Some excitement still, no doubt, prevails in a few localities. Every one should endeavour to restore quiet in those parts. It behoves us all to forgive and forget the errors of one another. Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Christians and Jews, who have their homes in India, ought to live as brothers and sisters and bear with the differences and failings of one another. We have all to be ashamed of the stain on the fair name of Bombay. Only by restoring and preserving peace can that stain be wiped out, and we appeal to all the citizens of Bombay for hearty co-operation in the matter.

THE FAST BROKEN.

Mr. Gandhi broke his fast in the midst of a gathering of co-operators, non-co-operators, Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and Parsis. There were speeches of goodwill by a representative of each community. The members of the Working Committee were also present. Mr. Gandhi made a statement in Gujarati before breaking his fast. The following is its translation:—

Friends

It delights my heart to see Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians met together in this little assembly. I hope that our frugal fruit-repast of this morning will be a sign of our permanent friendship. Though a born optimist, I am not in the habit of building castles in the air. This meeting therefore cannot deceive me. We shall be able to realize the hope of permanent friendship between all communities, only if we who have assembled together will incessantly strive to build it up. I am breaking my fast upon the strength of your assurances. I have not been unmindful of the affection with which innumerable friends have surrounded me during these four days. I shall ever remain grateful to them. Being drawn by them I am plunging into this stormy ocean out of the haven of peace in which I have been during these few days. I assure you that in spite of the tales of misery that have been poured into my ears, I have enjoyed peace because of a hungry stomach. I know that I cannot enjoy it after breaking the fast. I am too human not be touched by the sorrows of others, and when I find no remedy for alleviating them, my human nature so agitates me that I pine to embrace death like a long-lost dear friend. Therefore I warn all the friends here that if real peace is not established in Bombay and if disturbances break out again and if as a result they find me driven to a still severer ordeal, they must not be surprised or troubled. If they have any doubt about peace having been established, if each community has still bitterness of feeling and suspicion and if we are all not prepared to forget and forgive past wrongs, I would much rather that they did not press me to break the fast. Such a restraint I would regard as a test of true friendship.

I venture to saddle special responsibility upon Hindus and Muslims. The majority of them are non-co-operators. Non-violence is the creed they have accepted for the time being. They have the strength of numbers. They can stand in spite of the opposition of the smaller communities without Government aid. If therefore they will remain friendly and charitable towards the smaller communities, all will be well. I will beseech the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews to bear in mind the new awakening in India. They will see many-coloured waters in the ocean of Hindu and Muslim humanity. They will see dirty waters on the shore. I would ask them to bear with their Hindu or Muslim neighbours who may misbehave with them and immediately report to the Hindu and Muslim leaders through their own leaders with a view to getting justice. Indeed I am hoping that as a result of the unfortunate discord a Mahajan will come into being for the disposal of all inter-racial disputes.

The value of this assembly in my opinion consists in the fact that worshippers of the same one God are enabled to partake of this harmless repast together in spite of our differences of opinion. We have not assembled with the object to-day of reducing such differences, certainly not of surrendering a single principle we may hold dear, but we have met in order to demonstrate that we can remain true to our principles and yet also remain free from ill-will towards one another.

May God bless our effort.

THE MORAL ISSUE.

By M. K. GANDHI

As soon as we lose the moral basis, we cease to be religious. There is no such thing as religion overriding morality. Man for instance cannot be untruthful, cruel or incontinent and claim to have God on his side. In Bombay the sympathisers of non-co-operation lost the moral balance. They were enraged against the Parsis and the Christians who took part in the welcome to the Prince and sought to 'teach them a lesson'. They invited reprisals and got them. It became after the 17th a game of seesaw in which no one really gained and everybody lost.

Swaraaj does not lie that way. India does not want Bolshevism. The people are too peaceful to stand anarchy. They will bow the knee to any one who restores so called order. Let us recognise the Indian psychology. We need not stop to inquire whether such hankering after peace is a virtue or a vice. The average Muslim of India is quite different from the average Muslim of the other parts of the world. His Indian associations have made him more docile than his co-religionists outside India. He will not stand tangible insecurity of life and property for any length of time. The Hindu is proverbially, almost contemptibly mild. The Parsi and the Christian love peace more than strife. Indeed we have almost made religion subservient to peace. This mentality is at once our weakness and our strength.

Let us nurse the better, the religious part of this mentality of ours. Let there be no compulsion in religion. Is it not religion with us

to observe Swadeshi and therefore wear Khadi? But if the religion of others does not require them to adopt Swadeshi, we may not compel them. We broke the universal law restated in the Quran. And the law does not mean that there may be compulsion in other matters. The verse means that if it is bad to use compulsion in religion about which we have definite convictions, it is worse to resort to it in matters of less moment.

We can only therefore argue and reason with our opponents. The extreme to which we may go is non-violent non-co-operation with them even as with the Government. But we may not non-co-operate with them in private life, for we do not non-co-operate with the men composing the Government, we are non-co-operating with the system they administer. We decline to render official service to Sir George Lloyd the Governor, we dare not withhold social service from Sir George Lloyd the Englishman.

The mischief, I am sorry to say, began among the Hindus and the Muslims themselves. There was social persecution, there was coercion. I must confess that I did not always condemn it as strongly as I might have. I might have dissociated myself from the movement when it became at all general. We soon mended our ways, we became more tolerant but the subtle coercion was there. I passed it by as I thought it would die on a natural death. I saw in Bombay that it had not. It assumed a virulent form on the 17th.

We damaged the Khilafat cause and with it that of the Panjab and Swaraaj. We must retrace our steps and scrupulously insure minorities against the least molestation. If the Christian wishes to wear the European hat and unmentionables, he must be free to do so. If a Parsi wishes to stick to his Fenta he has every right to do so. If they both see their safety in associating themselves with the Government, we may only wean them from that error by appealing to their reason, not by breaking their heads. The greater the coercion we use, the greater the security we give to the Government, if only because the latter has more effective weapons of coercion than we have. For us to resort to greater coercion than the Government will be to make India more slave than she is now.

Swaraaj is freedom for every one, the smallest among us, to do as he likes without any physical interference with his liberty. Non-violent non-co-operation is the method whereby we cultivate the freest public opinion and get it enforced. When there is complete freedom of opinion, that of the majority must prevail. If we are in a minority, we can prove worthy of our religion by remaining true to it in the face of coercion. The Prophet submitted to the coercion of the majority and remained true to his faith. And when he found himself in a majority he declared to his followers that there should be no compulsion in religion. Let us not again either by verbal or physical violence depart from the injunction, and by our own folly farther put back the hands of the clock of progress.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager, Young India,
Ahmedabad

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

WAR ON KHADI CAPS.

To THE EDITOR, "YOUNG INDIA"

Sir, I herewith send you the correspondence on the subject of dismissal of the students of the Medical School of Vizagapatam. In response to your appeal to maintain perfect peace and to concentrate our activities on Swadeshi as an effective reply to Maulana Mahomed Ali's arrest at Waltair (Vizagapatam), the whole District rushed to Swadeshi with a strong determination. On the 19th of September one of the students of the Medical School went to his class examination in his *Khadi* cap. He was immediately asked to leave the Hall. The next morning almost all the students took to the Swadeshi cap, some having been freely supplied with the same. The School authorities immediately suspended the pupils, although the Surgeon General was the only authority under the educational rules competent to inflict such a punishment. In this order you will find it clearly stated it is against the Swadeshi cap. This happened on 20-9-21. By 28-9-21 another order was sent, in which attention is drawn to dress regulations. Many students having been led to believe that they would be permitted to attend School in Black *Khadi* Cap went into the trap. Some thirty nine alone remained without submitting an apology. They sent a dignified letter on 3-10-21 which defined their position in very clear and unmistakable terms. Later a reminder dated 8-10-21 was sent because the orders of suspension which was considered illegal still continued.

On 16-10-21 another order was served on these students demanding an apology within 24 hours. Otherwise they were threatened with dismissal. A courteous reply to this was sent. Final orders of dismissal were served on these students and now as many as 39 are dismissed on 23rd October. Most of them are now in Sova Samiti Ashram here doing national work as Ramadanda volunteers.

While these letters and orders were in progress, when one of them intimated their intention of leaving station, they were unjustly prevented from going to their homes during this period of suspension. Correspondence shows that the war is against *Khadi* and that Government are not prepared even to have white caps blackened.

The true copies of all that passed between them and the authorities are sent to you so that you may have correct information on the subject.

Shree Ramashramam,

Vizagapatam,

2-11-1921.

Yours etc.,
V. B. Sundararam.

To,

MEDICAL SURGEON

As you attended the hospital wearing "Swadeshi cap" in the morning on 20-9-21, you are hereby informed that you are suspended and your conduct will be reported to the Surgeon General. Pending the receipt of the Surgeon General's orders you will not be permitted to attend the school or hospital. You should submit any explanation you may have to offer at once.

(Sd.) E. M. Ilington
Vizagapatam, Lt. Col., I. M. S.,
20-9-21 Supt., Medical School

MEMORANDUM

To

3rd Year student K. Bhatia Raja,
C/o A. Narsimhulu,
New Medical Hostel,
Vizagapatam

With reference to your letter stating that you are leaving the station, you are hereby informed that you are not permitted to leave the station while under suspension and that you must wait until the orders of the Surgeon General are received on your case.

(Sd.) E. M. Ilington,
Lieut. Col., I. M. S.,
Supt. Medical School

Memo. No. 852

To

3rd year student V. Prasadarao.

Under the orders of Government you are hereby informed that if for breaking the rules of the institution (rule 61-O) as regards dress to be worn when attending hospital or school, you do not express regret for such conduct to me personally or in writing by October 3rd, you will be dismissed from the school.

(Sd.) Ilington, I. M. S.,
Supt. Medical School.

D. 21. 25

61 Dress regulations (for Indians only) -

First - the typical dress - Turban, a long or short coat buttoned up to the neck, trousers, socks and English shoes. Underclothing according to choice; but where the material of the coat is not washable, e.g. tweed, a linen collar should be worn, and if the coat does not button up to the neck, collar and tie must always be worn, whatever the material. The Parsee hat and Burman head cloth, for the purpose of these regulations, to be regarded as turbans.

Second - Modestations permissible:

- (a) Students who wear a 'tuft' or who shave the scalp must wear a turban which must conceal the tuft when it is present.
- (b) Students who dress their hair in European fashion must wear caps, but indoors if their dress is European, the cap must be removed.
- (c) A cap worn must be black and may have a lace border but must not be otherwise decorated and no caps are allowed to be worn on ceremonial occasions such as prize-distributions etc. Mussamedians may be allowed to wear the Fez on ordinary occasions but not at ceremonial observances.
- (d) Any student may wear a dhoti, or mundu; he must then go barefooted indoors or wear socks and European shoes.

Third - all articles of dress must be clean.

(To be continued)

SUBSCRIPTIONS

for *Young India* must be sent strictly in advance by money order. The paper is not sent by V. P.

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NOTES

The Government of Bombay has contradicted Reverse my statement to the effect of Truth that the police and the military took sides during the recent trouble and that not they but the citizens restored peace. I am sorry for the contradiction. I was unprepared for it. I must add to my charges a third now to complete the picture. The police or the military were powerless to protect the life and property of the citizens. On the seventeenth I observed that they could not prevent tramcars and motors from being burnt. They could not prevent the liquor shop in Bhindibazar from being reduced to ashes. Nor did they do better on eighteenth or nineteenth. Incendiarism and looting went on unchecked. When anybody applied for protection, he was flatly told that they could not spare any more men, all hands being occupied in connection with the welcome to the Prince.

Could the police and the military possibly restore peace when they were able to protect none and nothing in the disturbed area? The credit for restoration of peace is not claimed for non-co-operators alone. I claim it for both co-operators and non-co-operators, for Hind Musalmans, Parsis and Christians including Englishmen. If all the peace-loving citizens had not joined, order could not have been restored. I claim the credit for Mian Chhotani. On the 20th instant but for Sir Pheroze Shethna who succeeded in inducing the military to stay their hand, a crowd would have been fired upon whereas it was dispersed within five minutes by the efforts of Dr. Pavri and Mr. Banker. I can multiply instances of such dispersal on behalf of the citizens irrespective of creed or party. Mrs. Naidu was often asked by the military to help disperse crowds. Indeed if co-operating and non-co-operating Parsis had not helped, it would have been impossible to restore peace. At the peace breakfast it was Mr. H. P. Modi who claimed the credit for the citizens. Though Mr. Purushottamdas administered a polite rebuke to the non-co-operators for the previous excitement, he did not disclaim the credit for the establishment of peace on behalf of the citizens. Mr. Natarajan too gave unstinted praise to those who had brought about the much-desired peace. Mr. K. T. Paul and Mr. Douglas did no less. Mr. Vinadalal in proposing thanks specially mentioned Mian Chhotani.

As to taking sides, whilst the police failed to protect the Parsis, many of the latter admitted to

me that they looked on whilst Parsi hooligans were dealing destruction. But I do not wish to labour this point. I have no desire to blame individual members of the police or military. I hope one day to bring them over to the side of truth and innocence. Most are Indians, and I certainly do not despair of Englishmen too responding in the end if only non-co-operators will be true to their creed of non-violence. Credit may however be given for the forbearance of the police and the military in that they did not wantonly take life, they did not attempt terrorism. Let me close this chapter by instancing Malabar and Madras. Because the people are not permitted to work the Malabar trouble is still going on; because people did not or could not work, murder in the strike area in Madras was rampant for close on two months. The Government of Bombay may, if they choose claim the credit for refraining from interference with the people who were trying to restore peace.

People were not wanting who persisted in saying Who was that the whole trouble was at the Bottom? engineered and kept up by the secret police. Throughout the six years I have been in India, I have been hearing such charges against the C. I. D. I have myself received the attentions of that body. But I am unable to subscribe to the wild rumours that are set afloat about it. I admit that it is corrupt, that many charges can be borne out but there is much exaggeration in them. It would be terrible if they were all true. And it would be proof of our rank cowardice. Many things imputed to the department are possible only among a people bereft of personal bravery and self-respect. During the Bombay disturbances, responsible men credited the secret police with having set afloat all the rumours about assault on Mrs. Naidu, myself and others, about damage to mosques and churches etc. The C. I. D. was reputed to have brought about the fires and the wrecking of tramcars. I am unable to believe all these statements; and if they are true, the people of Bombay must be easily gullible and too foolish to exercise the rights of citizenship. Among the qualities required to enable us to attain Swaraj is certainly ability to checkmate the C. I. D. If we can be easily incited to things that hurt us or induced to believe things we ought not to, we can never gain our end. If we are openly and truly non-violent, we cannot possibly go wrong. Either the C. I. D. or we work upon the inflammable material in our midst. If we cannot keep it under control, we must bid good bye to all idea of freedom in the near future.

One of the many lessons to be learnt from the events is that we must never believe rumours and that we must have Congress and Khilafat offices in every ward or large street where people can verify rumours. If we are acting as one man with one mind,—and we must if we are to succeed—we must learn never to act without thinking and on mere rumours. Three-fourths of the panic was caused by mischievous rumours. What does it matter if the people hear of temples destroyed or some big leader killed or injured? They may not act without advice. Does an individual soldier act on his own behalf on hearing of a general's death or of a desecration of his mosque or temple? If he were to act so, he would harm the cause and be liable even to be shot. It is much more necessary for us to act in concert when we are willing soldiers of peace and more capable of restraint than armed soldiers and when we have to win not a single battle, but the freedom of our country and religions.

Exaggeration is always worthy of condemnation but there is one exception to the rule. It is obligatory in connection with our own faults. We are short-sighted regarding them, and they appear in their true bearing only when they are magnified a thousand-fold. We are long-sighted regarding other people's faults. Understatement in their case is therefore a necessity. And if we perform the two processes simultaneously and conscientiously, we are likely to arrive at the happy mean. Musalman friends have quarrelled with my saying that theirs was the leading part in the riots. And both they and the Hindus have taken exception to my statement that they were the aggressors and therefore the guilty party. I have given the greatest consideration to both the objections and have come to the conclusion that I must adhere to my original statement. We shall never cleanse ourselves, unless we know the whole truth against ourselves. I would be untrue to the Musalmans if I did not say what I knew or felt, and I would be no Hindu, if for fear of losing Hindu esteem or otherwise I did not tell the truth. Needless to say it is no part of my business to consider the legal consequences of such statements. The Government may do what it chooses. If the Parsis and Christians are wise, they will not ply into its hands. But as a non-co-operator I am unconcerned with legal consequences. Those who did damage were non-co-operators, sympathisers or mere mischief-makers. The first two must feel delighted, if innocent, to be imprisoned, for we court imprisonment of the innocent. If they have done wrong, they need not be sorry for punishment. The mischief-makers need not expect protection from me. Therefore the best protection I am capable of giving, the best service I am capable of rendering is to tell the truth in utter disregard of consequence. It is not possible on any other terms to carry on this great struggle affecting crores of people in which you are always dealing with novel situations and uncertain elements. Our only infallible weapons in the midst of such uncertainties are Truth and Non-violence.

Much though we have advanced in shedding fear of imprisonment, there is still a disinclination to seek it and anxiety to avoid it. We must remain scrupulously honest and non-violent, and at the same time be anxious almost to find ourselves in the gaols of the Government. It must be positively irksome if not painful for us to enjoy so called freedom under a Government we seek to end or mend. We must feel that we are paying some unlawful or heavy price for retaining our liberty. If therefore when being innocent we are imprisoned, we must rejoice because we must feel that freedom is near. Is not freedom nearer for the imprisonment of hundreds who are now cheerfully undergoing it for the sake of the country? What can be better for non-co-operators of Bombay than that though innocent, they should be imprisoned for the sake of the guilty?

But my remarks will be appreciated only by those who have changed hearts,—not by those Hindus and Musalmans who still believe that the Parsis or the Christians were more in the wrong than the Hindus and the Musalmans. The many letters of protest I have received show that many Hindus and Musalmans believe the Parsis and the Christians gave the first offence. Although I know the contrary, I am prepared to assume that they did. Are not Hindus and Musalmans still bound by virtue of their pledge, of their numbers and of their religion not to retaliate but to befriend and protect them even if they have to go out of their way to do it?

Let Maulana Abdul Bari speak. I offer no apology for reproducing the Fatwa he issued on learning the particulars about the Bombay disturbances:

"We do not at all desire to inflict any insult or bodily harm on the Prince of Wales. We only wish to save him from being deceived by official prestige and to show him the real feelings of India and its people. The means we have adopted is to declare a *harkat* from which all violence should be excluded. We have adopted the doctrine of non-violence after great deliberation. We believe that it is the only way of success. Unfortunately there is a party which does not believe in this but is apparently working with us. We request this party to adopt our principles while it works with us or to wait till our methods have proved futile before it puts its own principles into practice.

"I was very much grieved to hear the troubles in Bombay. Their only result was to lesson the effect of calmness and self-control displayed by the people on the arrest of our renowned leaders. We consider the Bombay riots to be opposed not only to our political creed but also to our *Shariat*. By our religious law a Muslim is forbidden to destroy the wine of a non-Muslim. He is bound to compensate the party aggrieved. If the *Shariat* is so stringent with regard to wine, we can well imagine what its orders are with regard to other property. At the present moment we have a quarrel with the British bureaucracy and with no one else in India. Under such conditions the honour and the property of all, be they Musalmans, Hindus, Parsis, Jews or

Christians, should be safe in our land. I fear that if such disturbances are not prevented in future, the minorities will no longer have faith in the democracy and they will be forced to rely on the foreigners for their defence. At the same time I request these minorities not to be deceived by the interested help of the bureaucracy. They should bear in mind the deplorable results which may arise by too heated a desire of retaliation and should, therefore, bring themselves under control."

Unless therefore we remove the last trace of ill-will against Parsis, Minorities Christians or Jews, we shall fail in our purpose. The condition of such protection is not that minorities accept our political or other opinion. That would be no protection. Protection to be true has to be given in spite of the dissent, even opposition of minorities. Indeed, we must jealously guard the rights of minorities if we are to have perfect freedom of opinion in the country. Even a child must be able to express its opinion freely. The rule of majority would be a barbarous imposition, if it were utilised to crush the minority. What we want in a free India is not a dead level but a variety of opinion and conduct in which the sanest will prevail by the weight not of might but of right. We have been groaning too long under the weight of authority. And the weight of majority can be as brutal as that of the bullets of a minority. We must therefore be patient with our Parsi or Christian brother if we will be free. I see in the blind prejudice against the Parsis and the Christians a menace to Hindu Muslim unity itself. If we cannot tolerate Parsi or Christian difference, what guarantee is there that Hindus, if they felt the superiority of their brute strength, would not impose their will upon the Musalman minority, or the Musalmans, if they believed themselves to be capable of wielding superior brute strength, would not crush the weak Hindu in spite of his numerical superiority?

Here is an apposite letter from Bengal written by a friend who knows what he is talking about. He says.

"I desire to tell you, that if civil disobedience is begun in Eastern Bengal, the consequences will be much more serious. The Musalmans there number more than 70 per cent. of the total population. The majority of them are turbulent. As soon as the passions of these men are roused, they will fall upon the Hindus, commit horrible outrages and terrorise the Hindu landlords and creditors. The saner and the more respectable section among them will fail to control the turbulent Hindu Muslim unity will vanish at the first touch. In Calcutta too the state of things will be extremely bad. I earnestly request you to take a much less optimistic view of men and things in India. Excuse me for saying that you know more of men and things of South Africa than of men and things in the parent country. You seem now to be against starting civil disobedience. But if you change your

mind, I cannot forewarn the results except with a feeling of horror or dismay. Your noblest ideals will be haltered to pieces and the country will be a prey to greater oppression and trouble. What you have done during these years will be undone."

This is not the only warning of the kind received by me. Bombay is one of the greatest nerve centres. It has naturally therefore stirred people. The protection of the rights of minorities means the protection of the weak. And protection of the weak means protection of old men, children and women and all those who may be helpless. And if to-day the united strength of Hindus and Musalmans is used against Parsis and Christians, to-morrow the unity will break under the strain of cupidity or false generosity, — not a desirable picture of Swaraj by any means. For India, there is no alternative to non-violence complete and true if she is to be free. Non-violence then must not be used as a preparation for violence. To refuse this is to realise Swaraj and religion. Let the Hindus and the Musalmans beware of misreading their Gita or Koran. And by way of trial let them use their joint strength to protect the minorities and they will learn to protect one another.

And this cannot be done unless the year's Not Policy experience teaches us to regard but Creed non-violence as our final creed for the attainment and retention of India's freedom and of the unity of all the sects and denominations of India. This still leaves each community free to fight for the preservation of its religion and all together to fight for India's defence. But non-violence must not be a policy or expedient to be tried for gaining India's freedom or consolidating unity. Hindus and Musalmans must therefore begin by loving and serving Parsis Jews and Christians including Englishmen, whether they are co-operators or other. And if we are to do this, our speeches must be free from bitterness and in the process of conversion, we must not touch even a child in order to remove its foreign cap, nor use force against drunkards to wean them from drink. We must rest our cause solely upon appeal to reason, to the head and the heart, never to brute force whether verbal or physical. When we have millions of the people of India freely and intelligently on our side, we have Swaraj. The greatest fear of co-operators is that non-violence is a cloak for violence and that in spite of the effort of the well-meaning, the movement is bound ultimately to pass into the hands of the unruly and the turbulent. We cannot dispel this fear by argument. We can only do so by an unbroken chain of facts which need no proof. Whilst we have made much headway, we cannot claim that we have neither speech nor action to our debit. Love, charity, humility, gentleness do not need any articulate proof. We must therefore put greater stress on non-violence and less on non-co-operation. Non-violence is non-co-operation. The Government's haven of refuge is violence, is ours non-violence? Have we finally withdrawn ourselves from their school of violence? It is their greatest educational institution. The day we demolish the prestige of violence in its entirety, that day we establish Swaraj.

And to be able to do this, we must learn to love the Englishman whilst we hate his system under which he pretends to govern India. In the words of, Maulana Abdul Bari we have no quarrel with the Englishman, we quarrel with his rule of force.

If then we love our opponents, our love must show Practical itself in our actions.
Hints We must invite them to our platforms and give them a patient and courteous hearing, we must not revile them in speaking of them, we must not cry 'shame' when we hear their names, we must render them social service as readily as we would render to those who agree with us. All we may not do is to render them political service or give them political association. We must avoid all exciting speeches and avoid all noises: 'Mahatma Gandhiji Jai' and other sounds should be strictly forbidden. We must be able to conduct our meetings without such noises. And if we do not attract vast crowds without such noises, we shall fare all the better without them. I would regard a district or tehsil that cannot be brought under such restraint to be unfit for civil disobedience. Picketing should be regarded with the gravest suspicion. There is no doubt that it has not everywhere been of a strictly non-violent nature. There has been verbal violence or a show of violence. It is better therefore to suspend picketing at least for the time being or till we have attained much greater self-control and gained greater experience. We may confine our attention just now to working among the drinking class.

The *hartals* wherever the Prince is taken may be proclaimed if absolute peace can be guaranteed and compulsion of any kind whatever avoided. If the tramcars run, we must not interfere with them. If the people use them, we know that they do not want to join us. If a single man wishes to keep his shop open, we must protect him in his freedom. It has a great value only if it is strictly voluntary.

Parsis and Christians of Bombay have before them a time of great trial and temptation. It is just possible that they will be tempted to file complaints against Hindus and Musalmans. It will be a fatal blunder to succumb to the temptation. They ought to rise to the occasion and refrain from seeking relief or reparation through courts of law. Quarrels are sometimes inevitable in spite of the best of precautions. They know that the sanest element among Hindus and Musalmans deeply regret the unfortunate quarrel and are ashamed of the Hindu and Musalman aggression. Parsis and Christians should now seek only such relief as a non-official committee can secure for them. Whilst it is true that Hindus and Musalmans must keep their heads cool even if the latter seek reparation through the Government, they will put a severe strain upon human nature if they prefer official action to non-official.

Correspondents, whilst congratulating me for apologising to the Parsis, Christians and Jews, have rebuked me for not doing likewise by the Government. In making the suggestion, they have missed the central point of apology. I cannot apologise to a system or its administrators when that system is responsible for the troubles at least equally with, if not more than, non-co-operators. I start with the assumption that the administrators of the system relish these troubles and invite them by providing for them first in the way of giving provocation by unpopular measures and secondly by making *frightful* preparations to crush any outburst of popular resentment. Apology has been tendered to administrators as men in as much as it has been tendered to Christians, Englishmen and co-operators. I have said that in as much as non-co-operators insulted a single person who took part in the welcome to the Prince, they insulted the Prince and broke the pledge of non-violence. I am not aware of non-co-operators having in any shape or form injured the Government during the three disgraceful days. On the contrary I feel and know that the misguided mischief-makers strengthened the Government. The reader will see that apology to a Government which has been served or has benefited would be an inappropriate act. One of my minor objects is to injure the Government as a system and therefore the status of its administrators. But this I do by remaining strictly non-violent and dissociating myself from it in every possible and non-violent manner and by inducing others to do likewise. Indeed, if non-violence became the common creed of both the Government and the people, there would be little room for any quarrel ending in non-co-operation.

Maulana Sherar was an effective speaker in the Madras Presidency and a staunch Khilafat worker. He was also a good writer. The Madras Government have silenced this worker for one year. The Panjab Government have arrested Pandit Nekiram Sharma who is not unknown to Bombay audiences and who was instrumental in saving precious lives when on the 17th Instant a liquor shop was reduced to ashes in Bhindi Bazar. Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande has got six months' simple imprisonment. I had hoped that he and others would not be permitted to rest beyond the end of the year. The Bombay occurrences seem to have dashed my hopes to pieces. Before then I was certain either of our ability to unlock the prison gates or at least of joining the comrades in their rest houses. Now—? God alone can tell.

A telegram in the *Bombay Chronicle* shows that the Punjab Government have goaded the Shikhs to civil disobedience. The Government had prohibited a Shikhi 'Diwan' that was to be held at Amritsar. This proved too much for the Shikhs. They held the 'Diwan' with the result that eleven noted Shikhs have been arrested. Among these are the veteran Sardar

(Continued on page 395)

'WAY TO PEACE.

The following is the translation of a Gujarati appeal issued by Mr. Gandhi:

To the citizens of Bombay.

By God's grace we are once more at peace. We are no longer engaged in the occupation of breaking one another's heads, throwing stones or burning buildings. Nevertheless some of us have still anger, bitterness and fear in us. This is evident from the language of numerous visitors and correspondents. We can call it a real peace only when our minds are free from these impurities. The first step towards such a consummation is that Hindus and Musalmans make a clean confession of their guilt. Those who cast the first stone must be held guilty. If I begin by using an abusive word I must take the consequences of all that may follow. If Hindus and Musalmans made the beginning by forcibly removing foreign cups or by throwing stones, they were the guilty party. Moreover, they are in an overwhelming majority. And it is largely Hindus and Musalmans who have taken the pledge of non-violence. Therefore it is they who should realise their responsibility in the first instance.

I am not here considering the responsibility in law. I am simply thinking of it as between man and man. If Parsis and Christians do not feel their share of the guilt, it is difficult to establish a lasting peace. If Parsis and Christians had not retaliated when Hindus and Musalmans began violence, they would have been considered angels, and they would have given to the world an astonishing proof of their soul-force. But they not only defended themselves, which was quite right, but they also were angered and went beyond the limits of self-defence. Some of them used greater violence than was necessary. And if they do not retract as much, it would be difficult to attain immediate heart-peace, because Hindus and Musalmans will not acknowledge their complete innocence even after provocation. If only one party were to continue its guilt and the other consistently remained patient and suffering, the guilty party would be exhausted in the effort if there was no re-action following action, the world would attain salvation. And generally we answer abuse with a slap. A slap is returned with a double slap. The latter is followed by a kick, the kick by a bullet, and so the circle of sin ever widens. But generally those who believe in taking a tooth for a tooth after a time forgive one another and become friends. Is it impossible for us to follow this common rule? I do not therefore hesitate to ask Parsi and Christian friends to recognise the rule of mutual forgiveness and forget one another's wrongs.

I do lay stress upon the special responsibility that rests upon Hindus and Musalmans. Whether the Parsis and the Christians forgive or not, Hindus and Musalmans are bound to purify themselves by confessing their guilt, asking God for forgiveness and by remaining peaceful. Those who have suffered losses or are deprived of their dear ones are bound to feel the effect of the injury received. Some of them are too poor to bear the losses. We must appreciate their position. And I trust that there will be an impartial non-official committee appointed to investigate the

losses suffered by those who cannot bear them and to collect the funds necessary for assisting them. At the same time I hope no one will seek the assistance of law or Government. This advice I tender not merely as a non-co-operator, but also from my wide experience that such matters are more truly and more expeditiously adjudicated by private arbitration. That is also the way to avoid acerbities. The easiest method of achieving peace is to give up the idea of complaining against one another in a court of law and to concentrate our attention upon taking preventive measures, so that there is no recurrence of such madness. And I hope that Bombay will retrieve her lost reputation by adopting such measures.

Bombay,
26th November 1921.

I remain,
Your servant,
M. K. GANDHI.

ABOUT MOPLAH.

To the Liberals.

Friends,

We are all so preoccupied with other affairs that the events in Malabar hardly attract the attention they deserve. The ending of the trouble has become a matter of great urgency. It is one of simple humanity. Be the Moplahs ever so bad, they deserve to be treated as human beings. Their wives and children demand our sympathy. Nor are they all bad. And yet there can be no doubt that many innocent men must have been adjudged guilty. Forcible conversions are horrible things. But Moplah bravery must command admiration. These Malabaris are not fighting for the love of it. They are fighting for what they consider is their religion and in the manner they consider is religious. The vast majority of them have nothing personal to gain by continuing their resistance. Their sin is not of deliberation, but ignorance.

If we permit the extermination of such a brave people, it will be remembered against us and will be accounted as Indian cowardice.

I make bold to say that had Mr. Yakub Hasan been allowed to go to Malabar, had I not been warned against entering Malabar, had Musalmans of real influence been invited to go, this long drawn out agony could have been avoided.

But it is not yet too late.

The sword has been tried for three months, and it has failed to answer the purpose. It has not bent the proud Moplah. Nor has it saved Hindus from his depredations and lust. The sword has merely prevented the Moplah from overrunning the whole of the Madras Presidency. It has exhibited no power of protection.

I am sure you will not plead incapacity. It is true that the police and the military are not transferred subjects. But you cannot escape moral responsibility. You are supporting the policy of the Government regarding Malabar.

Nor, I hope, will you retort by blaming the non-co-operators. They cannot admit any responsibility for the trouble at all, unless all agitation is to be held blameworthy. I admit however that non-co-operators were not able to take their message to the Moplah homes. That would be a reason for more, not less, agitation.

But I have not taken up the pen to argue away non-co-operators' blame. I ask you to consider the broad humanities of the question, compel the Government to suspend hostilities, issue promise of free pardon for past depredations upon an undertaking to surrender, and to permit non-co-operators to enter Malabar to persuade the Moplahs to surrender. I know that the last suggestion means the giving of importance to non-co-operators. Surely you do not doubt their numbers or influence. If you do, you should find other means of dealing with the trouble than that of extermination. I am merely concerned with the termination of the shameful inhumanity proceeding in Malabar with both Liberals and non-co-operators as helpless witnesses. I have chosen to address this letter not to the Government but to you, because the Government could not have taken the inhuman course of destruction without your moral support. I beseech you to give heed to my prayer as of a dear friend.

I am,
Your friend,
M. K. GANDHI.

A PROTEST.

The Editor,
'You.' India.

Sir,

I accept in the right spirit the stern rebuke which you have been pleased to administer to me in the "Young India" of the 10th instant as coming from a wise and sagacious general to an erring soldier; but you will, I pray, permit me a few words of mild remonstrance. It was not very pleasant to read your strong remarks, but it was positively painful to find that in writing about me in the way you had done you had been less than just to your own great self. That calm dignity, that scrupulous fairness to the worst opponent, that flowing charity and that sweet reasonableness which are such conspicuous features of your method of controversy were unfortunately very nearly absent in this particular instance.

I was convinced that our meeting at Delhi in spite of the President having adjourned it was a defiance of constitutional proprieties and a contempt of the presidential authority; most certainly, Swaraj does not—cannot—lie that way. I was of opinion that the Bengal and Madras members had no right to be there in view of the President's ruling that their election was void. I felt that the Working Committee was making a bad, unconsciously though, for autocracy, and was fast constituting itself into a power behind the throne. I saw with dismay that the All India Congress Committee in its admiration for the great personalities who adorn the Working Committee was not only giving away to that body one after another of its own powers, but what was worse, those also of the President's without the latter's permission and against his will reducing him thereby to the position of a mere puppet, a very convenient performance but not by any means a convincing one. My whole soul rebelled against this topsy-turvydom. I do not think that the Congress Constitution contemplates the President as a mere figure-head whom the Working Committee can order about as it likes. He owes his office to the choice of the nation. He derives his authority directly from the Congress and he, embodied, in the theory of the

Constitution, the collective wisdom and authority of the entire body of delegates. His is the sole right of interpreting and construing the Congress Constitution and his rulings in these matters as also on questions of procedure are final and conclusive; this is not to say that his rulings are always correct, but the way to set them right is not by dealing a death blow to the dignity of the President's office as was done at Delhi. The head and front of my offence seems to be that I had the temerity to press this view and having been defeated had the sportsmanlike spirit to take the defeat in good humour. Your severe castigation far from shaking my conviction has made it stronger. I may have been totally mistaken, I will assume that I was; but to characterize my attitude as obstruction is to utter the language of prejudice; to pour ridicule over honest differences of opinion might result in their stifling but will not lead to their solution; and to suggest that any body came all the way from Bombay to Delhi at considerable inconvenience and no little expense simply to amuse and to be amused is perhaps the most unkindest cut of all, and, if I may say so, not in the true Gandhian vein.

I dare say your reference to the Maharashtra party is intended to be complimentary, but I am certain that it will not be read as such even outside Maharashtra. Speaking for myself, I must continue to work according to the light that is in me even at the risk of incurring your displeasure. There is however one fact which strengthens my resolve, and it is this; in common with the rest of the country the Thane District which I had the privilege to represent has the highest regard for your phenomenal self-sacrifice and invaluable services with all that, however, I venture to state not in the spirit of idle boasting but of meek gratefulness that the whole district where my humble lot had been cast will entirely repudiate your estimate of my mentality, and you yourself will some day realize with pain that you had dealt unjustly with a humble follower and co-worker. In the meantime I must try to live down the prejudice that your remarks will necessarily create against me in some quarters.

Harvey Road, Bombay,
15th November 1921.

Yours etc.,
Jamunadas M. Mehta

I gladly find room for Mr. Mehta's protest. I can assure him that I meant no offence but that my remarks were made with perfect good-will. If Mr. Mehta was absolutely serious about his objection, I must be pardoned for saying that I could see no argument in his speech. But I entirely accept Mr. Mehta's assurance about his seriousness.

M. K. G.]

WAR ON THE KHADI CAP.

(Concluded)

To

Lieut. Col. Mington, I M. S.,

Superintendent Medical School Vizagapatam

Please place a notice in a prominent position of the Vizagapatam Hospital and School stating that all students who have been suspended by you for breaking rule of institution as regards dress to be worn when attending hospital or school are hereby informed, if they do not express regret for such conduct to you personally or in writing by October 3rd, they will be

dismissed from the school. Please placard a copy of dress regulations paragraph 61 alongside the above warning notice.

Madras Local.

To

THE SUPERINTENDENT,
MEDICAL SCHOOL,
VIZAGAPATAM.

Sir,

We have been in due receipt of your various memos dated 20-9-21, 26-9-21, 23-9-21. At the very outset we beg to protest against all and every one of the illegal orders you have been pleased to pass on us.

1. In your memo dated 23-9-21 you have invited our attention to (61) Dress Regulations (for Indians only). In this memo for the first time you have shifted your position and taken up a new ground. From this it is sufficiently clear, that these dress regulations have never been held compulsory. You are aware that they were honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Regarding dress regulations, first, the typical dress has never been insisted upon, that regulation has been to your knowledge every day broken. When the causes for these present illegal orders arose no exception had been taken to the breaking of this regulation.

2. Re modifications possible, none of these have to our knowledge ever been insisted upon. Felt caps of snuff, green, blue, and other colours were being used by students. You will also kindly remember that green "Noble" caps have been in somewhat prominent use in the class room. Similar conditions have prevailed in almost all the Medical Schools in the Presidency. Under these circumstances these regulations cannot be given more than the weight of recommendations. We believe that they are in existence for the purpose of maintaining the decency in the dress of the students.

3. But now when we have taken to Swadeshi and worn uniformly all of us Swadeshi white caps you have unearthed a dead regulation to prevent us from exercising our legitimate right. We consider this as an insult to our patriotism.

4. In your first order dated 20-9-21 you have laid emphasis on the material and taken exception to the cap being made of Swadeshi stuff. Vide order 20-9-21, line (1) "Swadeshi Cap." Your order dated 23-9-21 with the reference to dress regulations is evidently an after-thought. You are not justified in doing so when we are suffering under an illegal punishment unlawfully imposed on us. We are surprised to read these various orders.

5. We invite your attention to "Scale of Punishment," Regulation 105 of "Rules and Regulations relating to Admission of Pupils etc.," published in 1917. We find therein that no suspension of the kind you have imposed is sanctioned under the rule. The rule does not empower you to order "You will not be permitted to attend school or hospital."

6. Regulation 105 rule (6) which refers to suspension sanctions only suspension of pay or stipend from one to three months etc., the last clause in the said regulation restricts all arbitrary enforcements of such punishments. It says "rules (6) and (7) by the Surgeon General subject to appeal to Government."

7. Your orders as per memo dated 23-9-21 are clearly illegal, they have injured our honour and

reputation. An order even of the kind referred to in clause (6) of Regulation 105 can only be passed by the Surgeon General which has not been the case to our knowledge.

8. With respect to your order dated 23-9-21 we beg to bring to notice that we are surprised at the order. Dismissal of students is an authority conferred on the Surgeon General. Government stands as an appellate authority. We find your memo as an order from the Government. Under what circumstances and in what manner the Government were pleased to take notice of the so called violation of dress regulations of the Medical students of Vizagapatam, while the intermediary empowered authority the Surgeon General did not take any action, is not explained and is mysterious.

9. To add insult to injury you have been pleased to pass an order dated 26th Sept. 21 memorandum no number restricting the freedom of some of us who have been suspended. We have been wrongfully detained here though an illegal order of suspension preventing us from attending School or hospital was in existence. Consequently we have suffered loss both pecuniary and mental. This order has also injured our reputation and we were subject to wrongful restraint here, being prevented by your order from leaving the station.

10. Under the above circumstances we feel our inability to express any kind of regret for alleged conduct of ours. We are obliged to hold you responsible for all the consequences that have flown and may flow from the illegal orders you have and you may impose upon us.

11. Finally, we have no objection to rejoin school on the following conditions:

(I) Cancellation of orders of suspension and restoration of our attendance and stipends.

(II) Regret from you and the Assistant Superintendent and lecturers who have been the cause of insulting punishments you inflicted upon us, including unlawful restraint contained in your order dated 26th Sep. 21.

(III) Free unconditional permission to admit us with our Swadeshi white caps in School or hospital.

(IV) Postponement of our pending examinations by a fortnight from the date of our restoration to give us full scope to study as we are now suffering from both bodily and mental anguish.

12. Placing trust and confidence in your fair-mindedness we have put our case before you.

We hope and trust that you will recognise the justice of our cause and stand by us.

Vizagapatam,
3rd October 21.

We beg to remain,
Sir,

Your most obedient students.

To

The Superintendent,
Medical School,
Vizagapatam.

Sir,

We have addressed you on 3rd October 1921 jointly a reply to your memorandum No 882. In your memorandum you were pleased to state "..... You will be dismissed from the school." You have not yet been pleased to send us any orders. Kindly take notice

that if no orders are communicated to us within 48 hours from date we will be obliged to hold you responsible for all the consequences that flow from the same.

Vizagapatam,
8th October 21.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servants.

To

Colonel Illington, I. M. S.,
Medical School, Vizagapatam.

Reference Government telegram September twenty-sixth and petition October 3rd from 36 students Medical School. Inform 36 students that unless they apologise to Superintendent for breach of Dress Regulations within twenty-four hours on receipt of orders from Superintendent they will be summarily dismissed.

(Sd.) Madras Local.

True copy of telegram received from the Government of Madras is communicated to Medical School for information and guidance.

You are directed to initial and note the date and time of receipt of this order on the paper handed to you by the school clerk.

Medical School, (Sd.) E. M. Illington
Vizagapatam, Lieut. Col., I. M. S.,
16. 10. 1921. Superintendent.

To

The Superintendent,
Medical School,
Vizagapatam.

S r,

Your communication dated 26-10-21 of the true copy of telegram from "Madras Local" was received by us after 12 noon.

We are surprised to read its contents as it only reiterates the threats contained in your orders dated 23rd September. Even after this lapse of a fortnight we search in vain for any new reason to recede from the position we took up in our letter dated 3rd October. We have done no wrong and we can offer you no apology.

We respectfully beg to remind you of the two orders dated 20th September, those dated 20th September, those dated 26th and 23rd September, and the telegram from the Surgeon General dated 2-10-21 and repudiation of those will convince you that in the persecution we are now suffering, you are waging war against Khadi and that your reference to Dress Regulations is mere camouflage.

We are prepared to be very reasonable in our demands but cannot cast to the winds our national honour.

We again respectfully invite your attention to our letter (reminder) dated 8th October. We are sorry to see that although we requested that attention should be given to our letter within 48 hours, you were pleased to keep us in suspense and suffering for a long period of eight days only to repeat your order of 23rd September with the addition of the word "summarily." We take this opportunity of finally intimating to you that we are prepared to be reasonable in our demands while

we are not prepared to apologise or compromise our national honour and self-respect.

We beg to remain,
Sir,

Vizagapatam,
13th October 21.

Your most obedient Students,
"The suspended Students."

Pupil's Name.

As you have not obeyed the order of Government conveyed to you in my memo No. 882 dated 16-10-21, I am authorised by the Surgeon General to inform you that you are hereby dismissed from the School.

Medical School, (Sd.) E. M. Illington,
Vizagapatam, Lieut. Col. I. M. S.
23-10-21. Superintendent.

Copy of Telegram received from the Surgeon General No. 58. Your letter reference caps. Government cannot recognise the white cap blackened.

2-10-21 (Sd.) Symons Hospitals,
Ootacamund

Students are warned that the above order must be strictly carried out.

Medical School, (Sd.) E. M. Illington,
Vizagapatam. Supt., I. M. S.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. Mahmood Yasin:- The Thomas' Conference Lahore has passed a resolution condemning forcible conversions. I agree with you that Moplahs and Hindus of Malabar have hitherto lived as friends and that the trouble would not have arisen but for the rashness and negligence of the Collector.

O. V. Naidu asks:-

(1) Are the taxes to the municipalities and Local Boards also not to be paid when such institutions are thrust on the people as in the case of Chirala?

If civil disobedience for local relief is resorted to it would be legitimate to withhold payment of such taxes and it would be equally legitimate to withhold them if rate-payers in a particular area adopt that form of civil disobedience for Swaraj. Obviously the second mode would be wholly inapplicable where a municipality is popularly elected and where there is no non-co-operation with regard thereto. In every case retention of non-violent atmosphere is presumed.

(2) Can a non-co-operator seek to enter the municipalities and Local Boards as an elected member?

Non-co-operators are as a matter of fact entering the municipalities all over India, particularly where there is a prospect of non-co-operation majority.

(3) Do you think that Southern India with its untouchability is fit for adopting any form of civil disobedience? (Andhra is excluded, only Tamil is intended.)

If no part of Tamil India gives up the sin of untouchability it cannot be qualified for the exercise of the privilege of civil disobedience.

A Parsi:- Much as I dislike vaccination, I must resist the temptation of opening the columns of Young India for the advertisement of what friends call my numerous friends. Vaccination and such other evils have to await solution till we begin to breathe the breath of freedom.

N. K. G.

(Continued from page 390)

Khadag Singh, President Gurudwara Committee, Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh who recently resigned on the Gurudwara question the Deputy Presidentship of the Punjab Council and Government pleadershp. also Sardar Dan Singh President Amritsar City Congress Committee. If the Shikhs continue to remain calm and yet firm, then the incarceration of the Shikh leaders must bring about the desired solution of the Gurudwara question.

When *Hartal* take place what should mill hands Strikes and other employees do who cannot get leave from their unsympathetic or alien employers? In terms of non-violence there can be but one answer. An employee who gives himself leave uses violence, for he commits a criminal breach of the contract of his service. He cannot absent himself without the permission of his employer. All he can do is to resign if he is not satisfied with his employer. But this too a body of employees may not do all of a sudden. For they may not in order to enforce their political opinion threaten to leave without due notice. In short mill hands and such other employees should not be encouraged to coerce their employers into giving leave. Non-violent action is not quite so simple as one may imagine. I have heard men describing as non-violent the holding tight of the legs of persons proceeding to drink-shops. Similarly youngsters have classed foul abuse of liquor dealers among non-violent acts. This is merely playing with language and bore bitter fruit in Bombay. We must be true to ourselves if we wish to give non-violence a fair trial. Even if we cannot make our thought non-violent, we must so regulate our speech and action as to make them completely innocuous. If we find it impossible or too difficult to practise, we must give up the attempt but we must not blame one of the greatest doctrines of life for our incapacity. If failure has to be written against us, it won't be failure of non-violence but of the violent to respond to it.

Swaraj has been variously defined. Mr. Gopal An Andhra Krishnayya who has been Definition tried a second time and sentenced to undergo further imprisonment to run concurrently with the first made a long statement before the Magistrate. It is more a theological discussion of his belief than a statement of his political creed. It certainly shows that there was neither violence nor incitement to it in the speech that was the subject matter of prosecution. But I am concerned only with his interesting definition of Swaraj. Here it is:—

"It is not the common political suffering that is to weld together the Hindu and the Muslim like the Greeks of old during the Persian invasions but the mutual respect, regard and love for each other's *Dharma* and the necessity for its inviolated preservation that can and shall achieve it. Swaraj, therefore, means the preservation of Hindu *Dharma*, Muslim *Dharma*, Christian *Dharma*, Parsi *Dharma*, Shikh *Dharma*, in

short *Sanatdharma* of all and a co-ordinated federation of all, which are now being threatened with destruction by positivist godless philosophy, industrial anarchy and spiritual famine that beset the world at the present moment.

Surely we are nearing our goal when men of character are being imprisoned for their religious beliefs

It is no small matter for one to remain in hiding Sardar Gurdut for seven years and Singh escapes the police and then openly to surrender oneself to them, yet Sardar Gurdut Singh has succeeded in performing the wonder. I have before me his open letter and other papers. In the midst of other diversions these papers do not attract me. But I cannot withhold my congratulations from the Shikhs for their having kept their peace when Sardar Gurdut Singh surrendered himself and the Magistrate took charge of him. We must be certain of non-violence to such an extent that we may undertake the boldest steps with perfect confidence. There is nothing to beat *Swadeshi* to make us non-violent. I entirely agree with a correspondent who sends me a long letter saying that I should insist upon due fulfilment of *Swadeshi* before a single Tehsil embarks upon civil disobedience. I know that violence would be an impossibility if the whole of India became *Swadeshi*, i. e. carried out complete boycott of foreign cloth by manufacturing the whole of the *Khadi* supply in her millions of cottages. Would that the Shikhs and other Indians simply concentrate upon manufacture of hand-spun yarn and hand-woven cloth

The *Khadi* cap came in for much attention Ten Days for during the late the *Khadi* Cap disturbance in Bombay. Dr. Sathu was severely assaulted because he would not surrender his *Khadi* cap. Now I hear that sailors in the Fort forcibly dispossessed many innocent wearers of their *Khadi* caps. I can only hope that this senseless persecution will stiffen the resolve of the nation and that thousands will be prepared to die for the *Khadi* cap which is fast becoming a visible mark of *Swadeshi* and Swaraj. The most glaring instance however comes from Bengal. Mr. T. H. Ellis, S. D. O. of Brahmanbaria District Comilla Bengal, issued on the 10th instant the following notice:—

"The Government has decided that the wearing of what are called Gandhi caps constitutes an offence under section 228 I. P. O. Gentlemen are warned that this order will be enforced". Consequently a volunteer who wore a *Khadi* cap in spite of the order was fined Rs. 10 which he refused to pay. He preferred to go to goal for ten days. I reproduce below the section 228:

"Whoever intentionally offers any insult or causes any interruption to a public servant while such public servant is sitting in any stage of a judicial proceeding, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or both".

Thus the wearing of a *Khadi* cap is henceforth to constitute an insult to a public servant in Bengal. I hope that the S. D. O. has arrogated to himself powers that have never been given to him or any other magistrate by the Bengal Government. In any event if the order is at all general, bareheaded Bengal will soon begin to patronise *Khadi* caps if only out of sheer sense of self-respect. I congratulate the volunteer who has been the first to receive the honour of imprisonment for the offence of wearing a *Khadi* cap.

I was agreeably surprised to receive the Pussyfoot's following from Pussyfoot. I had Certificate hoped to have the privilege of meeting Dr. Johnson but our programme always clashed. It is therefore special satisfaction for me to be able to receive a letter from him acknowledging our temperance work:

"My dear Mr. Gandhi,

"While sailing away from your country, my mind keeps going back to the wonderful work that you are doing for the temperance cause in India and, consequently, for the whole world.

"After making all possible discounts for motive, purpose or method, the bald fact looms up against the sky that you have accomplished more for the temperance reform in two years than any other man has been able to accomplish, in that time, in the history of the world.

"My chief regret, in leaving India, is that while there I was not able to meet you personally and tell you what I am telling you in this letter.

"Please present my kind recollections to your good wife and your brother with whom I did have the privilege of a little visit.

At sea,

Cordially yours.

19th Nov. 1921.

W. E. Johnson.

I can share the letter with the reader without blushing for the simple reason that I can claim no credit for the work which Dr. Johnson truly calls wonderful. It has not even taken two years to accomplish what has been done. But the credit belongs to a multitude of unknown workers who fired by the religious nature of the movement spontaneously took up temperance work. I wish that such glorious work had not been marred by the wanton and violent burning of liquor shops in Bombay. Let me hope that all trace of compulsion will be removed from the reform and that we shall soon see an India become voluntarily dry.

I take the following from the letter of a Bengali friend:

Removal of

"You have placed the

Untouchability

removal of untouchability

in the fore-front of the programme of national work. But you have not, so far as I am aware, given any clear explanation as to what exactly you intend it to mean. The question of intermarriage apart, it may be taken to mean any one of three possible courses. It may mean either not considering the touch of a man ceremonially unclean or agreeing to take water at his hands or not refusing to partake of food, more particularly rice, prepared by him.

I can generally answer the question by saying that removal of untouchability means disappearance of a fifth caste. It therefore does mean at least that mere touch of a man shall not be regarded as a pollution. The so called untouchable should enjoy the same freedom that the touchables do. Generally speaking therefore water handed by the erstwhile untouchable will not be regarded as polluted. Removal of untouchability does not include partaking of rice or other food cooked by the 'untouchable' or any other. That is a matter of reform in the institution of caste and not covered by the programme about untouchability. Restrictions about marriage and inter-dining may be undesirable and may require modification. But I do not regard them as a blot upon Hinduism, as I do untouchability. The latter puts a class of human beings beyond the pale of social service and therefore is an inhuman institution.

M. K. G.

IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

My letter to the Liberals speaks for itself. In it I have not touched upon unproved or one-sided accounts of the happenings in Malabar. But I have before me correspondence which mentions inhumanities before which the Punjab ones dwindle into insignificance. The asphyxiation of prisoners is the most startling though by no means the most heinous among the inhumanities that are said to be enacted in impenetrable Malabar. The Hindu mind is blinded by prejudice fed by interested accounts. I do not deny forcible conversions or other atrocities by the Moplahs. But my soul refuses to revenge itself upon innocent Moplahs or upon the women and children of the guilty ones, nor can I delight in torturing those who have done wrong. Such reprisals are not human.

Let me not go into further narration of facts or allegations. I only plead for calmness. What is the Government doing? Why has it proved so powerless for protection? Or is its function confined only to reprisals and isolating the Moplahs and their prey the Hindus?

Grant that the non-co-operators started the mischief by exciting the Moplahs against the Government, are non-co-operators keeping up the flame of Moplah passion? Are they preventing the Government from stamping out the rebellion? Why will the Government not grant permits to non-co-operators to go and plead with the Moplahs? Let them be shot if they turn traitors to their pledge. Let the Government take hostages for good conduct. It is utterly inhuman to persist in wanton destruction and desolation when a possible way is open to them and when non-co-operators have offered under certain conditions to go and attempt to bring about peace.

Though the task of conciliation has been certainly rendered most difficult, I do not despair of success, if full facilities are offered to non-co-operators to enter the disturbed area and reason with the Moplahs. Their valour, however misguided it is, is worthy of better treatment.

I do beseech the Hindus of the Madras Presidency to become calm and find room for the misguided Moplahs in their hearts. Their religion does not teach them to condemn whole classes of people for the faults of a few. Let them too bear their share of burden. They knew the Moplah and sinfully neglected to make him a better neighbour. We are reaping the reward of our past neglect. Let us not now indiscriminately condemn the Moplah as a fiend unworthy of human sympathy. Islam has undoubtedly suffered for the brutalities practised by the Moplahs, but Hinduism is suffering equally with Islam for thirsting for Moplah blood. It is bad enough for one to commit rape or murder, but it is equally bad if not worse to seek to fly the rake or murderer and to rape his womenfolk and murder the rest of his family. I do not know that the rake or the murderer cannot plead sudden passion as an extenuating circumstance. Can the seeker after unbridled revenge plead anything in palliation? Let not the Hindus by their thirst for Moplah blood justify Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. If we may resort to frightfulness and humiliations in respect of Moplahs, do we not justify the action of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer who under a sense of fancied wrong and fear resorted to terrorism in the Punjab? The Hindu passions are, I fear, being exploited by the Government to keep up the Malabar trouble. Let Hindus of Malabar and Madras beware!

DISBANDMENT OF VOLUNTEERS.

BY M. K. GANDHI

Bombay has given a handle to the Provincial Governments for undertaking systematic repression and attempting to snuff out non-co-operation. The notifications of the Bengal, the U. P., the Panjab and the Delhi Governments disbanding volunteer organizations are an answer to Bombay. I for one welcome these notifications. They obviate the necessity for forcing civil disobedience. If we are ready for the Government challenge, we can have an immediate trial of strength. It is one of the beauties of civil disobedience that a civil resister can choose his own time of battle. For he need not disobey till he thinks it is right for him to do so. No amount of provocation by the Government can goad him into disobedience.

If therefore the provinces where the notifications have been issued are ready, they have merely to refuse to disband and every one of the volunteers must surely find himself in gaol. But we must be sure of our ground. The allegation against the corps is that they are assemblies to use force and not to keep peace. Our first duty is to examine the charge and purge ourselves of guilt if there is any in us. Every volunteer who has been guilty of using force or even threat of force by word or act must be relieved of his charge.

The resolution of the Working Committee regarding volunteers has come in time though quite by accident. I hope that it will be taken up in every province by the respective Congress and Khilafat organizations and that all

volunteer organizations will be combined into one and no volunteer will be retained who does not believe in non-violence. Then we may give battle if there is interference with these organizations. The condition, however, of giving battle is that when imprisonments commence, the rest remain quiet and peaceful. It is high time that we went to gaol without noise or fuss. If we believe in the virtue of silent suffering we must make it easy for the Government to arrest us. It becomes difficult when each time we want to make a show and have a procession. Imprisonments must become an every day occurrence. We make no fuss when we go out for a walk or a picnic. I do ask for the same indifference about going to gaols. I accept Mr. Jayakar's formula of statement before the court. If there is a choice between making or not making statements, I have no hesitation in giving my vote against making them. Imprisonments must cease to cause sensation, for the latter creates excitement and excitement may lead to violence. Violence interferes with a ceaseless flow of innocent imprisonments.

Retention of non-violent atmosphere is more important than imprisonments. Therefore no province will be justified in taking the risk of an outbreak of violence and precipitating imprisonments by disregarding the orders of disbandment. We shall lose nothing in the long run by waiting to stabilise non-violence. Our capacity for Swaraj consists in our anticipating and thwarting every plan to lead us unto violence whether it be through the C. I. D. or any other channel.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. V. Rao asks -

(1) Do you believe Krishna was wrong in not having preached the doctrine of non-violence to Arjuna? Or was he right in advocating war and violence?

In my opinion the Bhagavadgita is a purely religious, not historical, treatise. It has taken a historical and secular incident to build up a grand religious doctrine. It deals with the war that is eternally waging between the forces of evil and good, Ormrod and Abraham, Hyde and Jekyll in the human breast. We cannot do enough violence to all the evil passions that well up on that little Kurukshetra. If we have considered the Bhagavadgita tends to show that Arjuna having made the choice could not, yielding to false sentiment, withdraw from the battle. The author of the Gita never advocated war or violence. It is a sermon on non-violence. Fight without anger and passion can only be spiritual.

(2) Did Rama err and sin in resorting to violence against Ravana to recover Sita? Or is violence justifiable only under special circumstances? If so what are those conditions?

I look upon the Ramayana in the same light as the Bhagavadgita. The weapons that Rama used were purely spiritual. The victory of Rama over Ravana is a celebration of the victory of Good over Evil, of humanity over arrogance, of a weak and virtuous woman with the help of God over man turned beast.

X. Y. Z. asks.

(1) How long are we to be non-violent, supposing the Government tries to molest us in wicked ways?

Certainly till we have disarmed Government. When we took the pledge we did not expect the Government to let us down gently.

(.) If we get Swaraj how are we to be protected against invasions of foreign nations?

You must see the old files of *Young India*. But generally it may be stated that we need not apprehend any trouble from foreign powers, but if they invade us without any offence on our part, we must trust to our capacity for suffering, to be able to defend ourselves against all aggressors.

(3) Will the feudatory states retain their rule?

Certainly. We have no design upon them. They will have more real power than they have now. They will naturally be amenable then to the pressure of public opinion whether within or without their border.

(4) Are you going to proclaim a republic if you are successful in civil disobedience? Mahatma Bhaubhai Ali expressed such opinion.

Civil disobedience of the fierce type contemplated at Delhi by me has been knocked on the head by Bombay for some time to come. In any case I do not think that non-co-operators have so far consolidated their power or done so much constructive work as to warrant the declaration of an effective republic at the end of the year. In no case does it rest with one man to proclaim or not to proclaim a republic.

(5) Will you give compensation to the Parsis who have been principally the mischief-mongers?

You evidently beg the question by calling Parsis 'the mischief-mongers.' I am firmly convinced that Hindus and Muslims started the mischief. I shall certainly hope that Parsis and Christians will be patriotic enough not to seek compensation through the Government and that there will be a non-official committee consisting of impartial co-operators and non-co-operators to receive and inquire into the claims for compensation by all private persons who might have suffered during the unfortunate disturbance.

M. K. G

SWADESHI IN THE U. P.

(Condensed from the original.)

The progress of Swadeshi in the U. P., a report of which has been prepared by the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee, is full of lessons for the other provinces of India, both as regards the success achieved in the several lines of organising work as well as the difficulties that had to be encountered. The work was considered under the following head—

(1) Distribution of *Charikhas*, (2) organising a *Khadi* depot; (3) supplying handspun yarn to weavers and inducing them to weave only such yarn, and (4) organising the boycott.

The success of the work could be easily gauged from a fact mentioned in the Report, that "the wages of weavers have gone up and are more than double the original rates. Carders who used to knock about from door to door are difficult to find and demand heavy wages. The scarcity of carders has impeded our work to a certain extent and we are taking steps to train men in the art of carding. Weavers are indeed flourishing as they have now done for generations. Their mud huts are giving place to brick built cottages. In Mau the *Jalabas* say that Mahatma Gandhi may or may not get his Swaraj, but as far as they are concerned they have got it."

Up till June last the Committee could not take up in right earnest the work of Swadeshi, as it had concentrated its attention mainly on general propaganda and the collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. But as a result of the propaganda, a large number of people adopted the *Charikhas* of themselves and the Committee was able to report that it had reached the quota fixed for it under the Bezwađa programme. The figure it then gave was 2, 81, 525 but that did not include the figure for Bijnor district which was then not available. Bijnor district possesses 50,000 *Charikhas* at the least which being added to the original figure brings the total for the whole province to a good deal more than three lakhs of *Charikhas*.

In the month of July the Committee created a Swadeshi department and opened a *Khadi* depot on a considerable scale at Allahabad to store pure *Khadi* in case there was no market for it. The depot purchased from the producers and sold many thousand rupees worth of *Khadi*.

But the more important work which the Committee undertook and in which it fairly succeeded is the organising of weavers for the production of *Khadi*. The U. P. contains a population of weavers which may be estimated at several lakhs. Most of the weavers used Indian mill made yarn. A considerable number got their yarn from Japan, and some patronised fine English yarn.

After some difficulty the Committee succeeded in inducing a large number of these weavers to use hand-spun yarn. At Mau a famous weaving centre in Azamgarh district, the local weavers unanimously resolved to boycott all foreign yarn. Their annual consumption of yarn is said to be worth fifty lakhs of rupees, nearly half of which used to come from Japan and England.

The achievements of the Committee so far may be gathered from a few stray figures, the accurate figures not being available. It has converted the Mau weavers who consume fifty lakhs worth of yarn. Bijnor district reports that eight lakhs worth of *gatha* (not pure *Khadi*) is produced monthly. Balasahar district is producing many lakhs worth of No. 2 *Khadi* per month. Aligarh district is sending vast quantities of various kinds of *Khadi* to Assam and Bengal and other parts of the country. Mau sends about 25 lakhs worth of *gatha* to Bengal annually, besides considerable quantities to Bombay and Madras. Allahabad, Fyzabad, Lucknow, Sitapur, Barabanki, Badaun, Sultanpore, Partabgarh, Rae Bareilly, Etawah, Etah and many other districts are producing enormous quantities of *gatha* and sending them out to the farthest ends of the country.

(To be continued.)

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Vol. III No. 49 { ARITHMETIC, IN ITS ELEMENTS, AND ITS APPLICATIONS. {

What will happen in the Punjab where Lalaji is
No to be imprisoned and in Assam
Despair where Messrs. Phookan and
Bardoloi have been already convicted and similarly
in Ajmer where Maulana Mainuddin Chairman
of both the Khilafat and the Congress Committees
has been imprisoned?—such was the question
asked by anxious inquirers. My answer was that
the cause would progress for the incarceration of
these chiefs. As a result of these imprisonments I
should expect greater restraint, a greater sense of
responsibility in these provinces. I should expect
a greater output of *Khadi*, a greater awakening
among the students and the lawyers. Bravery of
the leaders must prove infectious, if we are fit to
govern ourselves. We must rise higher with
repression not *after*. It will pay a Government
based on force to resort to repression each time
people are cowed down by it even though they may
revive in the end. Governments by force live for
the day and thrive only upon repression. They die
a natural death when their forcible measures do not
answer the purpose for which they are intended.
We never deserved our leaders, if after their
withdrawal we could not make their spirit exhibit
itself in and through us.

The Shikh countrymen are solving their own and India's problem. All their best men are offering themselves as sacrifice for the sake of their faith. In soldierly fashion one after another they are seeking imprisonment without fuss and flutter and without the slightest violence. If the same calm courage continues, they will without a shadow of doubt solve their own and with it also materially assist in solving India's problem. All India is watching with eager expectation this religious manifestation among the Shikhs.

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冲 吻

It is surprising that so far as I know, no wire has
Reward of been received by the
Adoption Bombay Press regarding
Mr. Stokes' arrest in Lahore. I see a paragraph in
the *Tribune* referring to the event. I cannot
imagine that no wire has been despatched
about such a sensational arrest. My inference is,
that the wires notifying the arrest have been
suppressed or delayed as were the wires about
the arrest of the Ali Brothers. Mr. Stokes was arrested
on the 3rd instant at Lahore cantonment in
connection with articles contributed by him to

the Tribune as calculated to 'spread sedition' and promote hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. The District Magistrate offered to release Mr. Stokes on bail but he refused to be so released. This is a unique move on the part of the Government. Mr. Stokes is an American who has naturalised himself as a British subject and who has made India his home in a manner in which perhaps no other American or Englishman has. He rendered eminent services during the war and is known in the highest quarters as a well-wisher of the Government. No one can suspect him of ill-will. But that he should feel with and be so Indian and share his sorrows and throw himself into the struggle has proved too much for the Government. To leave him free to criticise the Government was intolerable and so his white skin has proved no protection for him. The Government is determined to quash the movement at any cost. But it is beyond its ability to do so. Mr. Stokes' arrest perhaps demonstrates the weakness of the Government's case as not even Lalaji's does. Lalaji has no reward of war service to his credit. Lalaji is known to be 'an agitator.' He is not a white man. When therefore Mr. Stokes is put away the strongest suspicion arises in respect of the *bona fides* of the Government case even in the estimation of an outsider.

市

I have paid in the company of Maulana Bardoli Azid Sobhani the much expected visit to Bardoli taluka. It has a population of nearly one hundred thousand. It has about 14 villages. It had about sixty five Government schools. Of these fifty one have been nationalised. The Government schools are continued in some cases but have an attendance of less than 10 boys. The national schools have charge of over six thousand children including a few hundred girls. Hand spinning is compulsory in all these schools, though it is not yet being regularly taught or practised. Most of the schools have been nationalised only during the past three months. In all the villages I found the women taking keen interest in the national movement. We met thousands of people and visited six villages during the two days of our stay. The majority of men were dressed from top to toe in handspun Khadi and a large number of women too were so dressed. Those who were not complained that they could not obtain Khadi. This does not however mean that the people either men or women have given up

the use of their old foreign stock. Many, I am sorry to say, still use it for domestic wear. Much is still left to be done in the shape of manufacture of *Khadi*. There is a good number of wheels but very few looms in the *taluka*. The reader will be pained to hear that its staple crop is cotton which has hitherto been all exported. There is complete harmony between Hindus and Musalmans. The relations with the co-operators have not been bitter. The untouchables freely attend meetings. I have, however suggested that it can hardly be considered satisfactory so long as the managers of national schools do not go out of their way to bring 'untouchable' children to their schools and villagers do not take a personal interest in the welfare of these suppressed countrymen. Many liquor shops are deserted. From all the accounts received by me there has been little or no intimidation resorted to in order to achieve this very wonderful result. In two or three cases volunteers visited villagers, and on the parents hesitating to withdraw their children from Government schools, sat *dharma* and fasted until the poor bewildered parents had complied with their request. I told the workers, that even this kind of pressure bordered on violence, for we had no right to make people conform to our opinion by fasting. One may conceivably fast for enforcing one's right but not for imposing one's opinion on another.

There was too a social boycott of a liquor dealer who had not kept his promise. I have advised even against such a boycott among a people so helpless as ours. Strong public opinion must for the time being be our only remedy for correcting internal abuses. Social boycott such as stopping barbers, washermen etc., is undoubtedly a punishment which may be good in a free society but it becomes oppressive in a country which has for years been governed by force.

But I was remarkably struck by the almost completely peaceful manner in which the *taluka* of Bardoli has made a radical change for the better in many departments of life. It was an agreeable surprise, too, to find the movement being handled by elderly men who have never taken part in politics. The reader will be pleasingly astonished to find that all the wonderful work in Bardoli has been done by unpaid volunteers. Bardoli happens to be a *taluka* in which there are few paupers and most people have easy means of livelihood. This manifestation of public life is all the more remarkable on that account and is mainly if not entirely due to the utterly selfless services of a band of able and enthusiastic workers who only know to do or die. But in spite of all this great work I was reluctantly obliged to give my verdict in which Maulana Azad Sobhani fully concurred and which was accepted by the noble band of workers, that Bardoli, before it challenged the might of a great empire, must complete its Swadeshi programme to the extent of manufacturing sufficient hand-spun to clothe itself, must freely admit untouchables into the national schools and must be so far non-violent that solitary unarmed co-operators

and English and other officials might feel absolutely secure in their midst. And these conditions, God willing, the good people of Bardoli have undertaken to fulfil in a few months' time. An elderly co-operator put down six months at the outside. An enthusiastic young man who knew what he was talking about put down the period at one month. I close this happy recollection of our visit to Bardoli by informing the reader, that several co-operators whom I met testified to the peaceful and zealous manner in which the volunteers had worked in this *taluka* which, let us hope, will still have the privilege, if necessary, of giving battle to the Government.

Lord Ronaldshay has addressed a homily to the President. President Elect and warned him in effect that if he does not behave himself at Ahmedabad, His Excellency will teach him a lesson. I know that it will not be the President's fault if he misses the lesson. He has sacrificed his all for his country. He is taking up the high office of President at the most critical period in the history of the country. He is tirelessly infusing new life into Bengal. He is preaching and practising the gospel of non-violence in season and out of season. He will need all the loyal co-operation that we can give him in his arduous task. It will be rendered light if all the delegates come prepared with full and fixed determination to prosecute the struggle to a victorious end in the face of every danger.

I am hoping that in every case delegates will have been elected in accordance with the Constitution. The delegates should thus be the real representatives of the electors who have had their names registered in Congress books. Where a delegate has been imprisoned, a by-election should take place to fill the vacancy. There should be a full house to pass the necessary resolutions. My ideal of a delegate is, that he bears a spotless private and public character, that he knows the condition of his district in terms of the Congress programme, that he knows hand spinning so as to be able to teach it, that he habitually wears hand-spun *Khadi*, that he believes in non-violence as his creed for the attainment of the national goal and for the perpetuation of Hindu Muslim Sikh Parsi Christian Jew unity, that he practises in his own person all that part of the programme of non-co-operation which is applicable to him, that he has prepared himself for imprisonment and placed at the disposal of the nation the bulk if not the whole of his time. In addition if he is a Hindu, he must have discarded untouchability and done some service during the year to the 'untouchables' of his district. It is surely not much to expect six thousand staunch, true and fearless whole-time workers for the service of thirty crores of people. I would expect too the full proportion of Musalman and Sikh delegates. I hope too that every province will send a fair number of women and 'untouchables' as delegates.

Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru has sent the following Men and frank and full reply in Measures answer to my inquiry regarding the charge brought against him by a correspondent of transferring his condemnation of the existing system of Government to its English authors and administrators:

"I spoke on three occasions at the Provincial Conference at Agra. I cannot repeat the language I used but I am very clear as to what I meant. On the first occasion I protested against some veiled references to violence. Hasrat Mohani was our President and in his presidential address he expressed his dissatisfaction with the creed of non-violence. Several other speakers used violent language and apparently looked forward to a time when violence would have full play. All this took place on the Karachi resolution. I laid stress on the non-violent character of the struggle and said that Swadeshi was our only hope.

"On the second day I proposed the Swadeshi resolution. Notice of an amendment involving a boycott of British goods had been given. It was on this occasion that I probably used the phrases and words which have been misunderstood by Mr. Gandhi's questioner. My whole argument was that so far no way but that of Swadeshi had been shown to us to achieve our freedom. I dealt with violence and disposed of it. I then dealt with various other objections. I stated that I desired most earnestly to rid India of English domination and the *Charkha* and Swadeshi were apparently the only means to bring this about.

"I spoke a third time in answer to the amendment about boycott of British goods. I had opposed this amendment, and a very heated debate had taken place, about a score of speakers having spoken on either side. The amendment was put to the vote and lost.

"It is evident that I have been misreported by some papers. I have not so far seen any report of my speeches and do not know which paper can have done so. My references to 'English domination' or the 'English Government' have been made to apply to the English people. I may have used the words *अंग्रेजोंको हिन्दुस्तानसे उखाड़ कर* or some such language, and the reporter may have seized hold of this without reference to the context. As a matter of fact, the very circumstance that I proposed to expel 'the English' by Swadeshi ought to have convinced the listener that I referred to the system and not to individuals. It would be absurd to try to expel a single Englishman by the *Charkha*.

"I cannot of course say that my feeling towards Englishmen as such is entirely impersonal. I hate the system but sometimes in spite of myself I cannot help feeling ill-will towards a certain individual for some time at least, and sometimes the ill-will is transferred to the English people as a whole. But the feeling is always momentary. I am really surprised at the general absence of ill-will against the English.

"It is somewhat curious that the sentences to which exception has been taken occurred in a speech opposing a boycott of British goods. I opposed this on the ground

inter alia, that it was opposed to the basic principle of non-co-operation, that it was based on hate and not love and so on. No one who heard me and who understood Urdu could have gone away with the impression that I was taking part in a crusade against individual Englishmen.

"It is always difficult to differentiate between a man and his action. I can well believe that if an Englishman insulted me, I would flare up and hit him. But I think this would be weakness on my part. I have not enough control over myself, I am apt to lose temper at the slightest provocation. I am occasionally very angry with Englishmen. But I have never experienced the desire to 'expel' Englishmen as such. In spite of everything I am a great admirer of the English, and in many things I feel even now that an Englishman can understand me better than the average Indian."

The letter illustrates the danger of relying on newspaper reports. The late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta so dreaded the reports that he never made an important pronouncement except in writing. The late Mr. Gokhale used often to insist upon revising reports of his own speeches. If these masters of oratory were in danger of being misreported, what is to be said of those who make their speeches in Hindustani and have the misfortune to be reported in English? In spite of all the good-will in the world, reporters have rarely succeeded in reporting my speeches correctly. Indeed the best thing would be not to report speeches at all, except when they have undergone revision by the speakers themselves. If this simple rule were followed much misunderstanding could be avoided.

M. K. G.

IN EARNEST.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

The arrest of Lala Lajpatrai and Messrs. Lalkhan, Santanam and Gopichand in the Punjab, of Messrs. Phookan and Bardolai in Assam, Babu Jitendralal Banerji in Bengal, Maulana Mohiuddin and others in Ajmer and Mr. Harkaroonath Mishra and others in Lucknow means business. It shows not merely that the Government is in earnest but that it is not going to tolerate non-co-operation any longer; no longer is it a question of putting down violence, it is one of compelling co-operation. And this is as it should be. The Government had to appear in its true colours some day or other. No Prince had such welcome as is being offered to the Prince of Wales. The chosen leaders of the people are being put away so that the latter may accept the lead of the Government and so that there may be no *hartal* on the day of the Prince's entry into the various provinces.

All this the Government of India, constituted as it is, has a right to do, and we non-co-operate because it claims and exercises such right on due occasion. The right consists in its imposing its will upon the people not recognising that of the people to have their own way except on pain of being imprisoned. The issue is clear, and neatly summed up in the Lawrence statue whose removal the Government will not allow although it is the property in law of the people. It

must govern by the Pen or the Sword. Once more the choice has been offered to the people. Will they accept the honourable imposition of the sword and reject the degrading dictation of the Pen?

The people cannot complain after fifteen months' training they do not know what to do. Indeed the best thing they can do is to do nothing, i. e. to remain as they were and continue as if nothing extraordinary had happened. England did not stop the war because Lord Kitchener died. 'Business as usual' was her motto. She was well organised for violence—well enough to do without a general or to find an endless succession of generals. Are we so well organised for Non-violence as to do without leaders, i. e. have an endless succession of them?

In the person of Lala Lajpat Rai the Government have arrested one of the greatest of us. His name is known all over India. His self-sacrifice has enshrined him in the hearts of his countrymen. He has laboured as very few have for non-violence side by side with the freest expression and organisation of public opinion. His arrest typifies as nothing else can the attitude of the Government.

The Punjab has lost no time in choosing a successor. The Punjabis could not have made a better choice than by electing Agha Sufdar. He is one of the truest of Muslims and one of the bravest of Indians. His services are all rendered in a most unassuming manner. I have no doubt that he will command the same loyal co-operation that Lalaji has. The best honour that the Punjabis can do to Lalaji is to continue his work as if he was in their midst. It is blind, foolish and selfish love which dissolves with the disappearance permanent or temporary of the earthy tabernacle which holds the deathless spirit. The Punjabis may not always get an Agha Sufdar to guide them in the place of Lalaji. He may be removed from their midst sooner than we may expect. In well ordered organisations leaders are elected for convenience of work, not for extraordinary merit. A leader is only first among equals. Some one must be put first, but he is and should be no stronger than the weakest link in the chain. Having therefore made our selection we must follow him, or the chain is broken and all is lost.

I wish I could impart my faith to the people that nothing much remains to be done in order to take us to the haven. The way is clear before us. The President elect has stated it in unequivocal terms; 'my first word and my last word to you is never to forsake the ideal of non-violent non-co-operation. I know it is a difficult creed to follow. I know that sometimes the provocation is so great that it is extremely difficult to remain non-violent in thought word and deed. The success of the movement however depends upon this great principle.'

In order to enable us to enforce this great principle in our own lives, we must avoid all occasions for provocation. We therefore need no demonstrations now nor big meetings, we must discipline those who have become awakened to withstand provocation and to do constructive national work which is organisation of carding, hand spinning and hand

weaving so as to enable the nation to supplement her slender resources and to find work for the idle hours of the millions. Hindu Muslim unity is an article of faith with us. It is not to be cultivated or demonstrated except by all working together for national uplift and therefore devoting their time exclusively to manufacture of Khadi.

As soon as we have attained a complete boycott of foreign cloth and begun to manufacture our own Khadi in our respective provinces and villages, we can become free probably without having to resort to mass civil disobedience. Therefore aggressive civil disobedience should be avoided, at least till after finishing the boycott of foreign cloth and qualifying for the manufacture of handspun Khadi. Defensive civil disobedience which is forced on us in the prosecution of our campaign we ought to welcome whenever it comes.

It will be a distinct sign of weakness and unfitness for Swaraj, if these imprisonments dishearten or demoralize us. He is no soldier who is afraid or unwilling to pay the toll demanded of him. The more he is called upon to pay, the more glad he is to find himself the first to have to pay. Let us believe and know that we must provide the Government galls with all the work they can take. I am convinced that it is not argument but suffering of the innocent that appeals both to the persecutor and the persecuted. The nation will shed her slothful indifference and the Governors their callousness by the sight of such suffering. But it must be the willing suffering of the strong and not the unwilling suffering of the helpless weak. Those who have gone or are about to go to gaol can say, 'It is finished'. We who remain outside have to prove worthy of their finished work by continuing their work till we have set them free or have joined them. He serves best who suffers most.

WHAT TO DO?

BY M. K. GANDHI.

Mr. Jiyakar's address has been followed by a conference of all Maharashtra at Akola. Mr. Jiyakar is a thinker, he loves his country. He commands and deserves respectful attention. Those who gathered together at Akola are earnest patriotic seasoned soldiers. They are amongst the boldest and the most disciplined workers in the land. And one has to pause and think when they dissent from a programme.

Mr. Jiyakar's address and the proceedings of the Akola conference have made me think furiously. There is no difficulty about understanding and appreciating the suggested modifications. It is a programme, if I may venture to say so, of unbelief. It is based upon the assumption that Swaraj is no attainable within a short time and that we must make such use as we can of the existing machinery with a view to improving it. The programme now being worked is based upon the belief that the existing machinery is worthless and its use only retards our progress and distracts attention.

The corner-stone of the national movement is non-co-operation with violence whether of the pen or the sword. Education and legislation are the

instruments to-day in the hands of the violent. To make use of their law courts or their legislatures or their schools is to take part in their violence. There is a fundamental distinction between the two processes. The one is aseptic and the other antiseptic. They are diametrically opposite. In the one you rely upon the inherent purity of the system to destroy all poisonous germs that have entered the body, and in the other you resort to outside applications, stronger poisons to destroy the intruding germs. Both may be effective but they cannot be used at the same time. We definitely rejected the antiseptic treatment last year. The majority at Maharashtra frankly suggest a return.

We are no longer in the dark. We have the results of fifteen months' working of the new method. Rejection of courts, schools and councils is an integral part of the programme. We may not give up parts because we have not achieved full success, if we are convinced that in themselves they are desirable. Although we have not succeeded in emptying the three institutions we have demolished their prestige. They neither worry nor dazzle us. That many parents, many lawyers and many law-givers have not responded, shows that we must make a greater attempt to wear them, not now by arguing but by the exemplary conduct of abstainers. For me they are the Government. Just as I may not apply for a paid post because no Government servant resigns, I may not join the ranks of voluntary servants because the latter do not come away. I am convinced that the country has risen because of the abnegation even of the few from association with these emblems of the existing Government.

Inadequate response is an eloquent plea if you will for establishing better schools and panchayats, not for confession of incapacity by returning to the fleshpots of Egypt.

But we have passed the stage of argument. When the sun is shining, you do not need to demonstrate its heat giving power by argument. And if anybody shivers in spite of basking in the sun, no amount of argument can convince him of the sun's warmth, nor may you quarrel with the shivering one. He must seek other means, if there be any, of warming himself. My plea is for everyone to act according to his belief. The Congress provides the widest platform. Its creed is incredibly simple. A full-fledged co-operator as well as a nationalist who wants a change in the programme can work in it. Let us not push the mandate theory to ridiculous extremes and become slaves to resolutions of majorities. That would be a revival of brute force in a more virulent form. If rights of minorities are to be respected, the majority must tolerate and respect their opinion and action. There is no reason whatsoever why nationalists may not practise as lawyers or send their children to Government schools or seek election to the councils and still belong to the Congress. Only they may not act in the name of the Congress so long as they have not brought round to their view the majority of Congressmen. It will be the duty of the majority to

see to it that minorities receive a proper hearing and are not otherwise exposed to insults. Swaraj will be an absurdity if individuals have to surrender their judgment to the majority.

I wish to make a personal appeal to all Congressmen. I would ask them to believe me when I say that as leader and originator of the movement inaugurated at Calcutta, I would feel hampered if I have not the hearty co-operation of those who vote for the programme. I would gladly find myself in a minority and confidently expect to march to victory. This Government cannot stand for one day the determined religious opposition of one district, if only the others will not interfere in the manner Bombay did.

There is room enough in our great country for as many parties as there are honest men. I would welcome an efficient and able organisation containing men, who believe in using Government institutions, and finding what warmth they can give them, even as I would have all organisations to extend toleration to those whole-hoggers who wish to cut off all possible connection with the Government. There is no reason why a province which can carry the people with it should not organise itself even on either basis.

I plead that is to say for a truthful programme and truthful parties. Let people only work programmes in which they believe implicitly. Loyalty to human institutions has its well defined limits. To be loyal to an organisation must not mean subordination of one's settled convictions. Parties may fall and parties may rise, but if we are to attain freedom, our deep convictions must remain unaffected by such passing changes.

We are on the eve of a new life. We may not see the image of Swaraj risen before us at the end of the month but we must feel the warm glow of the coming event in no unmistakable fashion. And we shall feel it only if every one of us will try to be true to himself. To believe in the infallibility of our means is to attain Swaraj. The vote of the Congress this year must not be a leap in the dark. It must not be any more in the nature of an experiment. It should be an emphatic endorsement or rejection of the existing programme.

MOPLAH TRAGEDY.

By M. K. GANDHI.

Here is an extract from a pathetic letter received by me regarding the Moplah tragedy:

"You could not have missed the Moplah death wagon even amidst the Bombay city tragedy. However I send you two cuttings which tell the tale. It is not a tragedy. It is but a symptom of the mentality that is in charge of affairs in Malabar. The spirit at the top sets the standards of humanity and duty for those below. The second press communique shows us the mentality of the Government of Madras. It admits that Moplah prisoners regularly "travelled" in luggage sealed wagons—"with no evil effects whatsoever"! Only the daily increasing callousness to suffering and brutalisation of all concerned made them put in more and more into the given space till the point

was reached when 127 full-sized men were pushed into an iron van 18 ft. by 9 ft. and 7 and a half ft. high and sealed up without door or windows open, covered goods fashion. The dimensions yield an area of 162 sq. feet for 127 men. They could not possibly sit down. All standing, they could just fill the space tight. Naturally this crucifixion lasted not much over six hours. Will this climax of inhumanity bring it all to an end? If military operations are suspended and the causes for desperation among the whole Moplah community removed, and you and friends are permitted to go into the disturbed area, we can guarantee peace within a week."

The same time I received the foregoing letter I received the following unexpected cutting from the *Servant of India*:

"Fortified by an inexhaustible faith in the power of non-co-operators to restore order in Malabar without the use of force, Mr. Gandhi thinks that the present hostilities—for the continuance of which strangely enough he holds Government solely responsible—mean a wanton destruction of the Moplahs. It is unthinkable that the hostilities will terminate only after the whole Moplah race is exterminated, but to those who have the misfortune not to share the simple faith of Mr. Gandhi in the magical powers with which the non-co-operators are gifted, the problem presents complications to which happily Mr. Gandhi's mind is a stranger. However the casuistry of his appeal to the Liberals is hard to beat. He is precluded by his principle of non-co-operation from directly approaching Government in regard to anything; and therefore he wishes to approach them via Liberals in the matter of Malabar. For his appeal to the Liberals is for the purpose of getting Government to agree, among other things, to let non-co-operators go to the disturbed area. Is this not co-operation, we ask. In the second place, there is no general prohibition; the non-co-operators as a body are at liberty to travel about in Malabar just as well as anybody else, and they have not yet brought peace to that harried district. But if Mr. Gandhi alone is able to restore order, we would humbly suggest that when the time comes for commencing civil disobedience, he had better select this prohibition order for non-compliance. In that case he would be able at once to break the Government and to prevent the cruelties which are now in progress. In the meantime, he might try and convert at least the non-co-operators in Malabar that the best way to stop the trouble is for Government to withdraw their troops. The complaint that we have heard is that instead of Government employing excessive force, they are not employing enough, and are thus deliberately protracting the agony just to teach non-co-operators a lesson."

I was totally unprepared for such a terrible misunderstanding of my position by the *Servant of India*. I have employed no casuistry in addressing my appeal to the Liberals. The question of co-operation does not arise at all. Nor am I ashamed to approach the Government directly a thousand times for permission for a party of peace to proceed to Malabar. In my appeal I have sought the intervention of the Liberals for the sake of compelling the Government to grant the permission. I had assumed knowledge on the part of the Liberals that I was threatened to be

turned back when it was known I was about to proceed to Calicut, that Mr. C. Rajgopalachari, when as secretary he tried to proceed to Malabar for relief work, was refused permission, that Mr. Yakub Hasan asked for permission, as soon as the outbreak took place, to go to Malabar to be able to pacify the Moplahs. I am quite willing to admit the helplessness of non-co-operators in many matters. The very creed of non-violence brings it about. Non-co-operators do not hesitate to seek permission where it has to be obtained for doing things that promote peace. Their creed prevents them from giving voluntary co-operation wherever abstention is possible. Neither do they seek Government assistance where it is possible to avoid it.

The writer of the paragraph cruelly suggests civil disobedience. It is not a weapon to be used for the sake of bravado. If civil disobedience could have ended the trouble, it would have been undertaken long ago. Mass civil disobedience will be undertaken even on this simple issue, when there is a certainty almost of non-violence being observed.

Why is it 'strange' that I consider the Government solely responsible for the trouble? They could have avoided the trouble by settling the Khilafat question, they could have avoided it by allowing non-co-operators to take the message of non-violence to the Moplahs. The outbreak would not have taken place if the Collector had consulted the religious sentiment of the Moplahs.

I do indeed accuse the Government of punishing the Moplahs after they have done the mischief instead of protecting the Hindus from Moplah outrage. Would the Government have acted in the same leisurely fashion if English families had been in danger instead of Hindus, and would it have inhumanly treated so called rebels had they been Europeans instead of being Moplahs? I am sorry to be forced to the conclusion that the Government are betraying criminal negligence alike in their duty of protecting Hindus and of treating Moplah rebels as human beings.

INDIAN ECONOMICS.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

A friend has placed in my hands a bulletin on Indian Piece Goods Trade prepared by Mr. A. C. Coubrough C. B. E. by order of the Government of India. It contains the following prefatory note: "The Government of India desire it to be understood that the statements made and the views expressed in this bulletin are those of the author himself. If so, why has the Government of India burdened the tax-payer with the expense of such bulletins? The one before me is 16th in the series. Do they publish both the sides of the question?"

The bulletin under review is intended to be an answer to the Swadeshi movement. It is an elaborate note containing a number of charts showing the condition of imports and home manufacture of piece goods including hand-woven. But it does not assist the reader in studying the movement. The painstaking author has bestowed no pains upon

study of the present movement or its scope. That the Government of India treats the greatest constructive and co-operative movement in the country with supreme contempt and devotes people's money to a vain refutation instead of a sympathetic study and treatment is perhaps the best condemnation that can be pronounced upon the system under which it is carried.

The author's argument is:

(1) The movement if successful will act not as a protective but a prohibitive tariff.

(2) This must result in merely enriching the Indian capitalist and punishing the consumer.

(3) The imports are non-competitive in that the bulk of the kind of piece goods imported are not manufactured in India.

(4) The result of boycotting such piece goods must be high prices without corresponding benefit.

(5) The boycott therefore being against the law of supply and demand and against the consumer must fail in the end.

(6) The destruction of hand spinning which I have deplored is due to natural causes, viz. the invention of time-saving appliances and was therefore inevitable.

(7) The Indian farmer is responsible for his own ruin in that he has indolently neglected cotton culture which was once so good.

(8) The best service I can render is therefore to induce the agriculturist to improve the quality of cotton.

(9) The author concludes, 'If instead of filling homes with useless *Charkhas* he were to start a propaganda for the more intensive cultivation of cotton and particularly for the production of longer staple cotton, his influence would be felt not only at the present day but for many generations to come.'

The reader will thus see, that what I regard as the supreme necessity for the economical salvation of India, the author considers to be rank folly. There is therefore no meeting ground here. And in spite of the prefatory note of the Government of India reproduced by me, the author does represent the Government attitude. I have invited them and the co-operators definitely to make common cause with the people in this movement at any rate. They may not mind its political implications because they do not believe in them. And surely they need not feel sorry if contrary to their expectation, the rise of the *Charkha* results in an increase in the political power of the people. Instead of waging war against *Khadi*, they might have popularised its use and disarmed the terrible suspicion they labour under of wishing to benefit the foreign manufacturer at the expense of the Indian cultivator. My invitation is open for all time. I prophesy that whatever happens to the other parts of the national programme, *Swadeshi* in its present shape will bide for ever and must if India's pauperism is to be banished.

Even though I am a layman, I make bold to say that the so called laws laid down in books on economics are not immutable like the laws of

Medes and Persians, nor are they universal. The economics of England are different from those of Germany. Germany enriched herself by bounty-fed beet sugar. England enriched herself by exploiting foreign markets. What was possible for a compact area is not possible for an area 1900 miles long and 1500 broad. The economics of a nation are determined by its climatic, geological and temperamental conditions. The Indian conditions are different from the English in all these essentials. What is meat for England is in many cases poison for India. Beef tea in the English climate may be good, it is poison for the hot climate of religious India. Fiery whisky in the north of the British Isles may be a necessity, it renders an Indian unfit for work or society. Fur coats in Scotland are indispensable, they will be an intolerable burden in India. Free trade for a country which has become industrial, whose population can and does live in cities, whose people do not mind preying upon other nations and therefore sustain the biggest navy to protect their unnatural commerce, may be economically sound (though as the reader perceives, I question its morality). Free trade for India has proved her curse and held her in bondage.

And now for Mr. Coubrough's propositions.

(1) The movement is intended to serve the purpose of a voluntary prohibitive tariff.

(2) But it is so conceived as neither unduly to benefit the capitalist nor to injure the consumer. During the very brief transition stage the prices of home manufactures may be, as they are, inflated. But the rise can only be temporary as the vast majority of consumers must become their own manufacturers. This cottage manufacture of yarn and cloth cannot be expensive even as domestic cookery is not expensive and cannot be replaced by hotel cookery. Over twenty five crores of the population will be doing their own hand spinning and having yarn thus manufactured woven in neighbouring localities. This population is rooted to the soil and has at least four months in the year to remain idle.

If they spin during those hours and have the yarn woven and wear it, no mill-made cloth can compete with their *Khadi*. The cloth thus manufactured will be the cheapest possible for them. If the rest of the population did not take part in the process, it could easily be supplied out of the surplus manufactured by the twenty five crores.

(3) It is true that non-competitive imports are larger than those that compete with the manufactures of Indian mills. In the scheme proposed by me the question does not arise, because the central idea is not so much to carry on a commercial war against foreign countries as to utilise the idle hours of the nation and thus by natural processes to help it to get rid of her growing pauperism.

(4) I have already shown that the result of boycott cannot in the end be a rise in the price of cloth.

(5) The proposed boycott is not against the law of supply and demand, because it does away with the law by manufacturing enough for the supply. The

movement does require a change of taste on the part of those who have adopted finer variety and who patronise fantastic combinations of colours and designs.

(6) I have shown in these pages, that the destruction of hand spinning was designed and carried out in a most inhuman manner by the agents of the East India Company. No amount of appliances would ever have displaced this national art and industry but for this artificial and systematically cruel manner of carrying out the destruction.

(7) I am unable to hold the Indian farmer responsible for the deterioration in cotton culture. The whole incentive was taken away when hand spinning was destroyed. The state never cared for the cultivator.

(8) My activity, I am proud to think, has already turned the cultivator's attention to the improvement of cotton. The artistic sense of the nation will insist on fine counts for which long staples is a necessity. Cotton culture by itself cannot solve the problem of India's poverty. For it will still leave the question of enforced idleness untouched.

(9) I therefore claim for the *Charkha* the honour of being able to solve the problem of economic distress in a most natural, simple, unexpensive and businesslike manner. The *Charkha* therefore is not only not useless as the writer ignorantly suggests, but it is a useful and indispensable article for every home. It is the symbol of the nation's prosperity and therefore freedom. It is a symbol not of commercial war but of commercial peace. It bears not a message of ill-will towards the nations of the earth but of good-will and self-help. It will not need the protection of a navy threatening a world's peace and exploiting its resources, but it needs the religious determination of millions to spin their yarn in their own homes as to-day they cook their food in their own homes. I may deserve the curses of posterity for many mistakes of omission and commission but I am confident of earning its blessings for suggesting a revival of the *Charkha*. I stake my all on it. For every revolution of the wheel spins peace, good-will and love. And with all that, in as much as the loss of it brought about India's slavery, its voluntary revival with all its implications must mean India's freedom.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. V. Bahulekar—(1) Please read answer to correspondents in the last issue. Pity and hatred may be the same to man become perfect. Only he will then have little cause for killing. For me an imperfect being love and hate are two distinct and opposite sensations, and reading the Bhagavadgita in its applicability to imperfect men, I find it hard to believe that we can kill without being angered. In my humble opinion it is a prostitution of the Vedanta to apply to imperfect beings conduct possible only for perfect beings.

(2) I advised the cultured 'untouchables' of Travancore that they might singly demand entrance to temples if they could exercise

restraint and stand insults from the keepers without seeking the assistance of courts of law. My advice to 'untouchables' generally is not to test the right of entry into temples whilst the evil of untouchability is otherwise still in existence. In no case have I advised entry into sanctuaries. In theory I do claim that custodians of Hindu temples should throw open to untouchables those parts which are open to other classes.

S. Govindswami Iyer—If you believe in non-co-operation, you cannot join the students' military corps.

M. K. G.

SWADESHI IN THE U. P.

(Concluded)

The difficulty is about the supply of the required quantity of handspun yarn to the weavers. All the weavers are said to be willing to use handspun yarn. At Man the weavers also showed their willingness to weave pure No 1 *Khadi* if they could be supplied with fairly regular yarn of 12 to 15 counts. The Committee regrets that it has so far failed to supply them with the amount of yarn required.

All this constitutes the positive work of the Committee. On the negative side also, viz. the boycott of foreign cloth, its work is satisfactory. Every town and large village has had its bundle of foreign cloth. Cloth merchants were approached and were persuaded to sign pledges to abstain from purchasing foreign cloth. The Town Congress Committee of Cawnpore has done very excellent work in this matter. In Allahabad and many other places the cloth merchants themselves have formed vigilance committees to see that no one breaks his pledge.

The Committee has had to face enormous difficulties in carrying out this Swadeshi work. "In theory", as it says, "every one including the Government is in favour of Swadeshi," but in practice our movement was anathema to them. Cheap ridicule was poured on the *Charkha* and experts and youthful economists swelled in high disdain at our efforts. The period of ridicule, however, passed rapidly and gave place to opposition, especially through the *Aman Sahbas*. In some districts people were told that the possession of the *Charkha* was an offence and might result in imprisonment. Weavers in some places were dissuaded from using handspun yarn and were told that they would have to pay special taxes if they ventured to use handspun yarn. In Compierganj in Gorakhpur district a number of *Charkhas* were collected and burnt by the manager of an estate. Special efforts were made to ridicule the wearing of foreign cloth. Posters and cartoons and leaflets by lakhs were distributed by *Aman Sahbas*.

[The U. P. Provincial Congress Committee deserves congratulations upon its progress in Swadeshi. I hope however that it will not be satisfied till its *Khadi* is all made of handspun yarn. Development of hand spinning is the key to the solution of India's poverty. Experts are required to improve and regularise the quality of handspun yarn. M. K. G.]

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Sunday 11th December 1921

WOMEN'S PART.

The women of Calcutta have obstructed the gentlemen of Calcutta by trying to sell *Khadi* and a telegram in the newspapers has announced that they have been consequently arrested. The company includes the devoted partner of the President Elect, his widowed sister and his niece. I had hoped that in the initial stages at any rate women would be spared the honour of going to gaol. They were not to become aggressive civil resisters. But the Bengal Government, in their impartial zeal to make no distinction even of sex, have conferred the honour upon three women of Calcutta. I hope that the whole country will welcome this innovation. The women of India should have as much share in winning *Swaraj* as men. Probably in this peaceful struggle woman can outdistance man by many a mile. We know that she is any day superior to man in her religious devotion. Silent and dignified suffering is the badge of her sex. And now that the Government of Bengal have dragged the women into the line of fire, I hope that the women all over India will take up the challenge and organise themselves. In any case they were bound, when a sufficient number of men had been removed, for the honour of their sex to step into their places. But now let it be side by side with men in sharing the hardships of gaol life. God will protect their honour. When as if to mock man her natural protectors became helpless to prevent *Draupadi* from being denuded of her last piece of cloth, the power of her own virtue preserved her honour. And so will it be to the end of time. Even the weakest physically have been given the ability to protect their own honour. Let it be man's privilege to protect woman, but let no woman of India feel helpless in the absence of man or in the event of his failing to perform the sacred duty of protecting her. One who knows how to die need never fear any harm to her or his honour.

I would suggest to the women of India quietly but without loss of time to collect names of those who are ready to enter the line of fire. Let them send their offer to the women of Bengal and let the latter feel that their sisters elsewhere are ready to follow their noble example. It is likely that there will not be many forthcoming to brave the risks of a gaol life and all it must mean to women. The nation will have no cause to be ashamed if only a few offer themselves for sacrifice in the first instance.

Men's duty is clear. We must not lose our heads. Excitement will not protect our women or our country. We have asked Government neither to spare women nor children. It certainly did not in the Punjab during those martial law days. I consider it decidedly more civilized that the officials in Calcutta should under a legal pretence arrest our sisters in Calcutta for what they consider is a crime than that a *Bosworth Smith* in the Punjab should spit upon, swear at and otherwise humiliate the women of *Manianwala*. We did not offer our women to be insulted thus wise. But we do offer our women for imprisonment if they will arrest them in the prosecution of public service. We must not expect the Government to look on with indifference whilst the women are spreading the gospel of *Swadeshi* and undermining the very basis of its existence, its traffic in foreign cloth and the consequent ability to exploit India's resources. If therefore we men allow our sisters to take part in the *Swadeshi* agitation, we must concede the right of the Government to imprison them equally with men.

We must therefore control our anger. It will be cowardly to challenge a duel and then swear at the adversary for taking up the challenge. Men must fill the gaols. Men must prove to the Government that the awakening is not confined to a few men but it has permeated the masses, that the spirit of non-violence possesses not merely a select number but that it possesses the best part of India. We must show by our conduct that the sudden eruption was an exception and not a symptom of a general disease. And now, when the cause for irritation is almost the greatest, is the time for showing the greatest forbearance and self-restraint. I modify the adjective by using an adverb before it. For I do not think that the greatest irritation has yet been offered. I can conceive occasions which may cause irritation to the straining point. If we are to gain freedom and vindicate the honour of the *Khilafat* and the Punjab, we must pay a much higher price and not lose equanimity in the midst of the greatest possible irritation. Let us prepare for the worst and give credit to the Government for decency by expecting the least. Let us acknowledge frankly that in most cases they are obeying the laws of war by being courteous. If they handcuffed *Pir Budhab Mian* and *Dr. Suresh Bamerjee*, they have not done so in the case of the *Ali Brothers*, *Lala Lajpatrai*, *Maulana Mohiuddin* or *Pandit Motilal Nehru*. Nor would I quarrel with handcuffing if they imposed it on all. It is a gaol regulation to handcuff a prisoner. I should certainly have loved to travel to

Allahabad to see Pandit Motilal Nehru and his son being handcuffed together and made to walk to their destination. I would have loved to watch the radiant smiles on their faces in the consciousness of their handcuffs hastening the advent of Swaraj. But the Government did not provide any such treat. What I do not expect, what I do not want for the sake of man's dignity, is a repetition of petty and degrading insults of the Punjab or the unthinkable inhumanities of the Moplah death wagon. But non-co-operators have stipulated for no such immunity. We have conceived the possibility of the worst happening, and under a full sense of our responsibility pledged ourselves to remain non-violent. Swaraj is within our grasp; let it not step away from us by self-forgetfulness.

With leaders in gaols, there should be *hartals* wherever the Prince goes. No meetings are necessary to organise them. The people have sufficient training for spontaneous action. Let the Government realise that it was not force but willing response that brought about *hartals*. There must be nowhere any unauthorised or ill-conceived civil disobedience. Every forward step must be taken with the greatest deliberation and calmness. The people can discuss things in their own homes. The merchants meet a thousand times for business.

They may easily discuss and decide matters arising out of the situation as it develops hourly. But whilst I would like *hartals* to follow the Prince, I would take no risk of violence and would not countenance the slightest exercise of force or threat of it. Absence of prescribed *hartal* would somewhat discredit us, but an outbreak of violence would retard our progress and may even indefinitely postpone Swaraj.

I hope, too, that every vacancy in the ranks of delegates will be filled and that there will be a full attendance at the Congress of members who will have made up their minds as to what they want and how they will have it.

M. K. GANDHI.

Whilst this was being printed, advice was received that the three ladies were discharged after a few hours' detention. Nevertheless I allow the writing to go to the public as the argument holds good in the main. I observe too, that the ladies have been discharged with a caution!

M. K. G.

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YOUNG INDIA

WEEKLY

1 PAGE

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NOTES.

Lord Reading has been as good as his word. Deshabandhu. The highest in the land has not been immune from arrest. Lord Ronaldshay had perhaps given the public to understand that he would not be arrested till after the Congress and then too if he did not behave himself. But Lord Reading's threat was later than and therefore cancelled, the implied opinion of Lord Ronaldshay. Why should the President elect be left free if he enlisted volunteers and issued manifestos? There was no cessation in the activity for bringing about *hartal* on the day of the Prince's arrival in Calcutta. It was some such reasoning, I suppose, that was applied in effecting the arrest of the President elect. His arrest was accompanied by that of other prominent workers. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad one of the most learned among Musalman divines, Maulvi Akramkhan the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Mr. Sasmal Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee and Mr. Padmaraj Jain who exercised influence over the Marwadis were arrested with the President elect. This must be obviously to prevent *hartal*. These arrests mean that the authorities do not want to tolerate even quiet persuasion and canvassing. They want in fact a forcible opening of shops. They will not adopt the way of Colonel Johnson and threaten to open the shops and put soldiers in charge, but they wish to influence the timid shopkeepers by arresting their leaders. The merchants of Calcutta have now a chance of showing their determination and independence by observing complete *hartal* in spite of the withdrawal of leaders. It is more necessary than ever for the people now to observe *hartal* on the 24th. The idea of making a demonstration has now become a subsidiary object. The honour of their leaders requires the people of Calcutta to observe a complete *hartal*. It will be a proof of their confidence in their leaders and proof also of the exercise of their own free will. I am hoping that the people of Calcutta will not fail to do their obvious duty on the 24th instant. And now that their leaders are withdrawn from them, every non-co operator will constitute himself a leader for keeping the peace. They cannot do better than simply keep themselves at home on the 24th except volunteer whose duty it will be to protect from harm those who may choose to open their shops. I assume that both the Congress and the Khilafat Committee have elected

The assumption of leadership to-day is like the assumption of Lord Mayorship by the late MacSwiney. It carries with it the liability for immediate imprisonment. If the nation is truly awakened, there should be a ceaseless flow of leaders and men and women to be led. Our supply must always be equal to the demand made upon us by the Government. We win when we have established sufficient credit for ourselves for being able to cope with the demand.

Let there be no doubt about the propriety of The Use of us all going to gaol. If we it all. are unable to meet the demand, let us be men enough to own that we are in a minority, and if we have faith in our programme we must turn that minority into a majority not by preaching but by living up to our preaching. Let us realise the full force of the truth that an ounce of practice is worth tons of preaching. It is true economy to use all the resources we have instead of wasting time in acquiring fresh resources. The latter will come as we use what we have. Supposing however that we get no further response, let us rest assured that those who refuse to go to gaol will find out their own way of work. It will be at least sincere. That part of India which believes in non-co-operation by suffering will have done its full share. If we go to gaol fifty times and get no addition to our numbers, I hope still to be able to say, 'We must repeat the performance till we have impressed the whole of India with the truth of our way.' That is the way of religion and no other. We want Swaraj for men who love and would suffer for freedom. We want to support the Khilafat through such men, for they only are true Hindus, true Musalmans and true Sikhs.

To understand the simplicity of our programme

The Simple is to realise its true beauty.

Beauty of it. There is nothing more to be done but to spin and card imprisonment, and pay even in the prison if they will let us. While we are spinning or going to gaol we must retain the correct attitude of moral force of non-violence and friendliness between the various faiths. If we cease to hate Englishmen, co-operators and those who do not see eye to eye with us if we cease to distrust or fear one another and if we are determined to suffer and work for the bread of the whole nation, i. e. all, do we not see that no power upon earth can withstand us? And if we believe in ourselves, what matters it whether we

are few or many, or whether we are arrested or shot? And surely in all I have said I have presented a programme not for perfect men but for practical men who are good, true and brave. If we cannot even become good, true and brave, have we any right to talk of Swaraj or religion? Can we call ourselves Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Jews, Sikhs, Parsis? Have we any business, if we are not that, to be talking of Khilafat and the Punjab?

Therefore if we believe in our programme, the Government must not mind if we Non-co-operation. the Government non-co-operate with us in every particular. I hear from Mr. Rajgopalachari and Agha Safdar that they are not permitted to send full telegrams. It is a surprise to me that they permit the transmission of any telegrams at all or let us travel or meet each other. Having made up my mind to expect the worst, nothing that the Government does in the shape of curbing our activity surprises or irritates me. It is struggling for its very existence and I feel that I would have done much the same that this Government is doing if I was in its place. Probably I should do much worse. Why should we expect it to refrain from using the powers it has? Only we must find the means of living and carrying on our non-co-operation without its aid. We must keep our heads even if inter-provincial communication is denied to us. Having got our programme each province must be able to carry on its own activity. Indeed it may even be an advantage, for in the event of communication being cut off, we should be unaffected by reverses in other provinces. Thus for instance the Punjab need not be affected by Gujarat weakening and surrendering body and soul to the Government or say Assam going stark mad or becoming unexpectedly violent. Let not the reader fear any such possibility, for Assam is keeping exceptionally sane in spite of grave provocation and Gujarat will give, I hope, a good account of itself in the near future. The Government of Bombay probably knows its business better than others. It has certainly greater forbearance and tact. It is giving the non-co-operators as long a rope as they want. And as the latter do want to be hanged if they do not get what they want, they are taking the longest rope. But that is by the way. Clouds no bigger than a man's hand have a knack of appearing in the Indian horizon and all of a sudden assuming dangerous dimensions. The point I wish to drive home is, that we must prepare ourselves against and for all complications and never be baffled by them, certainly never be taken aback when the expected happens.

If the luxury of wires be denied to us, we must Slow but manage with the post. If Sure, the postal communication be also stopped we must use messengers. Friends travelling to and fro will oblige us. When the use of the railways is denied, we must use other methods of conveyance. No amount of slowness imposed from without can checkmate us, if we are sure within. 'Rock of ages cleft for me, let me hide

myself in thee' is a prayer common to all religions. If we can but throw ourselves into His lap as our only Help, we shall come out scatheless through every ordeal that the Government may subject us to. If nothing happens without His permitting, where is the difficulty in believing that he is trying us even through this Government? I would take our complaints to Him and be angry with Him for so cruelly trying us. And he will soothe us and forgive us, if we will but trust Him. The way to stand erect before the tyrant is not to hate him, not to strike him but to humble ourselves before God and cry out to Him in the hour of our agony.

Here are two beautiful letters from Agha Safdar From Agha showing how the brave Safdar. Punjabis are being hampered and tried and proving themselves true, how the gallant Sikhs are defying the whole strength of the Government stupidly directed against its erstwhile noblest friends and supporters, and how all the Punjab leaders are working with one mind and how they are all keeping an unruffled temper in the midst of exceptional difficulty. But let the great and good Agha Saheb speak for himself and his proud though much afflicted Punjab:—

I

"I am in receipt of your telegram congratulating Lalaji and others and have not furnished you with details because the telegrams are being held up under orders of the District Magistrate. You must have learnt through the Associated Press the circumstances under which the arrests were made. Lalaji wished very much to abide by your wishes and not court arrest, but it could not be helped, and he, being the President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, could not stay away from the meeting. The meeting was called immediately after the orders were passed stopping public meetings and disbanding volunteer corps, the agenda being consideration of the present political situation. The District Magistrate stopped the meeting labelling it as seditious, but as the order was illegal it was decided not to obey it.

'Lalaj, Santanam, Gopichand and Lal Khan are now in the Central Jail. They are happy and contented. Beddings and books were supplied to them but they declined to take food from outside and are saving the jail food.

The case is coming up for hearing on 7th December and it is said the trial is to take place under Sec. 145 I. P. C. After the arrests were made the Congress Committee office was locked and search was made on 4th December. A few papers are taken away by the Police but they do not appear to have been satisfied with what they have removed. They wanted the original copy of the resolutions passed in the meeting of 3rd December along with the names of proposers and seconders but that could not be found in the office. Probably they want it as a part of evidence.

The whole of the province is so far peaceful. We are laying stress upon Khilafat and my little adobe it is a pleasant place to remain to while their hearts are sore. Police are armed in large numbers in different parts of the city yesterday and kept the Panjab P. Union, Khilafat, and City Committees offices under a close watch all day, but no untoward has as yet occurred nor any arrests have been made. Volunteers in breach of Government orders went round the city preaching Khilafat. To-day a public meeting is going to take place in the Badli Hall.

where admission will be by tickets. S. Prem Singh Sodhbans will preside, two volunteers have advertised for the meeting through the local press and 20 volunteers are going to court arrest. This will probably be the last of the December. We have a sufficient supply of volunteers. The Sedition Meetings Act is to be defied only in Lahore and Amritsar but the order of volunteers will be defied in 8 different head quarters of the districts. The work will commence everywhere today. We have already called a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee on 11th December for election of delegates for the Congress and we mean to insist on its taking place. The date was fixed even before the prohibitory orders were passed. I shall preside over the meeting and suffer the consequences.

"Our Khalsa friends are still busy holding public meetings at Amritsar but no further arrests are being made. Total arrests have been 21 out of whom 11 have already been convicted. Similar divans have commenced meeting in Lahore and so far one arrest has been made.

"We are all trying our best to keep a non-violent atmosphere and have every hope to succeed, as people are gradually imbuing the spirit and are keeping under control even under provocative circumstances. Ours is to make an effort, success lies in the hands of the Almighty. May God help us. Lala Bunchand, Pandit Rambhaji Dutt Chaudhary and Lala Govardhandas, D Niranjanprasad and Lala Trilokchand Kapur are all heartily co-operating and we are so far acting with one mind."

II

"I hope you have got my letter I wrote you this morning. A public meeting was advertised at 4 p. m. in the Bradlaugh Hall which was to be presided over by S. Prem Singh Sodhbans. Strong police force with lathis and rifles surrounded the hall and all the approaches thereto by two noon and kept the guard till after 4 p. m. None was permitted to enter the premises. 30 volunteers approached the place by 1 p. m. but they were taken in a cordon by the police, taken round different roads to the Ravi river and thus kept engaged till 4 p. m. 3 or 4 thousand people collected round the place and remained quiet and orderly. S. Prem Singh arrived by 3-30 p. m. but was stopped by the police force and ordered to clear off by a European police officer. He turned round along with the crowd and held a meeting at some distance passing a resolution congratulating Lalaji and his comrades, and then dispersed the meeting. The whole affair ended quietly. The volunteers having been released by the police came to me by 5 p. m. at Lalaji's house and then dispersed in an orderly manner. Nobody was arrested and the police appear to have adopted the policy of scaring away the people. I have, however, just heard that a student was badly beaten by a police constable and is lying in the hospital in a precarious state. Pandit Rambhaji Dutt has just gone out to see him.

"Lalaji and others were interviewed in the jail yesterday. They are all keeping good spirits. Treatment accorded to them has not been exceptional. They are all kept in separate cells and are living on jail food.

"Mr. Stokes' case has been put off to 8th December and it is said that both Lalaji's and Stokes' cases will be heard in the jail. Lalaji's case is coming up to-morrow.

"At Amritsar, I hear from Girdharilal, there has happened something untoward. Shikhs were peacefully holding their public meeting when all of a sudden a few Sadhus appeared on the spot and began beating promiscuously with their iron sticks. The Shikhs remained non-violent and got a few

persons injured. Simultaneously with the advent of the Sadhus there appeared the Deputy Commissioner along with police and military force on the spot. The Deputy Commissioner was permitted entrance. But the Shikh leader Giani Sher Singh refused official intervention and declined any help from the Deputy Commissioner. The position is said to be well in hand and no further violence is reported.

"It is getting post-time. I am in hurry. It is just reported that the student maltreated by the police is feeling well."

Nothing that I can add can enhance the beauty of the simple narrative given by the Aghasahab. I have not altered a single word in the two letters. I bow in reverence to Lalaji and his comrades who refused even whilst under trial anything but gaol food, and I tender my congratulations to Sardar Prem Singh Sodhbans who conducted the meeting with such calm dignity in defiance of the magisterial order and in the face of the provoking presence of the police. I congratulate the young volunteer with his broken head. The serious affray at Amritsar must await separate treatment when full details are available. There seems little doubt that the Shikhs have behaved with wonderful courage and restraint. When horn fighters become non-violent, they exhibit courage of the highest order. The Shikhs have historical evidence of such exhibition in their midst. They are now repeating their own history. Let me hope and pray that they will carry out the instructions of Sardar Khadagsinh to remain non-violent to the end, to become simple in their tastes and wear only *Khadi*.

The arrest of our President elect need not perturb us. His spirit will preside in the absence of President. over our deliberations. We know what message he has for the country. He has become the living embodiment of it. We must elect some one to act for him out of the remnant that is permitted to meet at the Congress. Certainly no Congress has ever met under happier auspices than this will. What seemed impossible has been rendered almost possible by the welcome repression of the Government. That many of the best of us are in gaol is Swaraj. I would call it the fullest Swaraj if the Government simply invited every non-co-operator to offer himself on or before the 26th instant at the nearest police station for arrest and imprisonment to be under custody till he has apologised for his non-co-operation or till the Government feels the necessity for repentance. I would forego the Congress in spite of Vallabhbhai Patel and his devoted band working night and day to make the reception of the delegates and visitors worthy of the Capital of Gujarat. For me any such order of the Government will be complete Swaraj. It will be good for the Government to rid itself of non-co-operators and it will give the latter their heart's desire. Their formula is Swaraj or gaol. But in the absence of any such new year's gift from the Government we may be certainly thankful for the small mercies they have favoured us with. I give below the list of the biggest prisoners I could think of as having won their spurs during the past few days:—

RAJASTHAN

Lala Lajpat Rai. Dr. Satyapal
K. Santanam. Dr. Gurbaksh Singh
Dr. Gopichand. S. P. Stoke
Malik Lalkhan

AJMER.

Maulana Mainuddin. M. A. Ali
Mirza Abdul Kadir Beg. Sayed Abbas Ali
Hafiz Sultan Hasan. Maulvi Nuruddin
Maulvi Abdul Kadir Bodhari

ALLAHABAD.

Pandit Motilal Nehru. Maulana Sherar
" Jawaharlal Nehru. N. Sherwani
" Shyamlal Nehru. Kamaluddin Jafferi
" Mohanlal Nehru. Ranendranath Basu
Parushottamdas Tandon. George Joseph
Gaurishanker Mishra. K. B. Mathur
Pandit Kapildev Malaviya.

LUCKNOW.

Harkaran Nath Mishra. Maulana Salamatullah
Chaudhary Khaliquezaman. Mohanlal Saksena
Sheikh Mahomed Shaikatali. Dr. Lakshmisahai
Dr. Shiv Narain Saksena. Hakim Abdul Wani
Pandit Balnukund Vajpai. Lal Bahadur Shripati.

BENGAL

C. R. Das. Jitendralal Bagerji
Master C. R. Das. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Akramkhan. Padmaraj Jain
Sasnal. Maulana Abdul Musawir-Sylhet.

DELHI.

Shankarlal. Asaf Ali.

ASSAM.

T. R. Phookan. Kuldevr Chaliha
N. C. Bardolai. R. A. Chaudhary
Bishnu Ram Mehdi. Mahabuddin.

MADRAS.

Venkataramayya. L. Krishnamurthi

I have given the names from memory. The list is not exhaustive I know, but it may not be even fully representative. It is however sufficiently illustrative of the temper of the country. It is to me an eloquent demonstration of the fitness of the country for Swaraj if my standard be accepted, viz. those who are prepared to suffer are the fittest for self-government.

Bengal's duty is clear. It has to return a fitting answer to the arrest of the President elect and other chosen leaders. The arrest of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is an event of importance equal with the arrest of the President elect. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has an all-India reputation especially among the Muslims. He is a seasoned soldier having been interned for years in Ranchi. He stands high in the ranks of the learned men of Islam. His arrest must sink deep in the hearts of the Muslims of India. What answer will the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal return? Action can only be answered by counter-action. We know what the answer should be. Will the thousands of Bengal Hindus and Bengal Muslims enrol themselves as volunteers and be arrested? Will Bengal wear only *Khadis* or nothing? Will Bengal students give the answer that the President of the Congress expected from them in his moving appeal?

I take it for granted that the Hindus and Muslims of Calcutta in particular and Bengal in general will keep absolutely quiet if the present calm is an index for the future the evil done by Bombay has been almost entirely undone. The lesson of Bombay has gone home. It must abide for all time. Let the young men of Calcutta rally round the leaders who are left. Let them not be impatient. Let them keep their heads cool and their hands on the spinning wheel. Every non-co-operator must find himself and herself on the register of volunteers, and the list should be day after day published in the Press so as to make it easy for the Government to arrest whomsoever they choose. The splendid emotion of Bengal should be translated at this supreme juncture in our national history into cool energy of the highest order. No bluster no fuss, no bravado. Only religious devotion to the cause and a fixed determination to do or die.

I invite all Congress secretaries to send me a list of imprisonments to date and the appointment of new secretaries and chairmen in the place of those arrested, and send me, if need be daily, a diary of events in the same admirable manner that Agha Safdar has done. I would like them to be brief and to the point and write only on one side of the paper in a clear hand so as to enable me to print with ease what may be considered necessary.

The eventful meeting of this Committee takes place on the 24th instant. On its decision will rest the future programme. Every member who can will, I hope, attend the meeting. Every member will be expected to give his own independent opinion. To give one's opinion is to act according to it. No mechanical majority is of value at this moment of national history. If we vote for a particular programme we must have faith in it and we must be prepared to enforce it at the risk of our lives. We must widen the gates of prisons and we must enter them as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber. Freedom is to be won only inside prison walls and sometimes on the gallows, never in the council chambers, courts or the schoolroom. Freedom is the most capricious jilt ever known to the world. She is the greatest temptress most difficult to please. No wonder she builds her temples in gorges or on inaccessible heights and laughs at us as we attempt to scale the prison wall or (in the hope of reaching her temple on some Himalayan height) wade through hills and dales strewn with thorns. The members of the Committee must therefore come with a fixed purpose whatever it may be. It is well with us if not believing in *confinement* we own the fact and suggest other remedies. I would decline, if I was the only one, to give my vote for prisons, if I did not believe in them at this stage or any other. And I would

(Continued on Page 415)

WOMEN'S PART

The women of Calcutta have obstructed the gentlemen of Calcutta by trying to send *Krad*, and a telegram in the newspapers has announced that they have been consequently arrested. The company includes the devoted partner of the President Elect, his widowed sister and his niece. I had hoped that in the initial stages at any rate women would be spared the honour of going to gaol. They were not to become aggressive civil resisters. But the Bengal Government, in their impartial zeal to make no distinction even of sex, have conferred the honour upon three women of Calcutta. I hope that the whole country will welcome this innovation. The women of India should have as much share in winning Swaraj as men. Probably in this peaceful struggle woman can outdistance man by many a mile. We know that she is any day superior to man in her religious devotion. Silent and dignified suffering is the badge of her sex. And now that the Government of Bengal have dragged the woman into the line of fire, I hope that the women all over India will take up the challenge and organise themselves. In any case they were bound, when a sufficient number of men had been removed, for the honour of their sex to step into their places. But now let it be side by side with men in sharing the hardships of gaol life. God will protect their honour. When as if to mock man her natural protectors became helpless to prevent Draupadi from being denuded of her last piece of cloth, the power of her own virtue preserved her honour. And so will it be to the end of time. Even the weakest physically have been given the ability to protect their own honour. Let it be man's privilege to protect woman, but let no woman of India feel helpless in the absence of man or in the event of his failing to perform the sacred duty of protecting her. One who knows how to die need never fear any harm to her or his honour.

I would suggest to the women of India quietly but without loss of time to collect names of those who are ready to enter the line of fire. Let them send their offer to the women of Bengal and let the latter feel that their sisters elsewhere are ready to follow their noble example. It is likely that there will not be many forthcoming to brave the risks of a gaol life and all it must mean to women. The nation will have no cause to be ashamed if only a few offer themselves for sacrifice in the first instance.

Men's duty is clear. We must not lose our heads. Excitement will not protect our women or our country. We have asked Government neither to spare women nor children. It certainly did not in the Punjab during those martial law days. I consider it decidedly more civilized that the officials in Calcutta should under a legal pretence arrest our sisters in Calcutta for what they consider is a crime than that a Bosworth Smith in the Punjab should spit upon, swear at and otherwise humiliate the women of Manianwala. We did not offer our women

to be insulted thus wise. But we do offer our women for imprisonment if they will arrest them in the prosecution of public service. We must not expect the Government to look on with indifference whilst the women are spreading the gospel of Swadeshi and undermining the very basis of its existence,—its traffic in foreign cloth and the consequent ability to exploit India's resources. If therefore we men allow our sisters to take part in the Swadeshi agitation, we must concede the right of the Government to imprison them equally with men.

We must therefore control our anger. It will be cowardly to challenge a duel and then swear at the adversary for taking up the challenge. Men must fill the gaols. Men must prove to the Government that the awakening is not confined to a few men but it has permeated the masses, that the spirit of non-violence possesses not merely a select number but that it possesses the best part of India. We must show by our conduct that the sudden eruption was an exception and not a symptom of a general disease. And now, when the cause for irritation is almost the greatest, is the time for showing the greatest forbearance and self-restraint. I modify the adjective by using an adverb before it. For I do not think that the greatest irritation has yet been offered. I can conceive occasions which may cause irritation to the straining point. If we are to gain freedom and vindicate the honour of the Khilafat and the Punjab, we must pay a much higher price and not lose equanimity in the midst of the greatest possible irritation. Let us prepare for the worst and give credit to the Government for decency by expecting the least. Let us acknowledge frankly that in most cases they are obeying the laws of war by being courteous. If they handcuffed Pir Badshah Mian and Dr. Suresh Baeerjee, they have not done so in the case of the Ali Brothers, Lala Lajpatrai, Maniama Mohiuddin or Pandit Motilal Nehru. Nor would I quarrel with handcuffing if they imposed it on all. It is a gaol regulation to handcuff a prisoner. I should certainly have loved to travel to Allahabad to see Pandit Motilal Nehru and his son being handcuffed together and made to walk to their destination. I would have loved to watch the radiant smiles on their faces in the consciousness of their handcuffs hastening the advent of Swaraj. But the Government did not provide any such treat. What I do not expect, what I do not want for the sake of man's dignity, is a repetition of petty and degrading insults of the Punjab or the unthinkable inhumanities of the Moplah death wagon. But non-co-operators have stipulated for no such immunity. We have conceived the possibility of the worst happening, and under a full sense of our responsibility pledged ourselves to remain non-violent. Swaraj is within our grasp; let it not step away from us by self-forgetfulness.

With leaders in gaols, there should be *hartals* wherever the Prince goes. No meetings are necessary to organise them. The people have sufficient training for spontaneous action. Let the Government realise that it was not force but willing response that brought about *hartals*. There must

be nowhere any unauthorised or ill-conceived civil disobedience. Every forward step must be taken with the greatest deliberation and calmness. The people can discuss things in their own homes. The merchants meet a thousand times for business. They may easily discuss and decide matters arising out of the situation as it develops hourly. But whilst I would like *hartals* to follow the Prince, I would take no risk of violence and would not countenance the slightest exercise of force or threat of it. Absence of prescribed *hartal* would somewhat discredit us, but an outbreak of violence would retard our progress and may even indefinitely postpone Swaraj.

I hope, too, that every vacancy in the ranks of delegates will be filled and that there will be a full attendance at the Congress of members who will have made up their minds as to what they want and how they will have it.

M. K. GANDHI.

Whilst this was being printed, advice was received that the three ladies were discharged after a few hours' detention. Nevertheless I allow the writing to go to the public as the argument holds good in the main. I observe, too, that the ladies have been discharged with a caution!

M. K. G.

FROM LALA LAJPATRAI.

3-12-21,

7 a. m.

Dear Mahatmaji,

I am writing this to you so early as in all probability I will be arrested by this evening. I am sorry I may look to have disregarded your wishes but the circumstances are such as leave me no alternative. We have called a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee for to-day 2 p. m. The Deputy Commissioner calls it a public meeting. Yesterday we received a notice from him asking us for the agenda and an assurance that no business not in the agenda would be transacted. We have refused to comply, maintaining that the meeting is not public and that it does not come within the Act. Most probably he will prohibit the meeting. He has also served us with a notice calling *ward meetings* of ward Congress Committees also public. This means an entire stoppage of work. His orders are illegal, and if we had the option of fighting we might have won. But this is not to be.

Under the circumstances it is impossible for me to keep away from the meeting. It will be sheer cowardice. Please pardon me if my action does not meet with your approval. I am quite happy and cheerful and will not whine for favours. I am going to insist on being treated as an ordinary prisoner even if they are so magnanimous as to offer me some privilege, which I don't believe they will. Rest assured I will not bring disgrace on your movement. Pardon me if I have ever seemed to be critical and distrustful. In all my actions only one motive has been uppermost in my thoughts, viz. that of loyalty to my country and my people. If I have erred, It have erred

in good faith. Even in my criticisms of my moderate friends I have had no other motive. I believed in what I said and I believe in it still. But if I was wrong they can pardon a mistaken comrade. I believe we are on the right path and that only non-violent non-co-operation can help us in achieving our goal.

The Shikh non-co-operators have set a noble example. Of course all of them are not Congressmen and the motive force behind their present behaviour is religion. But that makes no difference so long as the spirit of suffering for a principle is there. The Shikh community has so far kept its temper admirably well in spite of the provocations given. Most of the arrests have been made in the presence of hundreds and thousands. Please read the accounts in the *Tribune* and make your own comments. Our Shikh friends deserve all the praise one can bestow on brave, noble, sufferers in the cause of truth.

We have selected Aga Safdar as my successor in the office of the President Provincial Congress Committee and I have in consultation drawn up a programme for immediate action.

Mr. Stokes was this morning arrested at one of the roadside stations for what offence and under what law I don't know. If I am still free by this evening I shall write to you again. If not good bye and farewell.

Your devoted comrade,
LAJPAT RAI.

[The reader will appreciate my sharing the foregoing with him. It is remarkable how every leader has made complete arrangements in anticipation of going to gaol. Of course Lalaji could not have acted otherwise than he did. I was anxious for him, if it was naturally possible, not to seek arrest till after the Congress. But in the circumstances that faced him, he could not avoid attending the meeting without hurting the cause. A general ceases to be general when he shirks battle that is offered to him. In every action of Lalaji I see nothing but thoughtfulness and calm courage. I fully endorse Lalaji's tribute to the Sikhs. Their resolute behaviour, their religious fervour, their calmness and their suffering commend my highest admiration. One sees in everything that is happening in the country the throes of a new birth. May God grant that no hasty action, no outbreak of violence impedes our unmistakable progress towards our destined goal.

M. K. G.]

CHRISTIANS AND SWARAJ.

The Editor,
Young India.

Sir,

At this time when there is so much questioning about the attitude of Indian Christians towards Swaraj, I as a representative of a large class of thinking Christians should like to draw the attention of your readers to certain important facts with which very few of our Hindu and Moslem compatriots are acquainted.

Let me in the first place point out clearly that the so called Indian Christians are a community built up very largely by peoples in the West. It is true that Christianity in India is by no means a foreign religion, for the existence of the Syrian Christian church in South India and its history prove that Christianity came to India long before Islam was born. But the Christian church in India remained dormant, its progress was very slow and it made little or no efforts to spread its tentacles beyond its original territory. The various Christian churches which one now sees established all over the country are almost entirely the result of the labours of Western missionary societies, amongst whom the English missionary societies are the most powerful and the most prominent. Now for the last hundred years or more the Christian church in India has been growing in size and stature entirely under the influence of its European and American parents. The two agencies which have completed the work of denationalising the Christian church in India have been, (i) the Western missionary societies, (ii) our own Hindu and Moslem brethren. As was natural enough the missionaries infused their converts and their children with the ideas of strict obedience to the British Raj and carefully implanted and fostered in them a spirit of aloofness from their fellow-countrymen. Our Hindu and Moslem relations on the other hand ostracised and boycotted us from their respective *Baradaris* on our adopting a different religion from theirs and left us to the mercy of foreign missionaries who became our sole hope of protection and help.

Through the influence of missionaries Indian Christians adopted English ways of dress and living which instilled in them a sense of their own importance and completely destroyed the last germ of patriotism and national zeal. Under such conditions the Christian community has grown to its present dimensions, and only unsympathetic critics will lay the blame of our imbecility at our own doors. We as a community are not in the least responsible for the absence of real national spirit moving in our midst, the responsibility lies at the doors of the white missionary and our own countrymen who only helped to complete the work of the white missionary by making us doubt and fear them. God's name be praised that in spite of the missionaries' efforts to keep us down a real awakening has after all come upon our community, and with growing means of education and prosperity a real sense of devotion to our motherland is also fast developing. A single reading of our own national organs like *The Christian Nationalist* of Allahabad and *The Christian Patriot* Madras will show you which way the community is moving; or study the life of some of our leading men like Sadhu Sunder Singh, Mr. K. T. Paul, Dr. S. K. Datta, or the writings of some of our zealous young men to learn for yourself the extent to which the community is struggling to awaken its classes and its masses to a true realization of the needs of their beloved motherland and to the dire necessity of being infused with the spirit of true nationalism. And may I in the name of the truly nation-loving section of our community beseech you and your readers to help and support us rather than criticize and ostracise us, specially at this critical stage of India's national

history. You know the conditions and the circumstances under which we have been bred and brought up. It to-day our masses are like soulless cattle in the race of national life, you cannot reasonably condemn them for what they are. Their state is not of their making. Believe us that we are a very hard battle before us and unless our own countrymen help us we cannot hope to win. The missionaries if anything try to fight against the growth of national spirit in our midst and condemn our national sentiments outright. The majority of our masses are unable even to understand what patriotism means—such has been the blessing of our Western upbringing—and what the country is struggling for, and so we can expect but little help from them. And now we implore you and your readers to "come and help us", for we have no other helper. Bear with us if you find us anti-non-co-operators, anti-nationalists and even anti-Indians. If you try and persecute us into submission to your principles, you will find that we will only fly closer into the arms of the bureaucracy, our distrust of you grows, and we shall wax more and more as ours are indifferent. You will find that some Indian Christians are even worse Anglo-Indians in their view than many Europeans and Anglo-Indians themselves. But if you are true Indians be patient with such. Remember what their past was and what sort of upbringing they had. Don't lose patience with such of our community nor give them up in despair, but befriend them and prove to them that all Indians whether they be Hindus, Muslims, Parsis or Christians are the sons and daughters of the self-same mother and so true brothers and true sisters. Help us, we beseech you again in the name of the mother land for whom our hearts are yearning. Assure your Christian brethren of your real love for them and you will find that the Christian Indian, when he is once inspired with the love of his country, will lay down his very life in her service and shed his very blood in her noble fight for freedom.

I am etc.,

A Christian son of mother India

[I publish this letter with the omission of two passages of personal reference; because of the appeal made to Hindus and Muslims I do not like the unqualified reference to the European missionaries. Though much of what the writer says regarding them is true, there are many European missionaries who are not anti Indian or anti-Hindu or anti-Muslim. The task before Nationalists is clear. They have to win over by their genuine love all minorities including Englishmen. Indian nationalism, if it is to remain non-violent, cannot be exclusive, M. K. G.]

WHAT IS A GORKHA?

The Editor, *Young India*.

Sir,

I do not understand why the men of the Dacca Military Police Battalion who are noted for their callousness since the days of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal are called Gorkha not only by the public press but also by the Government in their communications and proceedings. I think the public has got a

misunderstanding, or not a clear understanding, about the term Gorkha. The public through their ignorance indiscriminately use the term for all men who wear uniforms after the fashion of Gorkha Regiment, whether they really belong to the Gorkha class or not. To remove this misunderstanding and relieve them of their ignorance I will explain the term clearly. The term Gorkha is applicable only to the people of Nepal. It originated from the word "Gorakha," i.e. protector of cows. Every Gorkha therefore is, by his religion, bound to protect or preserve the cows. In Nepal the slaughter of cows is strictly prohibited by law. I like hereby to draw the attention of the public press and the public in general that they should not use the term Gorkha for any and every policeman without knowing who he really is. The Dacca Military Police Battalion which is reported to have committed brutal outrage at Chittagong and other places in Bengal is not Gorkha by its religion and caste. I believe most of them are Jharowas, Gharoos, Kavas, Rajbanshis, Kachhes and Mosches of Assam. The majority are Jharowas and so the battalion is called a Jharowas Battalion. About 10 per cent. of the force are, of course, Nepalese or Gorkhas, but they are mostly bandmen, pipers, signallers, armourers etc., and are engaged mostly for head-quarters work in the columns of all the newspapers I often see articles under the heading "Gorkha Outrage", but I like to remark that this should henceforth be altered and omitted as "Jharowas Outrage". In the recent issues under the heading "Gorkha Outrage", the persons named Mundiram, Ahram, Paniram, Nahiram etc. who gave evidence during the official enquiry of the Chittagong outrage are not Gorkhas but Jharowas, for I am personally acquainted with them and the battalion they belong to. I draw the attention of the public to this fact simply because I am myself a Nepali and it cuts me to the quick to see those unpardonable atrocities attributed to my people. I also appeal to all my Gorkha brethren and specially those who are unfortunately earning their livelihood by serving in the Gorkha Regiment in India, strictly and actively to protest against this indiscriminate use of the word Gorkhas for Jharowas and Gharoos of Assam and also to move the Nepal Durbar against such use by the Government here; for it will not only bring slur upon their national honour but will also be recorded, of course wrongly, in history and will cause their posterity to be ashamed of their ancestors.

I am etc.,
Agam ()

OF SPINNING WHEELS.

The Editor,
Young India.

SIR,

The District Congress Committee has an expert spinner appointed whom they can and should consult about the *Charkha* to be selected for introducing to the public. The result is that there are various patterns selected in various places and as each place's introducer thinks that his pattern is the best.

Most of the workers have yet to realize that a thin spindle with revolutions over 150 to one of the wheel is necessary for turning out good weavable yarn.

The *Charkha* recommended in *Young India* is taken as a pattern in some places, but the revolutions of the spindle (which is generally at least half an inch in diameter) being lower than 40 increase the time as it is necessary after drawing out a length of yarn to turn the wheel so many times to ensure the proper twist.

The result of all this is seen in the number of *Charkhas* lying idle or producing yarn which is refused by weavers being undertwisted and uneven.

Another argument in favour of the thin spindle is that as far as Maharashtra is concerned, boycott now depends entirely on providing reasonably fine yarn from 20 to 30 counts for the use of women and children. Men have brought themselves down from the 30 to 60 counts usual cloth to 6 to 12 counts *Khadi*. In the same ratio it is absurd to expect women to come down from 40 to 100 counts to 6 to 12, and so they must be provided with 20 to 30 counts yarn for their clothing if boycott is to be successfully carried out. So also yarn must be even and properly twisted.

For all these reasons, if the Committee is going to spend the major portion of the Tilak Swaraj Fund on this item, it must lay down a clear stipulation when giving the money, that every District body thus supplied with money must have an expert spinner who will decide as to what kind of *Charkha* will be used in their district and that the committee will spend the money on *Charkhas* etc., in the manner suggested by him. It is no use laymen who may be very good workers and leaders laying down the rule about what the *Charkha* should be. Otherwise all or most of the *Charkhas* distributed by the Congress Committee will remain idle as they are already doing in many places, or go in for some time turning out indifferent yarn till ultimately they are scrapped as firewood, when either the yarn they produce is refused by the weavers or the cloth it produces is refused by the customer as short-lived.

Yours etc.,

(Dr.) A. K. NULKAR,

21st November 1921. Vice-president, East Khandesh

District Congress Committee.

[I gladly publish the foregoing to stimulate interest in the matter of improvement in the existing spinning wheels and to show what keen interest educated men are taking in hand spinning. I commend Dr. Nulkar's example for emulation.]

GOANS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

The Editor,
Young India.

SIR,

I observed in your issue of the 10th inst. a letter under the above heading from Mr. C. De Souza of Daresalam, B. E. A., in which he states that the Portuguese Government calls us (Goans) "*Kanarin*." In order to clear any misapprehension under which he may be labouring, I have deemed it my duty to write you this letter in the hope, that you will be good enough to have it inserted in the columns of your esteemed journal.

The Portuguese Government has never, either officially or otherwise, designated Goans by that designation or appellation, and it is a fallacy to say that the Government calls us "*Kanarin*." In fact the Portuguese Government has never made any racial discrimination or shown any colour prejudice between Goans and Europeans. Their motto is Justice, Equality, Fraternity. According to the Carta Constitucional a Goan is a free Portuguese citizen, and hence enjoys status in no way inferior to any other subject of Portugal. There is no bar against him to compete for any post in the service, including the military and naval departments, and he can aspire to rise to any position of trust and responsibility provided that he has abilities and possesses the necessary qualifications. I submit that although the majority of Goans are of pure Indian origin, for obvious reasons we can not merge ourselves with the British Indians in their fight against the British Government for political rights and freedom, however much we may sympathize with their cause and the present movement.

Belgaum,
17th November 1921. Yours etc.,
LEWIS STUART

(Continued from page 410)

vote, without faltering, for them if I believed in them and even though I had no supporter. No leisurely programme can meet the situation. We who are outside the prison walls have constituted ourselves trustees for those who are inside those life-giving walls and we best discharge our trust by imitating our principals and getting inside those walls throwing the burden of the trust on our successors.

This outgoing Committee will meet for the last time under most trying circumstances. Of the fifteen members Deshabandhu Das Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who was just appointed at Delhi in the place of Maulana Mahomed Ali will be absent being his Majesty's guests in some of those hotels called prisons. I therefore suggest that the provinces from which these patriots come should send one representative each a day earlier so that they may at least give the benefit of their advice to the Committee although they may not vote thereat. I would suggest to the other provinces also which are not directly represented on the Committee to send one representative each to guide the deliberations of the Committee.

Friends have asked me to draw the attention of Winter in delegates and visitors to Ahmedabad. the fact that the climate is not quite so mild as in Bombay nor so severe as in Delhi or Amritsar. It is necessary for them to bring a moderate supply of winter clothing. As chairs have been dispensed with in the Congress pandal, delegates will be supplied with *Khadi* bags at a nominal price to keep their shoes in, but it is open to them to bring their own bags. It will be most inadvisable to leave shoes outside the pandal and after much deliberation the Reception Committee has decided not to make any arrangements for taking custody of the shoes of those who wish to leave them outside. At the Khilafat Conferences it is usual for people to carry their shoes in pieces of paper or otherwise. The bags are a most convenient and useful contrivance to meet the difficulty. The Reception Committee is making elaborate preparations for electric lighting, water pipes and latrines so that the health and comforts of delegates may be as fully conserved as is possible in the circumstance. But I must not anticipate the comforts or discomforts that are being provided by the Reception Committee.

One reads in the papers lists of resignations by Resignations. Government servants in all Departments. A copy of one such resignation has been sent to me from Belgam. The Head Clerk to the Assistant Director of Public Health has tendered his resignation as a protest against the conviction of Gangadhar Rao Deshpande the leader of Karnatak. In his resignation he describes his own personal grievance but that was not sufficient inducement for him to leave Government

service. In Assam quite a number of pleaders have suspended practice as a protest against the repressive policy of the local Government. I trust that these instances of resignations and suspensions will multiply.

A Bihar correspondent who gives his name A Crop of writes as follows - Difficulties.

"I was to some extent considered to be a zealous worker in the cause of our country's welfare. I had aided with non-co-operation with full belief that it was religiously compulsory upon every Moslem. I never deceived myself with any hope of India's regeneration through non-co-operation nor have I yet been persuaded to hope so. On the contrary I believed that we were to non-co-operate with the British Government at the sacrifice of our best interests. By this I do not mean that I consider non-co-operation to be less effective but I do most strongly say that our countrymen are not capable of adhering to it with perfect non-violence. I have had opportunities enough to see that your lieutenants are more anxious to make a name than do any good to the cause they stand for. I think the morale of the country has so far deteriorated that it is beyond possibility that our present generation can effectively practise non-co-operation with non-violence. Is it not strange that a responsible leader like yourself could shut his eyes to this apparent and sordid condition of things?

"I have taxed my brain to the last degree to find the reason why we are in such a hurry about Swaraj. Of course to delay would be sinful if Swaraj was within our grasp but after so much evidence of failures, why do you still stick to dating the advent of Swaraj by months? If it was only to rouse the teeming masses, I am afraid the idea was not well conceived as is clear from recent happenings. To give out absurd hopes is nothing but playing with people's passion.

"I make bold to beseech you in the interest of India and Indians to make a halt. Let us first train the countrymen and then march them to do battle. We have begun the fight with bad soldiers. It is better to accept defeat for next offensive than defend with such conditions. I am sure God's laws are just, and therefore Islam makes it conditional to see the capacity before taking up any thing. The pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five Fundamentals of Islam but not for all and sundry. To work for Swaraj, i. e. freedom of one's country, ought to be one of our foremost duties but is it not cruelty to try us far beyond our capacity? I am afraid this hurry is at the root of most of the mischief done.

"I should like to hear through *Young India* your views."

He is a well known B-hari. There is no doubt about his honesty. I therefore gladly respond to his suggestion to give a public reply to his letter. Though non-co-operation was in the first instance conceived in connection with the Khilafat, neither I nor my first associates ever thought that non-co-operation with the British Government involved any sacrifice whatsoever of the country's interests. On the contrary we believed that if we could compel surrender to the just demands of the Mussalmans of India regarding the Khilafat, we could also compel surrender in the matter of the Punjab and consequently in the matter of Swaraj. Non-violence was believed from the very commencement to be an integral part of

non-co-operation, and if the former failed the latter failed *ipso facto*. Indeed the recent happenings have furnished abundant proof of the progress of non-violence. They show, I hope conclusively, that Bombay's aberration was an isolated instance in no way symptomatic of the general condition of the country. A year ago it would have been impossible for the Government to arrest so many leaders of the front rank in so many parts of the country leaving the people absolutely self-controlled. It would be a mistake to suppose that it is the machine gun which has kept all the people under restraint. No doubt it has its share, but he who runs may see that there are hundreds, if not thousands, of people in India to-day to whom machine guns have ceased to be a terror. Nor can I subscribe to the doctrine that the country has suffered deterioration. On the contrary every province can demonstrate the marvelous revolution brought about by this movement of purification in the lives of people. A distinguished Mussalman friend was telling me only the other day how the younger generation of Mussalmans was reclaimed from a life of indolent and atheistical luxury to one of religious simplicity and industry.

We are certainly in a hurry to get Swaraj. Who can help it? Were the Mopahs in the death wagon in a hurry when in their asphyxiated state they were crying out for a breath of fresh air and a drink of water? The death wagon of foreign domination in which we are suffering from moral asphyxiation is infinitely worse than the Moplah death wagon. And the wonder is that all these long years we have not felt the want of the oxygen of liberty. But having known our state, is it not most natural for us to cry out for the fresh air of Swaraj? I am unable to accept any blame for having set the time limit. I would have been wrong not to do so, knowing as I did that if the people fulfilled the conditions which were capable of easy fulfilment, Swaraj was a certainty inside of twelve months. If the atmosphere of non-violence is truly established, I make bold to say that we shall achieve the substance even during the remaining days of this year, though we might have to wait for this form yet a while. The time limit was not fixed in order to rouse the teeming millions, but it was fixed in order to rivet the attention of Congressmen and Congresswomen on their sense of immediate duty and on the grand consequence of its fulfilment. Without the time limit we would not have collected the crore nor would we have introduced so many spinning wheels, nor manufactured thousands of Rupees worth of handspun *Khadi* and distributed lakhs amongst the poorest workers in the country. It is not a sign of bad soldiery to find Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab supplying prisoners as fast as Government can take them. And when the word is passed round the other provinces for repression of a violent type, I doubt not that they will shine just as brilliantly as the three fortunate ones I have mentioned.

The following letter from the surviving Secretary
Some of the U. P. Provincial Congress
Proofs. Committee Mr. Jaijam Saksena
speaks for itself:

"Of all the local office-bearers of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee I am the only unfortunate secretary who is yet out of jail. It has therefore fallen to my lot to inform you of what has recently happened here.

"The Provincial Congress Committee Office was searched at about midnight and the registers of the U. P. Congress Committee, Executive Council and other subordinate bodies were taken away by the Deputy Superintendent of Police who conducted the search. Besides, the Khilafat Committee office and the houses of the gentleman arrested were searched.

"We have now started Civil Disobedience in Allahabad in an organized and systematic form. National Volunteers are being briskly recruited. They have been divided into batches of a dozen volunteers each. They are placed under a Captain whose orders the volunteers have to obey implicitly. We have not published the names of all of our volunteers. Yesterday a batch of a dozen volunteers was sent out for a round in the city with national badges on their arms, singing patriotic songs and loudly announcing the fact of their being Congress and Khilafat volunteers. They stopped for some time before the Kotwali, and there waited for arrest but though the Kotwal came out and listened to the announcement of the volunteers, none was taken in custody with the result that the batch after parading the streets of the city for some hours, came back to Provincial Congress Committee Office most disappointed and furious with themselves for not being able to join their leaders in the jail. To-day the same batch with another of a dozen volunteers paraded the town from one end to the other with badges on, openly enlisting volunteers for the national corps. It is now late in the evening and one of the batches has already returned from their round. No arrests took place to-day.

"Our volunteers' behaviour has been admirable and the popular mind though considerably agitated is yet self-possessed. The situation is completely well in hand. Our reserve of volunteers is quite sufficient for our present purposes, and enlistment is proceeding apace.

"We have filled up the vacancies in the Town Congress Committee. The Provincial Congress Committee meets on the 13th instant, when we shall re-elect our volunteer Board in place of the one now wholly in jail, other office-bearers will also be appointed."

Of equal value is the following from a Lahore correspondent.

"The general atmosphere is very good. People are fearless and non-violent. The City Congress Committees are sending out volunteers to hold meetings in different parts of the town at the same hour, to read out the same written speech, and to sing the same song and disappear within ten or fifteen minutes. Yesterday (the 8th instant) twenty such meetings were held in twenty centres. On Tuesday last an attempted public meeting with Sardar Prem Singh in the chair was stopped by the Police surrounding Bradlaugh Hall allowing none to enter. The people went back calmly but held a meeting all the same in an adjoining place. Some were arrested but let off after a short time. Fear of arrest or the jail is gone."

Surely this is a record of which any country would be proud.

The same Lahore correspondent however
Lest we regretfully mentions that
forget. the *Khadi* movement has
suffered a setback and that *Khadi* is not so much
in evidence in Lahore as it used to be some time

ago. If this is so, it is a bad sign. A mere filling of the gaols will not answer the whole purpose. If India does not return to Swadeshi, no amount of going to gaol will make her self-contained or fill the mouths of the hungry millions. Without the four vital parts of the programme which are meant not for particular classes but for all, we cannot establish Swaraj. The reader must not be tired of my repetition of them. Hindu Muslim Sikh Parsi Christian Jew unity, Swadeshi i. e. manufacture and use of handspun *Khadi* to the exclusion of all foreign cloth, removal of untouchability by Hindus and observance of non-violence by all. These are like four posts of a bedstead. Remove one of them and it cannot stand.

A friend has sent me papers in connection with a tussle that a local *Khadi* Cap. pleader is having with a Sub-Judge of Dehradun in the District of Ratnagiri over his *Khadi* cap. Mr. J. V. Vaidya the local pleader in question had the following order passed against him by the Sub-Judge:—

"Mr. Vaidya has appeared in Court to-day in a *Khadi* cap, commonly known as the 'Gandhi cap.' In conformity with the views of the High Court as expressed in the recent letter of the Chief Justice addressed to the District Judge Ratnagiri, extract of which was forwarded to this Court and was communicated to the Dehradun Bar, I have told Mr. Vaidya that I consider his appearance to-day in a *Khadi* cap as amounting to disrespect of the Court and have ordered him to leave the court at once and not to appear again before this Court in a cap unless and until the District Judge or the High Court directs otherwise. I have also warned him that if he appears in a cap after this order, he will expose himself to all the consequences of a contempt of Court. A copy of the statement of Mr. Vaidya and of this order will be forwarded to the District Judge for such action as he may deem fit to take in the matter."

The following is a copy of the extracts from the Chief Justice's letter for communication to the Bar:

"The High Court has decidedly against the wearing of Gandhi caps in Court by pleaders and would consider any pleader wearing a Gandhi cap in Court as guilty of disrespect to the Judge."

"We hope that the good sense of the pleaders will prevail provided they know what the views of the High Court are."

"No pleader should appear in Court if he wears any head dress except a turban."

"Please inform these pleaders that the High Court strongly disapproves of their conduct."

To this the Sub-Judge appended the following hope:—

"The undersigned hopes that the pleaders will conform to the views of the High Court herein expressed and that there would be no occasion for the undersigned to enforce them in this Court."

Side by side with a discussion of matters of urgency, I do not hesitate to occupy the space at my disposal for a discussion of an order which affects only a few pleaders. But the principle underlying this war against *Khadi* caps is of the highest importance. It shows how innocent but moral and economic movements are attempted to be killed by their adversaries. Surely the Chief Justice outside his official

position could not possibly take exception to a headgear which is accepted as respectable by thousands of men all over India occupying a high station in life. Nor do pleaders who adopt the national cap do so out of any disrespect for the Court, but they do it out of respect for themselves and the nation to which they belong. They do it because they do not wish to conceal their religion or their politics, whichever way one regards the adoption of the *Khadi* cap. A man who does not respect himself becomes a menial. Are pleaders menials or officers of the High Court? Custodians as they claim to be of the people's liberty, are they to submit to a deprivation of their own? I understand that Mr. Vaidya has decided to give up his practice, if he cannot carry it on with dignity and self-respect. He has therefore lodged a protest against the order, ceased to appear before the Sub-Judge till the matter is decided in his favour. And I learn further that the other members of the local Bar are also conferring among themselves as to the steps to be taken for vindicating their honour and freedom of action in the matter of dress. One does hope that when pleaders are unable to suspend practice or students to withdraw from Government schools and colleges, they will at least put up a brave fight in order to sustain their own personal honour even as the medical students of Vizagapatam have done.

A telegram has been received from Benares Kripalani advising me that Professor Kripalani and Co. Kripalani and fifteen members of his Ashram have been arrested. The sacrifice of the innocents is proceeding apace. Professor Kripalani is an educationist who has identified himself with his pupils. He has a number of devoted pupils whose character has been transformed by his touch. He implicitly believes in non-violence to which he has come by laborious processes. He has been devoting his own and his pupils' energy to the development of the constructive side of Swadeshi, and has been conducting an ideal institution in Benares. He has reduced his wants to the barest necessities of life and has been living with his pupils sharing with them the drudgery of the institution as also its privileges which mainly consist in his own inspiring company to his pupils. I have no advice as yet as to why he and fifteen of his pupils have been arrested. I daresay it is for volunteering. For he is not the man to shirk danger. Any way he has led the way for other such institutions. Let the purest-minded become volunteers and be imprisoned. The instruction of the Working Committee in this matter must be strictly followed. The purest-minded alone are fit to go to gaol as civil resisters and no other. If we have been lax hitherto, let us be rigorously strict in our selection. I fervently hope that those who have not clean minds or who do not believe in non-violence or Swadeshi or any vital part of non-co-operation will refrain from applying. They will serve by their abstention.

Whilst considering the question of selection of volunteers, I was grieved to learn that there were places in Calcutta in which sword sticks and such other weapons were found. Soldiers of non-violence should have neither sticks nor swords. We must eschew every symbol of violence whilst our weapon is non-violence. As Chhotanamiya in his manifesto very properly says, we must not even think of violence.

A PUZZLE AND ITS SOLUTION.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

Lord Reading is puzzled and perplexed. Speaking in reply to the addresses from the British Indian Association and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, His Excellency said, "I confess that when I contemplate the activities of a section of the community, I find myself still, notwithstanding persistent study ever since I have been in India, puzzled and perplexed. I ask myself what purpose is served by flagrant breaches of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government and in order to compel arrest?" The answer was partly given by Pandit Motilal Nehru when he said on being arrested that he was being taken to the house of freedom. We seek arrest because the so called freedom is slavery. We are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activity to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government. We want to compel its submission to the people's will. We desire to show that the Government exists to serve the people, not the people the Government. Free life under the Government has become intolerable, for the price exacted for the retention of freedom is unconscionably great. Whether we are one or many, we must refuse to purchase freedom at the cost of our self-respect or our cherished convictions. I have known even little children become unbanding when an attempt has been made to cross their declared purpose, be it ever so flimsy in the estimation of their parents.

Lord Reading must clearly understand that the non-co-operators are at war with the Government. They have declared rebellion against it in as much as it has committed a breach of faith with the Mussalmans, it has humiliated the Punjab and it insists upon imposing its will upon the people and refuses to repair the breach and repent of the wrong done in the Punjab.

There were two ways open to the people, the way of armed rebellion and the way of peaceful revolt. Non-co-operators have chosen, some out of weakness, some out of strength, the way of peace, i. e. voluntary suffering.

If the people are behind the sufferers, the Government must yield or be overthrown. If the people are not with them they have at least the satisfaction of not having sold their freedom. In an armed conflict the more violent is generally the victor. The way of peace and suffering is the quickest method of cultivating public opinion, and therefore when victory is attained it is for what the world regards as Truth. Bred in the atmosphere of law courts, Lord Reading finds it difficult to appreciate the peaceful resistance to authority. His Excellency will learn by the time the conflict is over that there is a higher court, than courts of justice and that is the court of conscience. It supersedes all other courts.

Lord Reading is welcome to treat all the sufferers as lunatics, who do not know their own interest. He is entitled therefore to put them out

of harm's way. It is an arrangement that entirely suits the lunatics and it is an ideal situation if it also suits the Government. He will have cause to complain if having courted imprisonment, non-co-operators fret and fume or 'whine for favours' as Lataji puts it. The strength of a non-co-operator lies in his going to gaol uncomplainingly. He loses his case if having courted imprisonment he begins to grumble immediately his courtship is rewarded.

The threats used by His Excellency are unbecoming. This is a fight to the finish. It is a conflict between the reign of violence and of public opinion. Those who are fighting for the latter are determined to submit to any violence rather than surrender their opinion.

Lord Reading has flung Ireland in our faces. Let Ireland us contemplate for a moment and India that romantic nation. I would like the reader to believe with me that it is not the blood that the Irishmen have taken which has given them what appears to be their liberty. But it is the gallons of blood that they have willingly given themselves. It is not the fear of losing more lives that has compelled a reluctant offer from England but it is the shame of any further imposition of agony upon a people that loves its liberty above everything else. It is the magnitude of the Irish sacrifice which has been the deciding factor. The late President Kruger, when with a handful of his undisciplined countrymen beheld his ultimatum against the British Empire, said he would stagger humanity. He meant that he would sacrifice every Boer man, woman and child and leave not a single Boer heart to subdue, but he would gladly let Englishmen roam about the desert soil of South Africa dyed with the blood of the Boer martyrs. And England yielded when she was tired of concentration camps in which Boer women and children died like flies, and when she was choked with the bloody feast that the Boers had provided for her. And even so has Ireland been staggering humanity for many a long year. And England has yielded when she is able no longer to bear the sight of blood pouring out of thousands of Irish arteries. I know for certain that it is not legal subtleties, discussions on academic justice or resolutions of Councils and Assemblies that will give us what we want. We shall have to stagger humanity even as South Africa and Ireland have been obliged to. Only instead of repeating South African and Irish histories non-co-operators are learning from the living examples of these two nations the art of spilling their own blood without spilling that of their opponents. If they could do that they could attain Swaraj within a few days or a few months. But if they want slavishly to follow South Africa and Ireland, Heaven help India. Then there is no Swaraj during the present generation. And I know that the Swaraj promised by Mr. Montagu, no matter how well-intentioned he may be, will turn out to be a delusion and a snare. Councils are no factories for making stout hearts. And freedom is meaningless without stout hearts to defend it.

The Times of India questions whether I have any clear notion of Swaraj. If the writer will go through the back numbers of Young India, he will find a complete answer to the question. But I may mention here briefly that the least that Swaraj means is a settlement with the Government in accordance with the wishes of the chosen representatives of the people. Therefore the Congress representatives, if they can make good their claim by providing an inexhaustible supply of prisoners, will have a

determining voice in any settlement that may be made. Swaraj therefore means the capacity of the people of India to enforce their demands. I totally dissent from the Viceroy's view that Swaraj must come from the British Parliament unless it comes through the sword. The British Parliament will only ratify the people's wish when the 'sword' has made it irresistible. Non-co-operators are trying to use the sword of self-sacrifice in preference to that of steel. India's soul is pitted against British steel. We shall not have to wait long to know what popular Swaraj is.

An esteemed friend asks me whether now that Work in the Government have provided Gaols, an opportunity for hundreds to find themselves imprisoned and as thousands are responding, will it not be better for the prisoners to refuse to do any work in the gaols at all? I am afraid that suggestion comes from a misapprehension of the moral position. We are not out to abolish gaols as an institution. Even under Swaraj we would have our gaols. Our civil disobedience therefore must not be carried beyond the point of breaking the unmoral laws of the country. Breach of the laws to be civil assumes the strictest and willing obedience to the gaol discipline because disobedience of a particular rule assumes a willing acceptance of the sanction provided for its breach. And immediately a person quarrels both with the rule and the sanction for its breach, he ceases to be civil and lends himself to the precipitation of chaos and anarchy. A civil resister is, if one may be permitted such a claim for him, a philanthropist and a friend of the state. An anarchist is an enemy of the state and is therefore a misanthrope. I have permitted myself to use the language of war because the so called constitutional method has become so utterly ineffective. But I hold the opinion firmly that civil disobedience is the purest type of constitutional agitation. Of course it becomes degrading and despicable if its civil, i. e. non-violent character is a mere camouflage. If the honesty of non-violence be admitted, there is no warrant for condemnation even of the fiercest disobedience because of the likelihood of its leading to violence. No big or swift movement can be carried on without bold risks and life will not be worth living if it is not attended with large risks. Does not the history of the world show that there would have been no romance in life if there had been no risks? It is the clearest proof of a degenerate atmosphere that one finds respectable people, leaders of society raising their hands in horror and indignation at the slightest approach of danger or upon an outbreak of any violent commotion. We do want to drive out the beast in man, but we do not want on that account to emasculate him. And in the process of finding his own status, the beast in him is bound now and again to put up his ugly appearance. As I have often stated in these pages what strikes me down is not the sight of blood under every conceivable circumstance. It is blood spilt by the non-co-operator or his supporters in breach of his declared pledge, which paralyzes me. I know it ought to paralyze every honest non-co-operator.

Therefore to revert to the original argument, as civil resisters we are bound to guard against universal indiscipline. Gaol discipline must be submitted to until gaol Government itself becomes or is felt to be corrupt and immoral. But deprivation of comfort, imposition of restriction and such

other inconveniences do not make gaol Government corrupt. It becomes that when prisoners are humiliated or treated with inhumanity as when they are kept in filthy cells or are given food sent for human consumption. Indeed, I hope that the conduct of non-co-operators in the gaol will be strictly correct, dignified and yet submissive. We must not regard governors and warders as our enemies but as fellow human beings not utterly devoid of the human touch. Our gentlemanly behaviour is bound to disarm all suspicion or bitterness. I know that this path of discipline on the one hand and fierce defiance on the other is a very difficult path, but there is no royal road to Swaraj. The country has deliberately chosen the narrow and the straight path. Like a straight line it is the shortest distance. But even as you require a steady and experienced hand to draw a straight line, so are steadiness of discipline and firmness of purpose absolutely necessary if we are to walk along the chosen path with an unerring step.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that it is not going to be a bed of roses for any of the civil resisters. And my head reels and the heart throbs when I recall the lives of Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das in their palatial rooms surrounded by numerous willing attendants and by every comfort and convenience that money can buy and when I think of what is in store for them inside the cold unattractive prison walls where they will have to listen to the clanking of the prisoner's chains in the place of the sweet music of their drawing rooms. But I steel my heart with the thought that it is the sacrifice of just such heroes that will usher in Swaraj. The noblest of South Africans, Canadians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans have had to undergo much greater sacrifices than we have mapped out for ourselves.

No telegram but a letter has been just received that Agha Sahab the Agha Sahab was arrested at Sirkot on the 10th instant whilst he was on a flying visit there. He was followed by a dense crowd. The Agha Sahab refused to be arrested unless there was a warrant or he was forced. At last the Magistrate had to come and order his arrest. The Agha Sahab obeyed this cheerfully though the Magistrate was not able to say why he was being arrested. As soon as the gaol gates were opened, some of the crowd rushed in and asked to be arrested also together with the Agha Sahab. These intruders were naturally driven out. My correspondent tells me also that the Magistrate was insulted by the crowd. I congratulate the Agha Sahab but I cannot congratulate the crowd which had no business to follow the Agha Sahab. Those who entered the gaol were guilty of misbehaviour in terms of the pledge of non-violence and those who insulted the Magistrate damaged the cause which they sought to espouse and were guilty not only of a breach of their pledge but of cowardice. The police party, I understand, was small. The officer in charge, I understand, behaved courteously. Probably relying upon our non-violence the Magistrate was insufficiently protected. I warn the non-co-operators that any deviation from our pledge will postpone the advent of Swaraj, which seems to be rushing towards us. 'Non-violence in thought, word or deed' must be our motto.

I understand that the Agha Sahab appointed M. K. G. Danichand as his successor in office. I wish the new President the same good luck that has blessed Agha Sahab.

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THINGS THAT SINK.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

To imprison those who, whether high or low, break the commandments, to treat them as common felons, to deprive them of their prison privileges, one can understand. I would not call that foul play. If you incur the wrath of one who is over you or who has you under his power for the time being, to be punished by him for your disobedience is what you expect. But if he humiliates you, if he makes your children do things you and they do not like and which you are not required in law to do, if he treats you like dirt, it becomes unbearable. One learns that in Coconada a Magistrate had the Swaraj and the Khilafat flags pulled down, that he issued orders prohibiting the use of such flags for one week, that the children of a school were compelled to salute the Union Jack, that a distinguished Professor in Calcutta, going out in his academic costume and on the strength thereof going up to an officer to stop a wanton hunt of inoffensive men, was brutally assaulted for his innocent inquiry as to the cause of the hunt, that a party of brave cultured young men were kicked about by those who were their warders for the time being. These are things that sink. These humiliations show that there is little change in the manners of our 'masters'. The O'Dwyerian spirit has not died out. Of what use is it that Lord Ronaldshay sends for the injured Professor, soothes him and assures him that the thing will not happen again? What will not happen again? The Professor will not be assaulted? Of course he will not be during the present crisis. The Professor himself will not again presume upon his academic costume and challenge an officer very soon. But has the officer any respect for the Professor? The Professor did not seek relief for himself. He interceded for injured humanity. Will Indian humanity be protected and respected in future because of his Lordship's assurance? It is the habit of training given to the soldier that matters. He is converted into a vicious animal to be let loose on harmless people on given occasions. The Dases and the Azads have gone to gaol to prevent a repetition of such unmanly and brutal exhibitions. They have welcomed imprisonment in order that even the worst criminal may be protected against wanton injury, that even he may not have his self-respect wounded. They have not gone to gaol for any mechanical transference of power. The organic change they want, that Lala Lajpatrai has been pining for for years, that has become the breath of life for the mass-loving

Motilal Nehru and has made of him practically a Fakir, is not to be brought about by Lord Ronaldshay, however well-intentioned he may be in his apologies, nor by Lord Reading's smooth phrases and his personal care that officers and men might not overstep the limits of law. The organic change will be and can only be brought about by the suffering that has come to the people and for which thank God they find themselves prepared. A cautious friend in order to restrain my optimism tells me, that the suffering has only just begun, that for the end in view we must pay a much higher price still. He really expects that we shall have to invite a repetition of Jalianwalas and that instead of approaching the triangles of the crawling lane lame tremblingly and reluctantly, we shall have now to walk to them cheerfully and with a steady step and suffer lashes for refusing to crawl. I assure the friend that my optimism has room for all these things and much worse that he can imagine. But I promise, too, that if India remains calm and unperturbed and does not retaliate even mentally—a very difficult process I admit and yet not so difficult in India's present exalted mood,—our very preparedness and consequent absence of re-action will exhaust the brute spirit for want of nutrition, and Lord Reading, instead of talking big things to us, will himself adopt the human language of penitence and see ample occasion in the Indian atmosphere for a new diplomacy. Whereas if we forget ourselves and our pledge, we must be ready for a thousand Jalianwalas and India being turned into a vast shambles. The President-elect has prepared us for such a consummation. He is sure that we have shed the fear of the prison. He is almost certain probably from the experience of his brave son and his company that we will be prepared to undergo the ordeal of assaults. But he bids us give up the fear of death itself. If that time is in store for us, I hope that there will be non-violent non-co-operators enough in India, of whom it will be written.

'They suffered bullets without anger and with prayer on their lips even for the ignorant murderer.'

Well, if the reports are to be credited, two Assamese volunteers have been whipped, the volunteers of Lahore have meekly borne the wanton assaults committed on them. This fight is not a joke. We have disciplined ourselves for the past twelve months and more, and we must now go through it to the end. There is no turning back.

17th December.

NOTES.

14th December.

Here are tidbits I pick up from letters, wires, A Delectable Assortment, and reports which have deluged me during the week :

"Two Mohammedan workers have just returned with heads broken by a Zamindar supporter of the Government." Sindh.

'Volunteer organisations declared unlawful. Provincial, District, and other Congress offices searched throughout Bihar. Papers, account books, cyclostyles, Congress seals, Swaraj flags seized. Provincial Committee resolved to continue Volunteer Corps enlistment. Public enthusiastic and cheerful.' Bihar.

'To-day (17th Dec.) armed police took possession of the Shankar Hall, a religious institution of the Assam Mahapurushia sect in a part of which Barpeta Congress Committee established office. The action was without notice to the Shankar Hall authorities. The guarding constables are smoking inside the hall which is strictly prohibited, thus wounding religious feeling of the people. The belongings of the Congress were carelessly thrown out by police who have been using it as their dwelling house, thus preventing people from performing religious ceremonies. People are still adhering to non-violence. Work proceeding rapidly.' Barpeta Assam.

'Houses of Pandit Rambhaji Dutt Chowdhry, Professor Ruchiram Sahany, Lala Lajpatrai, Congress Committee offices, Khylafat offices, Sirajdin's house, Sarala Devi's press searched. Volunteers in Lahore and Amritsar severely beaten by the police. Prisoners reported to be caned in the Central Jail Lahore.'

I have given this assortment to show that Swaraj is within easy grasp, if we can survive this treatment. Surviving means bravely facing it without losing temper. Let the administrators of an expiring system have the pleasure of being able to say, 'We tried but failed.' When the moth describes its violent revolutions round a lamp, he is surely dying. So is this Government fast disintegrating under the weight of its own violence. What is it, if it be not madness, to search private homes and public offices when they must know that there is nothing hidden, when they know that non-co-operators have no secrets? But these searches are no doubt intended to make the people feel as uncomfortable as they possibly could be made to feel. A correspondent tells me that already the gaols are feeling the pressure. The gaol authorities were unprepared for the number of men who are being daily sentenced. They have no room and no work for so many. Naturally therefore resort must be had to other methods of terrorising. Consequently we must expect even arrests with greater frequency. The reported caning is the worst thing yet come to light. I still hope it is untrue. I have taken the bit from the *Tribune* which is one of the most responsible journals that India has the good fortune to possess. This report reminds one of the lashing during the martial law regime in Lahore. It was at first denied but subsequently admitted. The reader will remember Col. Johnson's laying the lash on

lash as a deterrent and as a swift method of punishment when imprisonment does not answer. Well, whether the report be true or not, we must prepare for the worst. No suffering is too great a price for freedom. It will be all the dearer when we have paid a heavy price for it.

But worse in some respects is the occupation of a temple in Barpeta. It is a grave and uncalled for provocation. But I must plead for non-violence even under such grave provocation. Let it be remembered that our pledge is unconditional. We must stand by it at all cost. An intruder cannot defile a temple. Only votaries can by their unworthiness. In the language of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, let us think of the greater temple, namely India, which has been defiled for so many years by our submission to slavery. And if we have stood that defilement all these long years, let us not be provoked into madness by the illegal encroachments upon local temples and their still greater defilement by the intruders' abuse of them. Is Lord Reading prepared to plead extenuation even in this case on the ground that the officials are engaged in the performance of a very trying duty?

The same day that I received a graphic Chittagong's description of things in Toll. Chittagong, I received too a wire advising me that Babu Prasanna Kumar Sen who had sent the letter was also arrested. The number of volunteers arrested there had reached a total of three hundred. The reader will find the following excerpts from Babu Prasanna Kumar Sen's letter to be interesting :—

"So long we have been literally at our wits' end to find out the best means of beginning civil disobedience. Following the resolution of the Working Committee at Delhi, we set out carefully educating our people to strict non-violence. Our propagandists were to return by the 31st December, but before the due date the Government of Bengal goaded by the Anglo-Indian extremists went almost mad over the *hartal* in Calcutta on the 17th November, rushed on to take advantage of forgotten laws and forsaken methods and proclaimed volunteer associations illegal. Thus it has come to our help.

'For the last few days national volunteers in batches of not more than five have been going out with grim determination and cheerful anxiety to find themselves in gaol. The discipline and self-restraint they are exhibiting are excellent, and if you do not think me guilty of exaggeration, I should not hesitate to declare them in this respect equal to most disciplined soldiers in the battle-field. Within the last three days total arrests number sixty three. Volunteers are pouring in from the mofussil and it is believed in no time authorities will find the Chittagong jail too small to accommodate the brave lads.

Thus the Government has declared peace to be unlawful and keepers of it to be criminals. It puts the people through periodical discipline to observe peace not of their free will but only under restraint.

A friend tells me that the Government is Mixed suppressing the volunteer Motives. organisations because it is not sure that they will always remain peaceful. The correspondent adds. They think at present under

your mandate they are non-violent, but any day your orders or the orders of your successors may change and the volunteers may be asked to be armed in military fashion—a standing rebel army against the Government army. The other hypothesis suggested by the same correspondent is that the Government dread this non-violence more than an armed revolt. The police officers are getting tired and unnerved by being ordered to molest people who do not retaliate. Some of them confess, "Non-violence is a dreadful foe to meet. Violence we understand and do not mind. But it makes one fee, so small to beat a man who does not beat you back." The fact is that both the suggestions are sound. The Government dread the future and want to guard against the people acquiring the power to offer armed resistance and they dread the rapid evolution of peaceful strength. In short they want us to be neither men nor women. They would have us belong to the neuter gender.

Belgam furnishes a forcible illustration of the Unsexing unsexed process being tried at present in India. A friend has prepared for me the following summary of a report from Belgam:—

"The district authorities of Belgam have devised an original method of suppressing non-co-operation. Mr. Hayter, the Superintendent of Police, issued a circular calling upon all sub-inspectors to use their power to stop the spread of non-co-operation. The sub-inspectors on their part circularised the village police that "all non-co-operation speakers should be forcibly suppressed. They should not be allowed to enter villages and should be expelled from villages. And speakers should be prevented from speaking. The D. S. P. hopes that it is enough if Police Patels are given to understand this. Superior officers will render proper assistance in the matter." But when the ex-lawyers in the non-co-operation camp raised the question of law in this matter, the D. S. P. came down with his circular No. 6359 of 1921 saying that section 51 (B) of the District Police Act which empowered the police to prevent the commission of offence was sufficient for his purpose. The D. S. P. further says, "Wherever these N.-O.-O. gentry open their mouths in public, they commit offences under section 124 A or 153 A I. P. O. Therefore police officers should do everything possible, consistent with law, to render the offence difficult."

The humour of all this was that armed with these notifications, the sub-inspector of Bailhongal, a taluka in Belgam, actually proceeded physically to stop the mouth of one of the Secretaries of the District Congress Committee, when the latter was about to deliver a speech at Bailhongal. Let the Secretary speak:—

"On my visit to Bailhongal, a taluka in the Belgam district, a public meeting was called by the Congress Committee. When I rose to address the meeting, the sub-inspector of police stood in front of me and told me not to speak. Asked for a written order he refused to give one but showed me Circular No. 6359 referred to above, which he said he had strict orders to enforce. He further told me that if I persisted in speaking, he would physically stop my mouth by laying his hand upon it. The sub-inspector also threatened me that he would drag me out of the meeting if I still persisted. This being a somewhat novel proceeding and as I was not sure of the course I ought to take, I obeyed the order and did not speak. The local Magistrate and Mamlatdar was present throughout. When asked to, he told me that the matter did not concern him but that he was there to prevent a breach of the peace."

Let me complete this lurid picture by adding a summary of events in Allahabad:

"On the 25th November last a Gazette Extraordinary was issued by the Government extending the application of the Criminal Amendment Act of 1908 to the U. P. and declaring all volunteer corps of Khilafat, Congress and similar institutions having as their object boycott of foreign cloth, picketing or boycott of the Prince's visit as unlawful assemblies.

"On the same day, according to the announcement previously made, a meeting of the Provincial Congress Congress Committee was held which resolved to form a Volunteer Board on the lines laid down by the Working Committee. A form of pledge was drawn up and 75 members present at the meeting signed it as volunteers. The first victim of Government wrath was Pandit Harkaran Nath Mishra of Lucknow who had gone to Lakhmipur to address a meeting. They followed the arrests at Lucknow of Maulana Khaliqurrazaman and others of the Congress and Khilafat Committees on the morning of 6th December. On the evening of the same day Pandits Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Parashottamdas Tandon and others were arrested, who have since been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for enlisting as volunteers. Then followed a short pause which was broken on the 11th instant by the arrest of 67 volunteers, mostly while painting a placard on the walls of Anand Bhavan requesting the people not to participate in the Prince's reception. The climax, however, was reached on the 13th instant when the whole Provincial Congress Committee was besieged by the police while in session, and the whole body of members excepting the two secretaries and two others were arrested. The Committee sat at 1 p. m. and continued the meeting till 9 in the evening. At about half past five the police under one D. S. P. named Mr. Fergusson arrived with some six motor vans for carrying prisoners, entered the premises of the Committee and blocked all passages. They searched the office till 9. When, the meeting having terminated, the members informed the D. S. P. of their intention to leave, the D. S. P. went over to the meeting and demanded the proceedings to be shown to him and finding a resolution therein recommending all district and taluk Congress Committees to organise Volunteer Corps, declared that an offence had been committed under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. He then asked all present one by one whether they were members of the Committee and had supported the resolution. All the members having replied in the affirmative, he arrested fifty-five of them including all the prominent workers of the province.

"During the search B. Shitaldasani, Editor of the *Swarn*, was kicked, boxed and otherwise assaulted by Mr. Fergusson so much so that blood came out of his shin. But he bore all that patiently. Several others also were badly treated and pushed and assaulted by the same officer. Everybody kept his temper. There was no search or arrest warrant produced, nor did the officers have their bodies searched before beginning the search. All papers, records and letters of the Provincial Congress Committee have been seized by the police and put under sealed lockers."

It is evident to me that this utter disregard of law and decency is not an individual act but is part of a deliberate plan to suppress all healthy public life, to provoke popular violence and then issue a much enlarged edition of Jalianwala. With the best intention to put a charitable construction on the series of acts described above, I have been unable to come to any other conclusion.

I am sorry that I suspect Lord Reading of Viceroy's complacency in the plot to shut us out for eternity.

A friend has suggested an alternative. He says that whilst Lord Reading must be held responsible for the threats used by him in his recent utterances, he might be quite unaware of the lawlessness of the subordinate officials or that he must have become helpless, the subordinate officials having simply disregarded his wishes to be strictly within the law. I must reject both the interpretations. Lord Reading, if he is trying legitimately to suppress popular lawlessness, must study and regulate the development of his campaign which he will not even allow to be called repression. If his subordinates being interested parties have gone out of hand, he must forthwith resign, at least publicly disown and condemn such illegalities and assaults and not attempt to excuse them on the flimsy plea of 'trying times.' I have myself suggested a possible explanation. His Excellency sympathises with our aspirations, and knowing his own countrymen, realises that we have got to be severely tried before they think of coming to terms, he is therefore trying and directing repression to see how far we are capable of bearing it and therefore sincere in our desire for freedom, and then having made out a case for us his clients, desires to compel a settlement. I am afraid however that I have to state the case only to be rejected. Human nature does not work quite that way. Lord Reading is not so entirely selfless, and if he is, he cannot possibly remain in charge of a Government which under its present constitution can give no relief to the people. It is therefore with the greatest reluctance that I am forced to conclude that Lord Reading is trying to emasculate India by forcibly making free speech and popular organisation impossible. I am prepared to believe that in all this he thinks that he is doing good to us and that we are not yet fit to be called men and women. He will soon have his eyes opened. We must not quarrel with his belief. Nor need we feel anxious about it. Let us acquit ourselves like men and women and we shall find that everything and everybody become favourable to us.

The pages of *Young India* are rarely occupied Round Table with an examination of Conference. what rulers think. It is an idle speculation. But as the papers are discussing, advising and debating upon such a conference, I have considered it appropriate to devote some space to an examination of the mentality of the chief actor in the drama now being played in India. In my opinion such a conference is bound to prove abortive till Lord Reading is disabused of the idea that non-co-operation is confined to a few misguided zealots. If he wants co-operation and contentment he must placate non-co-operators. He must see that non-co-operation is not the disease, it is the chief symptom of a disease. The disease consists in a triple injury to the people of India. And no palliative will soothe the patient so long as the

centre of the disease is not tackled. Outside the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the issue of Swaraj, no ordinance with a scheme framed by the chosen representatives of the people, repression is the easiest and the shortest way to a settlement. No Viceroy can, I freely confess, possibly allow things to drift. I admit that he must suppress civil disobedience as he would an armed rebellion unless he is prepared to remedy the evil towards which the disobedience is directed. Abstract truth has no value unless it incarnates in human beings who represent it by proving their readiness to die for it. Our wrongs live because we only pretend to be their living representatives. The only way we can prove our claim is by readiness to suffer in the discharge of our trust. We are on a fair way to proving ourselves worthy of it. But I hardly think we can yet claim to have given conclusive proof. Who knows if we shall not be found wanting when imprisonment means utter discomfort and even lashes? Who knows how many of us are ready to mount the gallows?

In my opinion therefore a conference at which the Government is represented will be useful only when the latter has tried the non-co-operators to its satisfaction and measured their strength in quantity and quality.

But since non-co-operation is a method of cultivating public opinion, I would certainly welcome a conference of co-operators and non-co-operators. I am sure that they want the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs redressed, I am aware that they want freedom for the country as much as non-co-operators. It has given me much pleasure to see almost every moderate journal condemning the present repressive policy of the Government. I had expected nothing less. And I know that if non-co-operators keep self-restraint, do not become violent, do not abuse their opponents, every liberal will become a non-co-operator. Indeed even Englishmen will veer round to the non-co-operators and the Government will, as it then must, capitulate. That is the expected and intended working of the method of non-co-operation. It reduces friction to a minimum. And if to-day it seems to have produced a contrary effect, it is because non-co-operators have only now begun to see that it is not enough to have been fairly non-violent in deed. It is equally necessary to be non-violent in word and thought. It is unlawful for a non-co-operator even to wish ill to his enemies. What our opponents dread most is undisciplined violence breaking out under cover of non-violence. They do not believe in our sincerity, i. e. of the vast majority of us. They see in it nothing but chaos and perdition. This repression therefore has come as a blessing in disguise. It is showing them and us that we have acquired influence over the populace to keep it under check even under provoking circumstances. Our restraint has not yet been tried long enough to be considered permanent. We are still in a

state of uncertainty. The people in Sialkot did stray away from the line but ever so slightly. We have had so many such little jerks that we do not possess the sense of security required to inspire an outsider's faith in the movement. I would therefore welcome every opportunity of meeting the co-operators on neutral ground or for showing the bona fide non-co-operators. The Government has shown that it is not by declaring its intention to suppress non-co-operation as such. It was on safe ground so long as it sought to put down violence or incitement to or approval of it. I have therefore no doubt that the co-operators will rise to a man against the Government madness—this vain attempt to stifle expression of opinion and agitation for redress of grievances. But I warn our friends against entertaining the idea of a conference with the Government till they find that it is truly penitent and means to appreciate the popular side. Let there be no conference on the boycott of welcome or the right of holding public meetings or forming associations of volunteers or others so long as they have no violent purpose. Boycott of the welcome will and must continue so long as the people's wishes are flouted, and public meetings and associations are elementary rights on which there can be no parleying. We must fight for them.

Let it be understood that non-co-operators are not offering civil disobedience that they had intended to. Their insistence on calling and attending public meetings and forming peaceful volunteer associations ought not to be dignified by the name of civil disobedience. Non-co-operators are merely on the defensive. They have not taken, as they certainly intend to take, the offensive as soon as they are fairly certain of non-violent atmosphere. The Government has obliged them by anticipating them and providing them with a test of their own capacity.

20th December.

The Government must have thought that Bombay The Right having stopped picketing of Picketing. of liquor shops, all other places would necessarily follow suit. But Poona has shown that it is a right that cannot be abandoned without good cause. As soon as orders were issued to prohibit picketing, "we decided to break the orders," says Mr. Kelkar, "and this morning notice has been sent to the District Magistrate that we shall even to-day proceed to break the order at a place and time specified. Myself, my son and Messrs. Bhopatkar, Gokhale, Paranjpye and about 16 others will form the first batch. Succession will, I am sure, be provided for by those who are left behind. Let us see how far Poona gives an account of itself in this matter." The party went, they were arrested, their names taken, and they were let off. Fresh parties have since been regularly going with the same result. Of course Maharashtra will never lag behind in suffering. It possesses the hardest body of workers in India. It is remarkable how in every province the front rank leaders have run the boldest risks. But whilst Mr. Kelkar and his party

had not the good fortune to be imprisoned, the Ajmer people fared better. On prohibition notices being issued, the workers regarding picketing as a 'religious right' took up the challenge. "Swaraj Sena volunteers were posted" says Pandit Chand Karan Sarda, "on all liquor shops. The Government also posted its police force and mounted Sawars on each shop with orders to arrest the pickets. As soon as one batch was arrested, the reserve volunteers took their place. The police arrested only 17 volunteers who were summarily tried and sentenced to 4 months and 3 weeks' rigorous imprisonment." They offered no defence. No more arrests seem to have been made at Ajmer. Where picketing can be practised without violence and ill-will against the liquor dealer or the drinker, it is a moral duty. That it has advanced the cause of temperance as nothing else has, no one can deny. Only the other day at Karamsid the Christian and Hindu Dhedhs gratefully informed me that as a result of picketing they had banished drink from their midst. Bombay has forfeited the right for the time being at any rate because of its wanton and malicious destruction of Parsi liquor shops and its disgraceful behaviour towards Parsis and Christians on the fateful 17th November and the two following days. I hope however that wherever picketing is practised, it will be entrusted to men or women of unimpeachable character and carried on in the friendliest spirit. We do not want to make people virtuous by force.

Apropos of Mr. Kelkar's letter, I must not omit to mention that the criticism passed against the Maharashtra Party. leaders who went to Akola was most undeserved. Here is what Mr. Kelkar says in the letter from which I have quoted.—

"Before concluding I wish earnestly to repudiate the most unkind charge levelled against me and the Akola Conference. Personally I was a mere witness and nothing more than a Regulator of Debate. None of the propositions passed or rejected had my full concurrence so far as their wording went. I was negotiating for a compromise amendment, but whatever one may say about the Conference at Akola, I want you to believe that the Conference having been decided upon in July or August last was held as mere matter of course, and it is cruel to say we joined the Conference because we thought it a good opportunity for airing our views as the ranks of Leaders were being depleted owing to repression, or what is worse still, for saving our skin.

I heartily endorse every word of what Mr. Kelkar says. It should be remembered that the letter was written when he was just expecting to be imprisoned.

The lead given by Shrimatis Vasantidevi Das Selling and Urmiladevi in selling Khadi. Khadi from house to house and hawking it in streets has been quickly taken up in the other parts of the country. Shrimati Sarala Devi writes, "I have to go immediately to the city to arrange to send 40 ladies in 20 groups under two volunteers each to sell Khadi in 20 lanes." In Madras too they are organising similarly. I cannot conceive any better occupation for ladies especially

be sold and spinners than popularly Khadi by hawking it themselves. It is fine training in throwing off false pride or false modesty. And it is a most harmless challenge to the police to arrest them if they dare. But if the practice is to become common it must be regulated by grown up ladies of position and without any bluster. Needless to say, there should be no undue pressure put upon the public to buy. We must not sicken them. Our business is merely to take this most useful national ware to their doors and give them the choice of buying or rejecting it.

Gladly inform husband arrested this morning.

A Worthy Wife. He asked me to wire you that he went jailed with

joy. Hope I shall continue his work to my utmost capacity. Aligadh is peaceful yet fully energetic. Khurshed Khwaja. I tender my congratulations to Khurshed Begum on her having sent such a noble message just as her husband was going to gaol. Khwaja Sahab is a barrister brought up in the lap of luxury. I have known him as a dandy conscious of his handsome features which he tried to set off with the finest fitting European clothes he could buy in the market, and I know him now as practically a Fakir. He is one of the bravest and the truest of Musalmans. He is as good a lover of India as he is of Islam. When Maulana Mahomed Ali could not possibly reside permanently at the National Muslim University, he left back upon Khwaja Sahab who left a growing practice in Patna to serve the University. I know that Khwaja Sahab implicitly believes in non-violence but he also believes in deathless courage and knows the art of dying. Before the Rowlatt Act was born and when with some Musalman friends I was thinking of embarking upon Satyagraha for the purpose of compelling the release of the Ali Brothers, I asked Khwaja Sahab how many Musalmans would join and be prepared to die without killing. He said at once, "Shwaib is certainly one. He is our *Bavard sans peur et sans reproche*. And probably I am half of Shwaib. I am sorry I cannot give you any more names." This talk took place in 1917 or 1918 but I have not forgotten the earnestness and the truthfulness and the humility that were written on those noble features as he was speaking the few sentences. Times have changed. Khwaja, I have no doubt, is a whole man and many more Musalmans have proved their bravery as was expected by Khwaja Sahab. No wonder his proud wife does not hesitate to say, "Hope I shall continue his work to my utmost capacity." Let not the reader laugh incredulously. I know the Aligadh boys. They will twine themselves round Khurshed Begum as perhaps they did not in the case of Khwaja. When a pure woman adds bravery and motherliness to her purity, she becomes at once a magnet in a way no man can. Dr. Mahomed Alam will look after the brains of the boys, but she will capture their hearts and turn them into gold. And what is more, as the students have to become masters of the art of spinning, Khurshed Begum, I doubt not,

will outdistance both her husband and Dr. Mahomed Alam in teaching that art. Begum Mahomed Ali has collected monies where her husband might have failed. I have already given my opinion that she is a better speaker than the Maulana. Let me take the reader into the secret that it was Shrimati Vasantidevi and Urmadevi who set Bengal on fire. I have before me a letter showing that the visit of the three ladies and their arrest struck the imagination of Bengal as the big sacrifice of Deshabandhu Das had not. It could not be otherwise. For woman is sacrifice personified. When she does a thing in the right spirit, she moves mountains. We have misused our women. We have possibly neglected them. But the spinning wheel, thank God, is transforming them. And when all the leaders and others who are in the good books of the Government have been honoured with imprisonment, I have not the faintest doubt that the women of India will finish the work left by men and they will do it far more gracefully than men.

When Professor Kripalani and his pupils were Babu arrested, I said to friends, Bhagavandas. How nice if Babu Bhagavandas is arrested. After all the Professor does not belong to Benares. But Babu Bhagavandas won't be. I did not then know that Babu Bhagavandas was the author of the very cautious leaflet which Prof. Kripalani was hawking. The next day his son sent the joyful message that Babuji was arrested and quite happy over the arrest. Babu Bhagavandas is a non-co-operator who has been always non-violent in thought word and deed. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He is a deeply religious man. He is a Zamindar. If Mrs Besant was the creator of the Central Hindu College, Babu Bhagavandas was its maker. His arrest therefore constitutes a sacrifice entirely pleasing to God. And the holy city could not possibly offer any better sacrifice. Babu Bhagavandas, as the readers of newspapers are aware was trying to get the Congress to formulate a scheme for Swaraj. He has been labouring hard for it. He has sent me a long list of suggestive questions which I have not been able to handle owing to the recent developments. His one anxiety was to avoid violence. If his arrest does not betray an anxiety on the part of the Government to invite violence, I do not know what can. Fortunately God often overrules man's plans and every event indicates more and more certainly that He is overruling the plans of this Government. The people are calm in spite of it.

A remarkable proof of the fact is furnished by the Remarkable following from Amritsar Proof, by Lala Girdharilal,

'Yesterday 14th instant at Punjab National Volunteers passed in procession starting from Chawk Farid through Hal Bazar preaching use of Khadi. Mr. Beatty D. S. P. and M. Fakir Hussain, Sub-Inspector asked volunteers to disperse. Volunteers offered themselves for arrest but refused to disperse. At this Mr. Beatty and M. Fakir Hussain began to beat volunteers mercilessly with cane, and

hunter, Mr. Beatty slashed his hunter indiscriminately and hurt many amongst public also. His hunter broke; then he began to beat with his hands. Fakir Hussain pulled the beard of one Mahomedan volunteer and beat him cruelly. Faces and bodies of volunteers bear marks of severe blows. Sub-Inspector used filthy abuse against Khushaf Volunteers and public bore this cowardly attack silently and calmly. Volunteers only said that if police consisted of brave men, they must either arrest or shoot them (volunteers). Police officers then left. These courageous and bleeding volunteers again started Swadeshi propaganda a little further up and passed through Kalra Jaimalsinh Karmonderi Bazar Jahanwala and finished near Queen's Statue, where they exhorted people to follow the Congress lead and join as National volunteers in large numbers. In spite of this grave provocation all is calm and quiet."

He thus amplifies the details in a letter from which I take the following

The sight was most provoking. What I admire most is that the volunteers undauntedly began their procession again with smiling faces although their bodies were smarting with the pain of the blows and cuts of the hunter. Many feel the pain to-day and are not likely to be free from it for some days.

"I rang up D. C. on the phone and asked him under whose orders and under what law were the volunteers beaten so shamefully. He pleaded ignorance of this severe beating. D. C. said that he had given orders that volunteers processions were to be dispersed as Government had declared National Volunteers Corps also as unlawful. He further said that his orders were to use minimum force. When I informed him that not minimum but maximum force was used, he said he would enquire. I wanted to know why he did not enforce the law and arrest the volunteers. He replied that his orders were otherwise. They do not wish to arrest ordinary volunteers."

"In Lahore on 13th a like treatment was meted out to the volunteers. These things were worse. Volunteers were not only beaten on the road but in the Kotwali also. They were made to stand with their faces towards the wall and they were beaten on their backs with the butt-end of the police batons. Later on the volunteers were set free in Latches one or two miles away from the city at two in the night. Their coats were removed. In this severe winter of the Punjab nothing could be more inhuman. Some were let off near the Ravi river, others near the canal towards the Mall and so on. I have merely stated facts without comment. I learn that the Punjab Government has sent Circulars to all District Officers to disperse Volunteer processions by force but not to arrest them. It is done solely to humiliate as also with a view to provoke violence. The idea may be that people will be cowed down. In any case this whole policy is mischievous and dangerous. So far people have observed peace."

God will soon reward the patience of the Panjabis who are bearing their sufferings in the bravest

manner. What is happening in the Punjab we may expect throughout India, if the supply continues and there is no room in the Government prisons for so many prisoners. In a war of give and take too we would have to sacrifice many lives. When we have only to give, I have no doubt that the toll will not be, cannot be, so heavy as when we take and give. This is a commercial view to take of a sacred act. But it is a true view and I see no harm in our realising that by refraining from retaliation we make ourselves responsible for the least possible human suffering.

Police has just arrested me under 124 A. Thanks A Spotless Sacrifice. to Almighty for this privilege for humble service to mother land. I go without rancour or any other feelings but that of duty done truthfully and firmly for India's liberation. I feel that I shall be serving the country not less usefully and joyfully inside the prison walls than I have endeavoured to do outside them." Thus writes Jai Ramdas. His letter received the same day informed me of the arrests of Mr. Vesumal Tejmal, Maulvi Fattah Mahomed and Maulvi Syed Abbas all three prominent workers. These cases have brought up the total arrests to 95 for Sindh. I consider Jai Ramdas's a spotless sacrifice. I know that he had never harboured ill-will even in thought a claim that cannot be advanced for many. He has been ever punctiliously truthful and self-effacing. The Government must know that Jai Ramdas would never encourage or contemplate violence. He has been ever mindful to yield voluntary obedience to the laws of the state. He knows therefore the meaning of civil disobedience. But the only use the state can make of Jai Ramdas is to imprison him. It is such imprisonments that hasten the advent of Swaraj in the religious sense of the term.

The sacrifice that Delhi is offering is also in the interest of peace. I am publishing the following from Dr. Ansari to show what extraordinary precautions Delhi is taking to keep up a peaceful atmosphere

"On the 14th no volunteers were sent. On the morning of the 15th 43 submitted themselves for arrest early in the morning at the Kashmir Gate Police Station, after waiting for two hours and a half at the place mentioned in their letter to the D. O. The police were evidently not informed as they were taken quite unawares when the volunteers presented themselves at the station. There was only one entry at the gate, the other constables got very nervous, hurriedly dressed themselves putting their uniform all the wrong way, and ultimately a lifting the gate of the police station in great excitement and alarm. But the leader of the volunteers Sardar Sandar Singh counselled them and put them at their ease. This brought the total number to 131.

"On the 15th 2 Latches of volunteers comprising 40 and 46 respectively marched to Narayana Police Station and Sakasand, but were not arrested in spite of their repeated requests. They therefore returned home

"On the 16th there was an unusual display of force on the part of the authorities. The Kotwali, in the Chhandani Chok and the road for some distance on either side were picketed with armed police. There were also mounted police, a number of sergeants, the D. C., the S. P. and the D. S. P., one Magistrate and several Indian Police officers stationed at the Kotwali. All the banks were guarded by the police and a number of police pickets were placed at different places. A crowd had gathered in front of the Kotwali as crowds always do when they see such a display of force, but our men in multi kept them on the move and perfectly peaceful. But without any apparent cause and without any provocation so far as we are able to ascertain, some sergeants became aggressive in dispersing the crowd and used their whips, beating the harmless people. The Indian police showed marked restraint when ordered to disperse the crowd, but the sergeants' assaults on the people caused a number of serious injuries to them.

In spite of this violence the people showed a calm courage and did not retaliate. We felt, however, that if this kind of thing is continued, it would be difficult to restrain the people.

"On making investigations we ascertained that the cause of all this display of force was the false rumour (started we do not know how) that Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib was going with a force of one thousand volunteers on the 16th.

"Owing to Rathayatra on the 17th and also in order to create a more calm and peaceful atmosphere in the public we decided to wait on the 17th and 18th and not send out any volunteers on these dates.

"We have changed our plans for the future, when we propose to employ the volunteers in their normal duties regarding the distribution of Charkhas, the collection of yarn from the different quarters, the production and sale of Khadi.

"The fact that they have refused to arrest the volunteers is a clear proof of our moral victory, but we do not propose to rest on our oars. There is a vigorous movement set on foot in the city to enrol every adult male in the N. V. C. We have seen that every shopkeeper and his assistants, every tonga-driver, every coolie and cartman, in fact every single inhabitant of Delhi will appear dressed in the Swadeshi uniform of the N. V. C. even when following his daily vocation.

"In all humility we offer our thankful prayers to the Almighty God for having supported us in our efforts so far and we have sufficient faith in Him to believe that He will not forsake us.

The letter exhibits a religious spirit about the manner of conducting the campaign in the teeth of the hooliganism of the authorities. The infection of Lahore and Amritsar is evidently spreading. The unprovoked assaults by custodians of order reported from Amritsar, Lahore and now Delhi in the North and their equally wanton behaviour in Calcutta in the East are putting a strain upon peaceful nature beyond endurance. Can anything but a fine religious spirit account for the calmness that is being sustained among the people of India?

To show the thorough nature of the work of Remarkable ensuring peace that is Pledge. being done in Delhi, I extract the following remarkable pledge from Mr. Asaf Ali's letter which he wrote when he offered himself and fifty two others for arrest:

"With full consciousness of the omnipresence and omniscience of God I declare that it shall be my solemn duty (1) to attain Swaraj by peaceful means, (2) to preserve and foster unity between the members and followers of the various communities and religions of India, (3) to regard no class or community as contemptible or untouchable, (4) to sacrifice life and property for the honour and interests of my country, (5) to wear clothes made of cloth unspun and hand-woven in the country, (6) to obey without demur the orders of the officers, (7) so long as I am not discharged from the Corps, to observe myself and persuade others to observe non-violence (or as long as the Congress continues to follow this policy) and finally I will cheerfully bear privations and troubles in my confront meduring my connection with a National Volunteer Corps and no other I nor any of my dependents and relations expect any compensation."

Madras and Andhra are slowly but surely The Toll from creeping up and I Dravida Land. should not be surprised if the Dravidians come up to the level of Beagal which has now 1500 imprisonments to its credit. Erode alone has done bravely in the matter of temperance. Mr. Ramswamy Naikar has therefore been rewarded with one month's simple imprisonment. During the past fortnight thirty seven convictions have taken place already in this little place. And now Mrs. Naikar and Mr. Naikar's sister are to take up picketing. The Criminal Law Amendment Act has just been put in force there. Lord Willingdon has stated his policy. Like Sir Harcourt Butler he too wants to maintain the respect for law and order. We may any day therefore expect a perfect hurricane of arrests where at present only a breeze seems to be blowing. They are conducting Mr. Rajagopalachari's and Mr. Subramanya Shastri's case under summons. The trial is practically finished. Rajagopalachari has asked for the highest penalty. I hope that the Magistrate will oblige him and transfer from friends to gaolers the care of his ailing body which is causing anxiety to his fellow workers. Like Pandit Motilalji he has been wearing away his body ever since the commencement of non-co-operation. Dr. Ansari is now the sole surviving secretary of the Congress and I have no doubt that he will not be long getting his reward for meritorious service. The Government is preparing the country for the final declaration that the Congress and the Khilafat Committee are unlawful organisations in which case every one connected with them must render himself liable to arrest. Nor will such a declaration be a strange procedure. The Congress, if it is allowed to continue its peaceful career must supplant the present Government, a contingency the latter cannot contemplate with equanimity. The Congress, if it

is worth existence, cannot depart by a hair's breadth from its course and if it survives the present test, it will do so not by the sufferance of the Government but by the weight of its own univalled influence upon the masses. Viewed in that light, the survival of the Congress after the Government's challenge is Swaraj.

A telegram from the Lahore Publicity Board Attendance says that the Deputy a Crime. Commissioner of Hazara District has warned the delegates elected to the Congress that "if they attend the Congress, they are liable to be expelled from the District under Section 36 Frontier Crime Regulations." I hope that the Congress delegates in Hazara will take up the challenge and now regard it a point of honour to attend the Congress in their full strength. The Hazara Commissioner's action is in keeping with the raiding of the Congress and Khilafat offices in Bengal, the United Provinces and Assam. The unity of method betrays unity of design and therefore prearranged plan to kill the movement by killing the Congress and the Khilafat Committees.

Thus runs a wire from Parnas:—

Response
from Bihar.

"Shafi, Jannardhari Prasad, Vindhyacharyaprasad of Muzaffarpur, Lubair, Shri Krishna, Tateshwari Prasad, Dharmanarayan of Mooghur, Krishna Prasad, Bajrangdutt, Ramchankar, Qazi Husna of Gaya, Madhavaiah, Bharat Mishra of Chapra and leading men besides 150 volunteers arrested."

Another telegram reads:

"Eighteen batches volunteers paraded town 10 to 4 Monday chiefly law courts. Appearing litigants and cases Panchayats. One prominent Vakil being requested follow example, other Vakils abused, slapped two volunteers Habib and Abdul Majid who remained perfectly non-violent and continued work more firmly. People realising the truth of non-violence. Use of Khadi getting general. Preparing for further civil disobedience."

Bihar, the land of Jaake and Sita, the land of perhaps the most afflicted and docile people in all India, is a land of sorrows. Bihar is a province which has kept most non-violent. It has shown splendid results in most items of non-co-operation. Whereas eighteen months ago the *Charkha* and the use of *Khadi* were unknown to Bihar, its villages to-day contain thousands of them, and thousands of men and women now habitually wear *Khadi*. It contains both among its Hindus and Musalmans probably the most selfless workers throughout India who work silently and without bragging. No one has uttered a whisper about the sincerity of its leaders. And yet even Bihar has come in for this ruthless interference with peaceful activity.

But it is all for the good of the country. The Bihar will feel all the stronger for the imprisonments, the kicks and the slaps if they are borne ungrudgingly, valiantly and without ill-will. Let the people be tried

as to their faith in non-violence, in *Khadi*, in temperance, in avoidance of litigation in self-restraint and self-purification. That would be also our fitness for Swaraj.

It will be remembered that immediately after Mr. The *Independent* George Joseph's suppressed. arrest when a new

declaration was made by Mr. Mahadev Desai as publisher and printer, a security of Rs. 2,000 was demanded. Under Panditji's advice the security demanded was lodged and the paper reappeared after a day's suspension. The security was deposited on the 7th instant. It was forfeited on the 20th. There was no change of tone or policy for there was nothing to change. The *Independent* was edited by a Barrister who wrote always under restraint and with dignity. On Mr. Joseph's incarceration it was taken up by Mr. Mahadev Desai with whose style the readers of *Young India* are not unfamiliar. The security was forfeited because of its articles, 'Let us also see it through' and Mrs. Nehru's message. The first contains a list of volunteers and the second is a balanced review of the position. But the local Government contend that the articles 'contain words which have a tendency to interfere with the administration of the law and with the maintenance of law and order.' The law we know, the notification of disbandment; the order too we know, the prohibition of the holding of public meetings. And the *Independent* has certainly in common with the whole of the nationalist Press encouraged interference with such law and such order.

But the Government will soon find out its mistake. The *Independent* may die but the spirit that it has evoked among the people cannot die. The *Independent* may not be printed but it can be written. If the Editor is a trustee for his employers, he has also his own individuality to keep. Mahadev Desai the Editor lives, although the Printer in him may sleep for a while. And I am hoping that he will now write his paper instead of printing it. The readers will benefit by the enforced condensation of news and editorial notes. For multiplying copies I suggest the use of roneo, cyclostyle or chromograph. And if the law or its arbitrary interpretation permits the Government to confiscate even a cyclostyle or a roneo, Mr. Desai's pen can still serve the country until he himself is confiscated and lodged in the Central Jail of Allahabad. Nationalist press proprietors beware. They may not abandon their mission till the bottom penny has been spent up in the cause.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

for 'Young India' will be received at the Navajivan stall (No. 106) on the Exhibition grounds, and a receipt passed for them. All inquiries will also be attended to. Manager, *Young India*.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

for *Young India* must be sent strictly in advance by money order. The paper is not sent by V. P.

RE THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE

Referring to Lord Ronaldshay's speech at the Legislative Council on Monday last, Mr. [Name] made the following statement to the correspondent of the Associated Press at his Ashram late in the night. I have read Lord Ronaldshay's speech in the Bengal Legislative Council. While I regret the note of [Name] about it, I cannot say that it is most misleading. I do not want to criticise those parts of the speech which lend themselves to criticism. I simply want to say that the present situation is entirely [Name] and the Viceroy's doing. In spite of my strong desire to avoid suspecting the Government of India and the Local Governments of a wish to precipitate a conflict with the people, up to now all that I have heard and read leads me to the conclusion that my suspicion is justified. Whilst I do not wish to deny the existence of some sort of pressure, even intimidation, on the part of [Name], I do wish emphatically to deny that in connection with the phenomenal *hartal* on the 17th November in Calcutta, there was any intimidation, organised or [Name] by or on behalf of the Local Congress or the Khilafat Committees. On the contrary, I am certain that the influence exerted by both these bodies was in the direction of avoiding all intimidation. Moral pressure there certainly was and will always be in all big movements, but it must be clear to the simplest understanding that a complete *hartal* such as Calcutta witnessed on the 17th November would be an impossibility by mere intimidation. But assume that there was intimidation. Was there any reason for disbanding Volunteer Corps, prohibiting public meetings and enforcing laws which are under promise of repeal? Why has no attempt been made to prove a single case of intimidation? It grieves me to have to say that the Governor of Bengal has brought in the discovery of swords or sword-sticks in one place in Calcutta to discredit large public organisations. Who intimidated the people into observing a complete *hartal* in Allahabad after all the leaders were arrested and in spite of the reported undue official pressure that was exercised upon shopkeepers and gharwallas at that place? Again His Lordship says, "If we are to assume that this development means there is genuine desire to bring about improvement, there must be a favourable atmosphere. In other words, it will be generally agreed that truce must be an essential preliminary to any possible conference. If responsible leaders of non-co-operation now come forward with definite assurance that this is the correct interpretation, I should then say we were in sight of such a change of circumstances as would justify Government in reconsidering the position. But words must be backed by deeds. If I were satisfied only that there was general desire for the conference and that responsible non-co-operation leaders were prepared to take action, then I should be prepared to recommend my Government to take steps in consonance with the altered situation." This is highly misleading. If wherever words "non-co-operation leaders" occur, the word "Government" were put in and if the whole of the statement came from a non-co-operator, it would represent the correct situation. Non-co-operators have really to do nothing, for they have precipitated nothing. They are over-cautious. The disturbance in Bombay was allowed to override their keen desire to take up aggressive Civil Disobedience but in the present circumstances the phrase "Civil Disobedience" is really a misnomer. What non-co-operators are doing to-day, I

claim, every co-operator would do to-morrow under similar circumstances. When the Government of India or the Local Governments attempt to make our political existence or agitation, no matter how peaceful, an utter impossibility, may we not resist such attempt by every lawful means at our disposal? I cannot imagine anything more lawful or more natural than that we should continue our volunteer organisations purging them of every tendency to become violent and continue also to hold public meetings taking the consequences of such a step. Is it not proof of the law-abiding instinct of hundreds of young men and old men that they have meekly, without offering any defence and without complaining, accepted imprisonment for having dared to exercise their elementary rights in the face of Government persecution? And so it is the Government which is to prove its genuine desire for a conference and an ultimate settlement. It is the Government which has to arrest the fatal course along which repression is taking it. It is the Government that is to prove to non-co-operators its *bona fides* before it can expect them to take part in any conference. When the Government does that, it will find that there is an absolutely peaceful atmosphere. Non-co-operation, when the Government is not resisting anything except violence, is a most harmless thing. There is really nothing for us to suspend. We cannot be expected, until there is actual settlement or guarantee of settlement, to ask schoolboys to return to Government schools or lawyers to resume practice or public men to become candidates for the Councils or title-holders to ask for return of titles. In the nature of things, it is therefore clear that non-co-operators have to do nothing. Speaking personally I can certainly say that if there is a genuine desire for a conference, I would be the last person to advise precipitating aggressive Civil Disobedience, which certainly it is my intention to do immediately. I am entirely satisfied that the people have understood the secret of non-violence; and let me say the last ten days' events have shown that the people seem clearly to understand its inestimable value. If then the Government recognises that non-co-operators mean business and intend to suffer limitlessly for the attainment of their goal, let the Government unconditionally retrace its steps, cancel the notifications about disbandment of volunteer organisations and prohibition of public meetings and release all those men in the different provinces who have been arrested and sentenced for so-called Civil Disobedience or for any other purpose given under the definition of non-co-operation but excluding acts of violence, actual or intended. Let the Government come down with a heavy hand on every act of violence or incitement to it, but we must claim the right for all time of expressing our opinions freely and educating public opinion by every legitimate and non-violent means. It is therefore the Government who have really to undo the grave wrong they have perpetrated and they can have the conference they wish in a favourable atmosphere. Let me also say that so far as I am concerned I want no conference to consider the ways and means of dealing with non-co-operation. The only conference that can at all avail at this stage is a conference called to deal with the causes of the present discontent, namely the Khilafat and the Panjab Wrongs and Swaraj. Any conference again which can usefully sit at the present stage must be a conference that is really representative and not a conference to which only those whom the Government desire are invited.

There is no doubt that all this repression has stirred
A 'Hopeful Sign.' the lawyers and the students. The Bar Association of the Punjab has lodged an energetic protest against the trial of Lal Bahadur Shastri and others in gaol and against the prohibition of attendance at the trial save to a few members of Lal Bahadur's family. Many more pleaders in Bihar and Assam have announced suspension of practice. From Delhi Mr. Ansari writes:

"The most hopeful sign of all is the fact that our work has produced good effect on the lawyers and well-to-do people. They have formed an association for the assistance of the relatives of those who have gone to gaol. Many of them have subscribed liberally from their income. So far they have arranged for a monthly sum of over 2,000 Rs. for this purpose. They have done this without any request or desire on our part purely from a humanitarian point of view."

As with the lawyers so with the students. Many Bengal **Students' colleges** are practically empty. **Protest.** Some students have struck for a period, others indefinitely. The Dayalsingh College students resolved to wear *Ahimsa* dress only from the 16th instant and to boycott the welcome to the Prince. They have also voted congratulations to the leaders who are undergoing imprisonment. It is a step in the right direction that the students of the Dayalsingh College have taken. Even if the student class have not been touched by the moving appeal of Shrinani Vasantidevi to leave their colleges, they are expected to take note of and give their due share in the mighty movement that is daily gathering force. Let them ponder over items like this taken at random from the Calcutta Press:

"Two boys Ramji Prasad of 9 and Haribans Mehta of 10 years Chatterji National School were caned mercilessly in the presence of the District Magistrate under his order by his orderly for reciting the *future* regarding Government service but the brave lads asked the Magistrate to do what he could to the point of bending their backs to break the bones and said that even then they would not give up reciting the *future*."

This fire of suffering has brought forth some fine **Language of the Heart.** thoughts clothed in beautiful language. I must confess that I have seen nothing like it before in all the ponderous speeches and addresses which have tickled our ears or delighted our intellect. Whether one looks at Lalaji's manifesto, Pandit Motilalji's message, or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's, one cannot fail to be struck with their beauty. But no one has been more touching, more fervent, more prophetic than the President-elect. He has poured forth short crisp messages that have come straight from the heart. I wish some enterprising publisher will collect all these messages and publish them in book form. But I cannot resist the temptation of citing two passages from his message to the students given after hearing of two years' rigorous imprisonment awarded to Professor Jitendralal Banerjee. The first is a striking quotation from Jiten Babu's own vigorous statement before the court. Here it is:

"If it is a sin to have demagogued liberty for my countrymen with full and passionate intensity of soul, then I have sinned grievously, sinned beyond pardon or penitence and I regret that I have so sinned. If it is an offence to have asked my people to shake off the fetters of foreign servitude that degrades and dwarfs our humanity, then I am one of the most of our souls alive, and I rejoice that God gave me the courage and hardness to commit such an offence. And as the All-merciful gave me courage and strength in the past to speak out the truth that is within me, so I hope that He will give me endurance in the future to go through the agony of man's unrighteous persecution."

And here are the closing paragraphs of Jiten Babu's appeal;—

"What is Jitendralal Banerjee? I ask the students of Calcutta to realise the truth of his life. Words cannot convey it. The work that he did, the life which he lived, the qualities of his head and heart, all culminating in the grand sacrifice which he had the courage to make—these are more eloquent than any words that I can employ."

"I ask again what is Jitendralal Banerjee? I wish with all the craving of my heart the students of Calcutta knew how to answer this question. He had given his life for the well-being of his dear devoted students. Are there none now to tell us the meaning of his sacrifice not by speaking angry words, nor by shedding idle tears but by taking up the cause he loved so well and by strengthening that cause by their own sacrifice?"

"Merely existing is not living. I wish I could say students of Calcutta were living as men should live, as Jitendralal Banerjee lived. Now that his body is imprisoned, is there no one amongst the students of Calcutta who has the heart to hear the call of his soul?"

Let no one underestimate the importance of these appeals as mere emotion. Let no one belittle or scoff henceforth at Bengal's emotion. Bengal has moved out to the call of the country in a manner not expected even by me with all my staunch faith in Bengal. All the response that is being made is not confined to Calcutta merely nor to Chittagong but to every place in Bengal where repression has gone. It is not froth. One does not undergo suffering by empty appeals or empty emotionalism. Bengal has proved the solidity of her emotion.

Max Muller has somewhere written that truth must be **An Insistent Message.** repeated till it has gone home even as we are all enjoined to repeat not vainly out deliberately the name of God till we realise Him. The Shikhs Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee which seems to possess a most efficient publicity bureau has sent the second message of Sardar Khadak Singh from his imprisonment. It is almost a verbal repetition of the first. The Sardar Sahab tells the Khalsa that 'every Shikh should wear *Khaddi*, take simple food. Non-violence is the key to success.' He further expects that all members of the Akali Jathas in particular and the Shikhs public in general shall at once give up the use of tea. What the Sardar Sahab says is but too true. High thinking is not possible without simple living. If we are to identify ourselves with the masses, we have to live as simply as is consistent with health. There can be no other cloth for us but *Ahimsa*. A simple life conduces to non-violence. I have not been able to understand the Sardar's

insistence on the abstinence from tea. Whether tea has grown on the Shikhs more than any other drink I do not know. I should have expected an exhortation to give up all kinds of all kinds. But perhaps some Sikh friends will explain the stress laid on the disuse of tea.

■

The spinning wheel was the subject of a debate in the Madras Council when one of the members introduced a resolution recommending that the Government should introduce improved patterns of spinning wheels and stimulate hand spinning and hand weaving. The resolution was thrown out after a full discussion, 22 members voting in its favour. The arguments that were advanced against the resolution were that "Khadi was nothing better than gaily and that no man of common sense would prefer it to cheap machine-made cloth. In this age of machinery it would be criminal to go back to hand spinning," that "handspun yarn was weak," and lastly that "the spinning wheel had been found to be economically unsound and that therefore public money ought not to be spent on it." All these arguments were sufficiently met by the advocates of the wheel in the Council. But the point of interest was that the doctrine of economical unsoundness of the wheel enunciated by the Minister in charge of the Department in question was opposed by the economical expert of the Madras Government Dr. Slater, who appealed to the Minister to keep an open mind in the matter. Dr. Slater appreciates the fact that the agriculturists of India who are growing poorer need some such supplementary occupation as spinning. But his expert opinion was disregarded by the prejudiced majority

of the Council who would not even study facts, who do not know that the Madras Government has already set up manufactures very fine handspun Ahmedabad yarn and that the trouble to learn that even a scientist like Dr. Slater who has passed all his life in making minute researches and producing big companies, has become a convert to the Charkha. Is it any wonder that ladies and gentlemen of station would know the message of the spinning wheel find it necessary to hawk Khadi in order to popularise its use?

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

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Ahmedabad.

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YOUNG INDIA

Edited by M. K. GANDHI.

AHMEDABAD, 24th, DECEMBER 1921.

ONE ANNA

The Working Committee.

The Working Committee of the Congress met and concluded its sitting yesterday. All the members excepting those that have gone to gaol and the outgoing President, who is expected to arrive on the 21st, were present. Of the fifteen members of the Committee five are in gaol. This was indeed, a big gap. But India has learnt the beauty of suffering and has taken these imprisonments in quite a sportsman-like spirit. In the place of the members who are in gaol representatives of the provinces were invited to advise the Committee on the situation in their respective provinces and to help the Committee in its deliberations. The following members of the Committee are in gaol either as prisoners or undertrial prisoners.

1. Pandit Motilal Nehru.
2. Lala Lajpatrai.
3. Mr. C. R. Das.
4. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
5. Mr. C. Rajgopalachary.

Mr. Rajgopalachary's case.

Of the three General Secretaries of the Congress two are in gaol today. Mr. Rajgopalachary has at last got three months' simple. After receiving the sentence he wired "Three months' simple. Vellore Jail." The reader, perhaps, knows that he pleaded for the maximum punishment which it was in the power of the Court to inflict under the Section. But he was not quite as lucky as we might have wished. Three months' rest is hardly sufficient for him to recoup his health. While therefore we congratulate him upon the honour which has come to him, our congratulations are tempered by the reflection that the rest is too short.

Asphyxiation again.

The Indian public were horrified by the Malabar train tragedy. Today we present them with a smaller edition of the same. Closed flats with an opening here and there are used very extensively for carrying goods in the rivers of Eastern Bengal and a report from Madaripur a small town in Eastern Bengal says:—

About 200 convicted volunteers have been huddled into a small flat in mid-river. Prisoners felt extreme suffocation in midday. It is feared that loss of life may take place in consequence. Many have got dysentery and caught cold. The supply of food is quite inadequate. After living for 24 hours in the flat some members of the Shanti Senas of tender age were simply gasping for breath. B. Surendranath Biswas who is

naturally sickly has been calmly and cheerfully enduring all sorts of hardships. The public are very indignant at this and they apprehend serious results to the persons so detained. It is rumoured that all these prisoners will have to remain in the flat for days together but there is hardly sufficient space in the flat for them all even to squat comfortably. There is no arrangement for the supply of blankets to prisoners. Extreme cold under the corrugated roofing of the flat in the river may prove fatal to many. The Jail is overcrowded.

At midnight S. Chittaranjan Bose son of S. Gopal Ch. Bose of Madaripur, a Shanti Sena of tender age, became senseless in the flat. He was carried to the hospital for treatment.

Comment is needless. The fact itself is sufficiently eloquent to prove the criminal heartlessness of the bureaucracy. We must be prepared to suffer all this and even worse as we do not expect any quarter from a Government which we are out to end if it will not mend.

The Punjab Government Threat.

The Punjab Government has issued a threat to newspapers in the Punjab in the form of a communique. It says

"The Government is advised that newspapers publishing incitements, whether in the form of news or otherwise, to any persons to disobey the law, commit an offence, and thinks it desirable therefore to issue a gentle warning against the publication of news, correspondence or editorial matter containing such incitements."

The old game again. So newspapers in the Punjab are not safe to print even news that are likely to incite the people to disobey the law. For instance, if a paper prints that the President-elect of the Congress has been arrested and if that puts strength into the heart of the people to disobey the humiliating and unmoral laws which are intended to grind them down, the paper is liable to prosecution. If again, it prints that an acute lawyer like Pandit Motilal Nehru declined to recognise the authority of the Court and refused to plead his case before it, and if the people take this lesson to heart the paper is liable to prosecution. In short, all facts relating to the noncooperation movement are taboo under this communique.

A triumph of Non violence.

Mr. Subodhchandra Chakravarti an Inspector of police in Bengal, has resigned his service with the Government. He has been on long leave under medical certificate but was invited to

attend the police parade before the Prince in Calcutta on the 30th December when he was to have been presented with the king's Police Medal for meritorious service. He gives the history of his service and the reason for resignation in the following terms:-

I entered the police force in February 1903, and since then I think I have discharged my duty most loyally to the best of my ability. I worked in the Intelligence Branch of the C. I. D. Bengal, for about eight years and I think I did my best to put down the agitation attended with violence and I felt quite satisfied in making secret enquiries, arrests and prosecutions and putting those violent members into jail but at present I see the violence has changed its place and is being wantonly exercised by the administrators. I think it beneath my dignity to be called even a Bengal policeman engaged to molest our brothers and sisters for nothing. I wonder to see the behaviour of some sergeants and half-caste Civil Guards towards our little boys of 10, 11 and 12 with my own eyes. In the above circumstances, I can not but tender my humble resignation from today. Hope you will kindly see that it is accepted early."

The conversion of Mr. Subodhchandra is a striking illustration of the purifying honour of non-violence. We place the case specially before those who accept non-violence only as a policy and refuse to accept it as a creed in order to show its potency. Mr. Subodh Chandra deserves all our congratulations for his appreciation of the fact that all violence is now on the Government side.

Penalty for Delegates.

With reference to the notice to the Congress delegates from Hazara District referred to in the last issue of Young India, we quote section 36 Frontier Crime Regulations under which the notice was issued. "Wherein in the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner any person who (a) is a dangerous fanatic or (b) belongs to a Frontier tribe and has no ostensible means of subsistence or cannot give satisfactory account of himself (c) or has a blood feud or (d) has occasioned cause of quarrel likely to lead to bloodshed, the Deputy Commissioner may by order in writing require him to reside beyond the limits of the territories as may be specified in the order; provided that if the person has a fixed habitation in the place which the Deputy Commissioner requires him to leave an order under this section shall not be made without the previous sanction of the Chief Commissioner.

Thus evidently the Superintendent who issued the notice considers delegates as dangerous fanatics.

Sikhs and the Deputation

Pandit M. Malaviya sent the following telegram to S. Prem Singh Sodhi Bansi of Sahare.

"Suggest Sikh commanding confidence whom I may ask join deputation Viceroy present situation reply".

S. Prem Singh Sodhi Bansi's reply which was held back by the Lahore Telegraph Office on the ground of its being objectionable runs as follows:-

"Received. Sikh Community forced by unwarranted and unjustifiable action of Government have taken to Civil Disobedience. Viceroy's recent speeches and Police brutal treatment to Sikhs Akalis and general public in Amritsar jail have roused righteous indignation. In my opinion your endeavour for deputation inconsistent with public sentiment and against principles of noncooperation "

Protest from Liberals.

An influential and emphatic protest against the new policy of the U. P. Government was issued by 25 prominent cooperators of Allahabad in which they repudiate the view expressed by Sir Harcourt Butler in a speech on 17th December at a Darbar held at Lucknow. The signatories say, that the Government is losing the sympathy even of those who were its friends and supporters. The Madras Liberal League also passed a resolution protesting against the inauguration of the policy of wholesale repression and indiscriminate arrests.

News that matter

The Punjab.

In the case against Lala Lajpatrai and others the court has appointed Counsel to argue in defence, in the teeth of the protests of the accused.

Mr. Stokes has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment, and Lala Trilokchand to 3 months imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 300.

37 Volunteers were arrested at Amritsar on the 17th. There is a report of further serious injuries inflicted on the public by police charging with Lathis.

Students of the Dayanand A. V. College hostel (Lahore) have passed a resolution that they would attend College clad in Khadi with effect from the reopening of the College after Christmas. This practice is worthy of imitation by students all over the Country.

Delhi

Lalas Shankarlal and Hanmant Sahai (Delhi) have been sentenced to three years and four months rigorous imprisonment respectively. 35 Other workers have been sentenced to between three and six months rigorous imprisonment. Six members of the Congress Committee got one year's simple imprisonment.

Mr. Taqi and Dr Abdul Rehman (Delhi) have been sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment.

The U. P.

Babu Bhagwandas has been sentenced at Benares to one year's simple imprisonment. Prof. Kripalani has also been convicted along with 30 volunteers.

Babu Jayram Saksena, Secretary U. P. Congress Committee has been sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 or in default 3 months more.

27 Out of the 55 members of the Provincial Congress Committee have been sentenced to 18 months' simple and the rest to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment with a fine or in default one month more.

At Lucknow 9 volunteers have been sentenced to six months' and one, to three months' simple imprisonment.

Three volunteers at Mathura were sentenced to four months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 25 or in default one month more. There have been 15 further arrests.

Pandit Brahmadeva publisher of the Kartavya (Etawah) has been ordered to furnish a security of Rs. 2000 under the Press Act and not to work the press till the security is given.

38 more volunteers were convicted to one month's rigorous imprisonment at Alibabad on the 21st, Orissa.

Mr. Nasiruddin Shah Mahomed Yasim and Sjt. Shivaprasad Lal were convicted to 6 and 3 months' imprisonments respectively, Bengal.

Mr. Varid Ali Khan of Mymensing has been sentenced to 3 months' rigorous imprisonment.

205 Volunteers were convicted and there were 200 further arrests on the 11th. 96 were convicted and 107 more arrested on the 20th.

The girls of the Eden Intermediate College have suspended attendance in their classes as a protest against indiscriminate repression till 31st December.

The Jagannath College is partially affected. A Nar Karma Mandir has been formed with Sreemati Rafulla Devi as Secretary. Lady volunteers are doing splendid Swadeshi work.

Spurious leaflets.

Leaflets in Bengali, Hindi, Oriya, and Urdu to the effect that in the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi coolies and mill labourers need not join the hartal of the 24th December are being distributed, it is said by thousands amongst the labouring classes of Calcutta and the suburbs. Neither the Congress nor the Khilafat Committee has any connection with this leaflet. Its manufacture must be the work of some other Agency.

Madras.

Eight Volunteers at Erode were sentenced to one or to two months' simple imprisonment.

Bombay.

Government have taken forcible possession of the Municipal Schools in Ahmedabad, Surat and Nadia.

Sir Norman Macleod C. J. and Sir Lallubhai Shah have set aside the order of the Sub-Judge of Devrukh directing Mr. J. V. Vaid a pleader not to appear before him in a khaki cap. (Vide Young India of the 15th instant)

The pleaders on the Appellate side of the Bombay High Court have protested against the repressive policy of the Government.

Sindh

Mr. Jalramdas Desai Ram Amchandani has been sentenced to 2 years rigorous imprisonment. Maulvi Fatehmahomed and Mahomed Karim Pirzada have been sentenced each to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

The Congress Diary.

The All India Congress Committee meets to-day at 1 P. M.

Mrs. Sarupani Nehru will perform the ceremony of opening the Swadeshi Exhibition at 10 A. M.

Khadinagar provides purely vegetarian diet. Non-vegetarians may be provided for at Muslimnagar.

Shrimati Sarojini Naidu arrives today.

Shrimati Vasantidevi Das has decided not to attend the Congress on account of pressure of public work. Shrimati Urmiladevi is expected on the 26th. Mr. Andrews is expected on the 27th.

The Khilafat Conference and the Muslim League.

The first meeting of the All India Khilafat Conference is provisionally fixed for the 26th. Arrangements are almost complete. The accommodation available in the Muslimnagar is being quickly filled up. The delegates from all parts of the country are coming in and it is expected that by tomorrow there will be no room available in the Khilafat Camp.

Tickets for the Delegates are being issued by the Reception Committee and the Khilafat Committee's Office, the fee being Rs. 5. Tickets for visitors are available at the rates of Rs. 10, 3, and 1. Representatives of the press should immediately apply for passes to the Officer in charge of the Central Khilafat Committee's Office in Muslimnagar.

It is suggested that if possible not more than a day should be taken up for the deliberations of the Khilafat Conference. In fact there would be hardly two or three resolutions. But after the business is over public meetings would be held in the Pandal when most of the prominent leaders assembled would be requested to speak on the Khilafat and cognate questions.

The following are a few of the prominent members of the Khilafat Committee who have already arrived:-

Hakim Ajmal Khan, President-elect of the Conference.

Dr. M. A. Ansari General Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee.

Sheikh M. M. Chhotani

Sheikh Abdullah Haroon.

Maulana Azad Sobhan

Dr. Sayed Mahmud

Maulana Moazzam Ali.

Begum Mahomed Ali.

Abadi Begum Sahiba (mother of the Ali Brothers).

Begum Abdul Majid Khwaja.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, President-elect of the Muslim League.

Begum Hasrat Mohani.

Maulvi Abdul Kadar. (Punjab).

Maulvi Saiyad Suleman Nadyi.

Nawan Ismail of Meerat.

Trial of Lalaji. Lahore Dec. 22.

The trial of Lala Lajpat Rai and others was resumed today before Mr. Reough the Additional Magistrate in the Central Jail. The Public Prosecutor taking up Section 6 of the Seditious Meetings Act argued that the meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee held on the 3rd December in spite of the Deputy Magistrate's notice was public inasmuch as it was held to discuss matters of public importance and came under section 145 of the Indian Penal Code. The said public notice was given by the Authorities and the meeting was convened with the object of resisting law and launching civil disobedience and so it was an unlawful assembly. The Public Prosecutor recommended the maximum sentence under the section. Mr. Sleem bar-at-law engaged by the Court against vehement protests from the accused, argued refuting some points of the public prosecutor. Judgment has been reserved for 4th January.

YOUNG INDIA

Samvat 1978 Margashirsha Vadi 11th]

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24th Rabiakhar 1340 Hijri

AHMEDABAD, SUNDAY, 23rd DECEMBER 1921

ONE ANNA

ABOUT THE VICEROY'S REPLY.

Interviewed by Associated Press correspondent Mr. Gandhi made the following statement regarding Lord Reading's speech at Calcutta in reply to the deputation led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviy.

I must confess that I have read the Viceregal utterance with deep pain. I was totally unprepared for what I must respectfully call his mischievous misrepresentation of the attitude of the Congress and the Khilafat organisations in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Every resolution passed by either organisation and every speaker has laid the greatest stress upon the fact that there was no question of showing the slightest ill-will against the Prince or exposing him to any affront. The boycott was purely a question of principle and directed against what we have held to be unscrupulous methods of bureaucracy. I have always held, as I hold even now, that the Prince has been brought to India in order to strengthen the hold of the Civil Service Corporation which has brought India into a state of abject pauperism and political servitude. If I am proved to be wrong in my supposition that the visit has that sinister meaning I shall gladly apologise.

It is equally unfortunate for the Viceroy to say that the boycott of the welcome means an affront to the British people. His Excellency does not realise what grievous wrong he is doing to his own people by confusing them with the British administrators in India. Does he wish India to infer that the British administrators here represent the British people and that agitation directed against their methods is an agitation against the British people? And if such is the Viceregal contention and if to conduct a vigorous and effective agitation against the methods of bureaucracy and to describe them in their true colours is an affront to the British people, then I am afraid I must plead guilty. But then, I must also say in all humility, the Viceroy has entirely misread and misunderstood the great national awakening that is taking place in India. I repeat for the thousandth time that it is not hostile to any nation or any body of men, but it is deliberately aimed at the system under which the Government of India is being to-day conducted, and I promise that no threats and no enforcement of threats by the Viceroy or any body of men will strangle that agitation or send to rest that awakening.

I have said in my reply to Lord Ronaldshay's speech that we have not taken the offensive

we are not the aggressors, we have not got to stop any single activity of the Government that is to stop its aggravatingly offensive activity aimed not at violence but at lawful, disciplined, stern but absolutely non-violent agitation. It is for the Government of India and for it alone to bring about a peaceful atmosphere, if it so desires. It has hurled a bomb-shell in the midst of material rendered inflammable by its own action and wonders that the material is still not inflammable enough to explode. The immediate issue is not now the redress of the three wrongs; the immediate issue is the right of holding public meetings and the right of forming associations for peaceful purposes. And in vindicating this right we are fighting the battle not merely on behalf of non-co-operators but we are fighting the battle for all India down from the peasant up to the Prince and for all schools of politics. It is the condition of any organic growth, and I see in the Viceregal pronouncement an insistence upon submission to a contrary doctrine which an erstwhile exponent of the law of liberty has seen fit to lay down upon finding himself in an atmosphere where there is little regard for law and order on the part of those very men who are supposed to be custodians of law and order. I have only to point to the unprovoked assaults being committed not in isolated cases, not in one place, but in Bengal, in the Punjab, in Delhi and in the United Provinces. I have no doubt that as repression goes on in its mad career, the reign of terrorism will overtake the whole of this unhappy land. But whether the campaign is conducted on civilised or uncivilised lines, so far as I can see there is only one way open to non-co-operators, indeed, I contend, even to the people of India. On this question of the right of holding public meetings and forming associations there can be no yielding. We have burnt our boats and we must sail onward till that primary right of human beings is vindicated.

Let me make my own position clear. I am most anxious for a settlement. I want a Round Table Conference. I want our position to be clearly known by everybody who wants to understand it. I impose no conditions; but when conditions are imposed upon me prior to the holding of a conference, I must be allowed to examine those conditions, and if I find that they are suicidal, I must be excused if I don't accept them. The amount of tension that is created can be regulated solely by the Government of India, for the offensive has been taken by that Government.

AN UNREGISTERED NEWSPAPER.

[We have already referred in our ordinary current issue to the forfeiture of the security of the *Independent*. Upon the security being forfeited Mr. Mahadeo Desai, nothing daunted, began to issue hand-written copies of the *Independent*. He was able to multiply these copies by means of the ordinary multiplying processes. Being a novelty it became popular and fancy prices were paid for it. We are sure that the delegates and others for whose benefits Congress supplements are issued will enjoy reading this novel newspaper. We cannot give them the pleasure which the readers of the original must have derived. When Civil Disobedience was started in connection with the Rowlatt Act a similar attempt was made in Bombay, but the Government of Bombay, we understand, was advised that a written newspaper could not be described as a newspaper whose publication was against law. But the U. P. Government wanted to punish Mr. Mahadeo Desai's effrontery. Therefore he has been tried under section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Section 117 Indian Penal Code. He has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. We hope that the experiment of publishing a hand-written newspaper will be continued by an unbroken line of editors and the publication will not be suspended for want of men to run the risk of being imprisoned.]

"I change, but I cannot die."

The INDEPENDENT

Edited by Mahadeo Desai.

Unregistered Daily

Allahabad, Thursday 22nd Dec.' 21.

1921-22

We owe our new avatar to those who 'seeing see not, hearing hear not, nor either understand'. The whole policy of repression is a deliberate, calculated dive into the abyss of darkness. By arresting us the Government are laying the axe at their understanding, by arresting our speech and writing they deliberately choose to 'see not, seeing' and 'hear not, hearing.' But they know not what they do or say. For if, for instance Sir Harcourt had his eyes, his ears and his understanding would he say the things he has been saying. Would Mr. Montagu, with his

himself say 'There is no repression in

there is no darkness like the ignorance of our ignorance. And we are at eternal war with Darkness and the Powers of Darkness.

It seems as though Providence is helping us in the war. For the ways of Satan and God are ever determined. The tyrant being bad, believes himself to be good, and prepares himself for destruction even by the weakest, who knows what a mixture of good and bad he is, and looks to Providence ever ready to give him guidance. The more, therefore, the tyrant is swayed by the pride of power, the nearer he goes to destruction; the more we are conscious of our frailties and the more we strive for light and guidance and purification the nearer we are to victory.

Our security was forfeited because the articles "Mrs. Nehru's Message," and "Let us also see it

through" were considered to be "interfering with the administration of law and the maintenance of law and order." We may frankly say that we do not recognise any law made by Government. Nor do we recognise any of their ways of keeping law and order. Truth, Non-violence and other laws of our Ethical Code are sufficient to keep us true to us and to God. We will therefore endeavour our best to preach the message that Mrs. Nehru has preached and also 'to see it through.'

It is likely that this endeavour, like its predecessor, may also be suppressed. It is likely that we may with all our helpmates and comrades be deprived of our slave-liberties. No consummation would be more devoutly to be wished. In a way it is intense pain that we have to launch on this venture. For life, in a reign of falsehood, injustice, and terror, is insupportable but in jail. The tyrant is potent enough to arrest every one of the activities of our mortal frame, but he cannot touch the immortal spirit within. He may force the one to submit to his law, he may not dream of forcing his law on the other. I may be killed, which only means, 'I change, but I cannot die.'

The Position in Calcutta

The *Englishman* reports that in addition to some domestic servants there was a large element of mill-hands from Howrah among those arrested in Calcutta on the 19th. And Mr. Sham Sundar Chakravarti writes in the *Servant*, "I am highly gratified to find that the dockers whom I asked to resume work have not only done the will of the Congress Committee but have also begun to send their daily quota of volunteers for national service." All this shows how the Congress has established itself in the hearts of the masses.

The Congress authorities in Calcutta are taking all possible precautions against any outbreak of violence on the day of the *hartal*. The President of the Congress Committee has appealed to the people not to stir out of their houses except for the purpose of going to places of worship or of bathing in the Ganges. The secretary of the Congress Committee has notified that it is better that no travellers go to Calcutta from outside on the 24th as they may be inconvenienced for want of conveyance and porters.

Sikh Lady Volunteers.

Since the Government Notification declaring volunteer organisations illegal, Sikh lady volunteers have been daily paying visits from house to house in Bhawanipara and Bara Bazar to carry the Congress message to every household.

The Student Situation in Bengal.

The students of the Dacca University have gone on strike. Only about 4 or 5 students of the B. A. Class attended their classes. The Law classes of the University did not meet although students were seen in the University compound. The Provosts of the different Halls tried their utmost to persuade the boys to attend the class but the boys showed no signs of compliance. In a meeting of the students held in front of the Moslem Hall within the compound the following resolutions were passed:—

1. All university students should attend their classes in *Khadi*.

2. Members of the staff should be requested to do the same.

3. Studies to be suspended till the 31st of December.

The students of the Intermediate College at Dacca also passed a resolution in a meeting of their own that in future they should all attend college dressed in *Khadi*. The students in a body left the classes where lectures were going on.

The students of the Campbell Medical School in Calcutta have also resolved "to use *Khadi* from the re-opening day of the school and help thereby the Mother-land to prosper."

On account of the arrest of Messrs. C. R. Das, B. N. Sasmal and others, the students of the Krishnagore College have gone on strike. Students of the 1st and 3rd year classes did not attend, and many of the 2nd and 4th year classes joined the strike. A 3rd year student left the College as a protest and joined the Krishnagore Swaraj Ashram.

The students of the Bagerhat College have abstained from attending their classes as a protest against the policy of the Government.

The students of Midaapur College have gone on a strike. There was very thin attendance in the 1st year class though some of the 2nd year students have attended in certain classes. They have passed a resolution yesterday, suspending all studies for a fortnight.

Some Bengal Convictions.

Maulana Asram Khao, printer and publisher of the *Mahammedi* of Calcutta who was prosecuted under sections 124 A and 153 A I. P. C. for having published an article headed "What is there to be sorry for" has been convicted and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

Tafajuddin Ahmed, Secretary Faridpur District Congress Committee, was arrested on the 17th inst. Sriyuts Nibaran Chandra Pal and Jadunath Pal of Faridpur were arrested on 15th. The District Magistrate Mr. G. P. Hogg has issued a printed notice containing statement in Bengali to the following effect: "The people are hereby informed that all volunteer parties and Congress Committees are unlawful". The President and Secretary of the District Congress Committee have been arrested. Information from Mymensingh has been received about the arrest of the office-bearers of the District Congress Committee and the election of new office-bearers.

Yesterday, two of thirty Congress and Khilafat volunteers, while picketing excise and cloth shops, were arrested at Narayanganj.

The volunteers of the Narayanganj Congress, who were sent to the Dacca jail, were tried yesterday, and imprisoned. To-day there were no arrests, though thirty picketed.

Six were tried to-day—one was sentenced to nine weeks' and five to six weeks' rigorous imprisonment.

Eight volunteers from the Belabo Congress Committee were arrested and brought to the Narayanganj jail.

The trial of the four leaders of Mymensingh took place in the jail. Manmohan Neogi and Surendra Nath Mitra were found guilty and sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment.

Most of the houses in Mymensingh were illuminated in honour of the local leaders who have been imprisoned. Batches of volunteers are going out to sell *khadi* and urge people to observe *hartal* on the 24th inst.

Some members of the Mymensingh Bar have resolved to enlist as volunteers.

Out of 650 students of the local college only 158 attended yesterday.

More Cases of Assault.

In Calcutta 60 volunteers were placed before Mr. Keays for trial and every one of them was sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment.

Some volunteers made very serious allegations against the police of which a few specific instances are given below:—

Manorajan Gupta and Mahendra Nath Sanyal and Sushil Kumar Bose complained that they were severely beaten by Sergeant L. Beach (Sgt. No. 161) when he arrested them near Radhabazar.

Amarendra Ch. Ghose and Shiv Narayan Patilak complained that they were roughly handled and given a beating when they were arrested near Wellington Square.

Nalini Kanta Ghose and Manmathanath Acharyya who were arrested by a 'civil guard' complained that they were severely beaten and brutally abused by the arresting officer.

The Magistrate remarked that these were very serious allegations but he could not take cognisance of them until corroborated by further proof; but he warned the police officers present to be very careful in future in handling these political cases.

A Moradabad Correspondent writes:—

"Three leaders of the place, viz. Syed Zafar Hasan, Babu Banvarilal and Maulvi Ashfaq Hasan were arrested on the 15th instant. Their trial was held inside the jail on the 16th. After hearing the City Kotwal and a pressman the Magistrate sentenced them each under section 17 (b) Criminal Law Amendment Act to two years' simple imprisonment. They received the order calmly and cheerfully. The people outside the jail received this news with cries of *Allaho Akbar*, etc., at which the Magistrate got enraged and ran towards the people with a whip and beat several of them. Some of the people ran away, others stood firm. Hundreds of volunteers have been enrolled and a batch of eleven patrols the city every day.

The Sikh Struggle.

Sardar Kharak Singh, Sardar M. Habsinh and other Sikh leaders who are in jail have sent the following message:—

"We are all well and quite happy. The only sympathy that we desire and expect from our brethren is that they should do their duty by the Panth in the best way they can. This is the time when they should make up all their differences and stand up

for the common cause. We want that our place should be taken up by better, fitter and stronger men than ourselves. May Gura Ramdasjee give us strength in our mission.

II

Bhai Tahsingh and Mohansingh who were arrested in a religious diwan at village Baba Bakala (District Amritsar) have been sentenced to-day to six months' rigorous imprisonment by Mr. Mukerjee.

III

Persistent news are coming from Nankana Sahib and other places that encouraged by the Sadhus' attack on the Akal Takht, other mischievous persons are planning similar assaults on Gurdwaras.

IV

Bhai Kishan Singh, who got the highest number of votes in yesterday's election of the S. G. Committee was arrested to-day at Taran Taran. He looked quite cheerful. His case is fixed for 21st inst.

V

Case against Sadhus who attacked innocent Akalis at Akal Takht was adjourned to the 4th January 1922.

Moderate Opinion.

The National Liberal League of Calcutta has written to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy indicating its strong disapproval of the present Government policy. In the concluding sentence of the letter the League calls 'the attention of the Government to the necessity of consulting the ministers who are leading responsible representatives of people before any measures emergent or otherwise are taken affecting the rights and liberties of subject. What could be a better condemnation of the reforms than this submission of our moderate friends to the Government?

The Leader writes:— Whatever reports the Government might have received from the Commissioner and the Collectors about the salutary effect of the wholesale arrests of political workers that have been made it appears incredible to us that any one in close touch with the actualities of the situation could be so blind as not to be aware of the silent revolution that they have been working among almost all the sections of the population. The officers of the Government in the districts and divisional head-quarters appear to be either woefully misinformed or live in a world of their own and see only through the eyes of sycophants and flatterers. Although Indians have not yet got full self-government, they are rapidly developing the mentality of free citizens and are showing by their capacity for suffering and sacrifice that they are becoming fit to be equal citizens in a free Empire. If it pleases Englishmen to put to the test the new spirit in the country they may do so, but we have no doubt that if its manifestation continues to be non-violent foes of to-day will meet as friends to-morrow."

Punjab.

A meeting of the staff and the students of the A. V. College under the presidency of the Principal resolved to adopt Khaki as the College uniform.

It is reported that 200 volunteers headed by Lal Govardhandas have been arrested at Lahore on the 22nd.

The U. P.

The *U. P.* was referred to the 22nd inst. in form of a manuscript with the motto 'I change but I cannot die' edited by Mr. Mahadev Desai as an unregistered paper. It consisted of four sheets handwritten and duplicated with carbon, and was published from Anand Bhawan, the residence of Pandit Motilalji in Allahabad. Mr. Desai has been served with summons to appear and take his trial before the District Magistrate for offences under section 17 (1) Criminal Law Amendment Act, and section 117 I. P. C.

Here is the latest telegram from Mr. Desai.

"Thank God. Sentenced one year rigorous. My humble venture quite success. People gave fancy prices. Much enthusiasm prevails. Producing thousand copies to-day. Panditji warmly blessed enterprise. Hindi Urdu editions suggested by him.

Mahadev."

At Balahar volunteers were sentenced to 5 months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 10 or in default an additional fortnight.

Seven volunteers were convicted at Lucknow on the 21st and the 22nd inst.

Pandits Mohanlal and Shamlal Nehra got six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 each.

Pandits Jawaharlal Nehru, Monanlal Saksena, Shivrajnarayan, Lakshminaray, Balmukund Vajpai, Venuprasad Sinha and Lal Bahadur got six months' imprisonment and fine Rs. 100 or in default one month's further imprisonment.

Bihar.

In the Giridih riot case 13 out of the 28 accused have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from one year's to two and a half years' imprisonment.

At Sasaram the President Khilafat Committee and six others were sentenced to six to fourteen months' rigorous imprisonment.

There were arrests in Monghir up to the 19th inst.

Pleaders at Gaya and Chapra have suspended practice.

Fifteen members of Council headed by Mr. Hasan Usman have warned the local Government against the present policy of repression.

Bengal.

There were 110 convictions and 230 first arrests of volunteers at Calcutta on the 21st. At Chittagong on the 23rd arrests, 240 were convicted. There were 211 arrests at Faridpur.

Volunteers at Brahmanbaria were given ten fines each.

200 policemen have resigned at Mymensingh.

Assam.

Masumi Abdo, Mansur Chandhari, President of the Khilafat Committee got a year's rigorous imprisonment.

Bombay.

Bhai Diermdas of Nawabshah (Sindh) got one year's rigorous imprisonment.

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YOUNG INDIA

Samvat 1978 Margashirsha Vadi 12th

Edited by M. K. GANDHI.

26th Rabiakhar 1340 Hijri

AHMEDABAD MONDAY, 26th DECEMBER 1921

ONE ANNA

(Associated Press Special Service.)

Ahmedabad, 25 th Dec.

The All India Congress Committee met this morning and has engaged the whole day in prolonged discussion of the main resolution moved by Mr. Gandhi regarding organisation of volunteers, extension of civil disobedience and investing Gandhi or his successors with full authority of All India Congress Committee to act in its name in cases of emergency. Before the debate began President Hakim Ajmal Khan was flooded with amendments from all sides. Resolution was taken up for consideration in parts but discussion had hardly proceeded to an appreciable extent when Hasrat Mohani the President-elect of All India Muslim League persistently led opposition demanding deletion of those phrases in resolution which excluded possibility of resort to violence or even the thought of it, so long as the pledge was in force. Though twice defeated Mr. Hasrat Mohani availed himself of every possible opportunity to press his point by similar amendments on the ground that his religion allowed him to take to violence in case non-violence failed. The debate revealed difference of opinion on this point among Muhamedan members themselves. Some expressed opinion that adoption of Maulana Hasrat's amendments would mean a change in the Congress creed itself. To this Hasrat Mohani replied that he intended to urge for change in congress creed in the open session of the Congress. Discussion proceeded on these lines till five o'clock when on motion of Mr. Gandhi the Committee adjourned till Tuesday morning to allow time to Muhamedan learned men to examine religious aspect of pledge and to come to a settlement among themselves on this important question. In moving his resolution in the morning Mr. Gandhi made a long speech announcing that he had agreed to certain slight additions or alterations or modifications in his original resolution as result of a Conference last evening with the leaders of Maharashtra Party, who whilst loyally accepting programme of non-cooperation in all its detail, had made no secret of their dissatisfaction with some of its items. He assured all that while there was not a little of surrender of main principle in those modifications they could be sure of the hearty, willing and believing cooperation of the party which was unrivalled in its strength and sacrifices and which had traditions behind it of great services and had filled India with an indomitable spirit of democracy. The Great Leader

of that party who became all India Leader and who found a lodgement in the hearts of millions of his countrymen, died developing that spirit of democracy. Proceeding he pointed out that this party had desired the introduction into the resolution of a provision offering shelter against mischievous insults to those lawyers, teachers and others who though quite as patriotic and honest as any non-cooperator pretended to be, had not found their way to make sacrifices in the particular form demanded by congress. But while he objected to the insertion of such provision as it would lead to dangerous interpretation he emphatically declared that they must fully respect all such people who though considered weak from non-cooperator standpoint were patriots every inch of them. He would not criticise lawyers in carping spirit because it was lawyers who had rendered signal services to the country when every one else was shivering with fear.

He continued " I ask every one of you here to go away with a spirit of good will towards Moderates, lawyers, schoolmasters, government servants and C.I.Ds. The Moderates are our countrymen, they are rallying round us today and when they find that the liberty of the country is really at stake they are giving full expression to their views. It does one's soul good to read the leading articles in the 'Leader' and the 'Bangalore' and after all are we going to wash away the services of sir Surendernath Banerjee? I cannot possibly help shedding a tear when anything is said disparagingly of him. I urge upon this Committee to understand the admirable spirit in which the Maharashtra party has pleaded for toleration for those who do not see eye to eye with us. I am perfectly sure that when time comes for sacrifice Maharashtra will not be behind Bengal or rather it is likely to come at the top " Gandhi then expressed hope that after his explanation the provision proposed by the Maharashtra party would not be pressed because he wanted that the spirit which actuated it should be fully assimilated by all non-cooperators. Concluding Gandhi emphasising the non-violent character of the programme said: " Either we step into the new year with a full belief in this programme and finish it with lightning speed or we dissolve this compact of non-violence. So it is a fight to the finish with the Government in our own special manner. My belief in non-violence is so great that if the country can only assimilate the mental attitude needed for the practice of real non-violence I can promise swaraj form and substance even before the end of this month. "

Hakimji Ajmal Khan's Speech.

As President of the All India Khilafat Conference Hakimji Ajmal Khan has delivered a masterly speech today reviewing the whole situation in the Moslem world as well as in India. Hakimji said that the Khilafat was not an isolated problem. Apart from the fact that 70 millions of Indians are identified with it the great revolution for which the whole Moslem world is prepared cannot but produce its effect on India. India on one side and Asia Minor on the other are but two extreme links in a chain of the future Islamic Federation, which are gradually but surely joining together all the intermediate factors in one great system of ordered evolution. The Islamic Federation in Central Asia, Caucasus, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, and above all the regeneration of Turkey give promise of a greater future for Islam and a general awakening of Asia which cannot but produce its corresponding effect on India.

Hakimji then proceeded to review the situation outside India and congratulated His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan and his Ministers for the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, which whatever may be its other defects, gives a clear guarantee of complete independence in the near future, thus checkmating the designs of Imperialistic greed. Along with this, he said, the recent Consolidation of the Islamic States of Azerbaijan, Caucasus and Persia is as significant as the great victory of the Kemalists over the Greeks which has completely smashed British diplomacy and has induced France to conclude a separate treaty with Angora. Hakimji then definitely proved that it was Britain and Britain alone that was standing in the way of the solution of the Near Eastern question and expressed the hope that before long Italy also like France, will conclude a treaty with Angora in spite of British efforts to the contrary.

Turning to events in India Hakimji remarked that the struggle that is going on is a demonstration of brute force against moral force. Returning to the Bombay incident he said that they were initiated by a few unscrupulous and ignorant men, and while greatly deploring them he observed that their educative value in the matter of ensuring non-violence in future has been very great as is evidenced by the present magnificent conduct of the people in the face of violent Government repression. He then related the history of events after the riots and showed how the Government lost its head and proceeding from blunder to blunder, when now the Viceroy comes out with a confession that he was perplexed and could not understand the movement. Referring to the suggestions of a Round Table Conference and the speech recently delivered by Lord Ronaldsday, Hakim Sahib was disappointed to see that the bureaucratic actions about an unlimited prestige and power were still the guiding factor. He remarked that there were few men now in the country who could be misled by so called conciliatory speeches with full of futile threats and platitudes about law and order. We do want peace, he said, but only by safeguarding our rights of citizenship and national honour.

Turning to the attitude of the Moderates, Hakimji exhorted the audience not to run down honest patriots merely for the sake of difference of opinion or of methods of work and he appealed to all policemen and soldiers and to make allowance for their weakness and defects. Regarding the Moplah question Hakimji said our sympathy should be with all sufferers whether Moplahs or Hindus. He referred to the inhuman atrocities committed under Martial Law in Malabar and in the Railway Van tragedy and remarked, all this would have been prevented if the Nationalists had been allowed to enter the disturbed area. In conclusion Hakimji appealed to all Mussalmans of India to carry on the present struggle with energy and fortitude never forgetting that they must always take their stand on the bed-rock of non-violence and love of truth. He summed up with the remark that non-violence and capacity for suffering were the two essentials. They are the Key to success.

Some Inspiring Messages.

A mother's message to Son.

A Bengali mother, Surat Jamini Mitra, aged 60, had sent the following message to her son, when she heard the news of the latter's imprisonment as a volunteer in Calcutta:—

"Well done my boy. I am really glad of having been blessed with a child like you. Stick to it, never falter, and you are sure to win the goal. My congratulations to your other friends in the Jail.

In spite of my old age I am going to enrol myself as a volunteer and do accordingly."

A Father offers another son.

Dr. Kshiroda Bahary Mukerjee writes as follows to a friend on receiving the news of the arrest of his son:—

"Thank you for your good news. Please tell Bhupen (the son) that we are quite glad for his noble conduct. Jiten (the younger son) is ready to follow him. I am sorry that I have no more sons to be contributed for India's freedom."

A Wife To Her Husband.

The crowning glory of my life

The trial of Sgt. Dargaprasad Borthakur President Sibsagar Congress Committee, was held on the 15th inst within the jail compound. Mr. Gunning drew proceedings against him under Section 108 Cr. P. C. and the case was adjourned till the 19th instant. We give below the English translation of a spirited letter written to her husband by his gallant wife:—

My dear husband,

I am exceedingly glad to hear that you are arrested and taken to jail. It is the crowning glory of my life that you have embraced the prison for the liberation of Mother India. Pray to God that He may grant me a speedy recovery and that I also may teach spinning to all our sisters here. With my Salams to you

Yours

(Sd, Hemalata Devi.

The Chapra Bar has stopped work in a body in protest of the wanton arrest of Madhoo Singh, Vakil Secretary Khilafat Committee.

The situation in Calcutta.

The *Hartal* in Calcutta passed off quietly. The following Telegram has been received from Mr. Shyamsundar Chakravarti "Complete *Hartal* observed. Nothing untoward yet reported. Lachmansing, Swami Viswananda and Congress Secretary Subodipit Ray arrested while out to prevent crowding in car labeled Congress Khilafat"

A previous report says: "The members of the Reception Committee are very busy to give a splendid reception to the Prince who arrives here to-morrow morning. Nothing of the sort, however, could be seen in other parts of the city. Indications are not wanting to predict a general *hartal* to-morrow"

'That the *hartal* will be general to-morrow in all Indian parts of the city cannot be doubted notwithstanding the combined efforts of Europeans and a section of Indians and counter measures adopted by the authorities. The proscription of Congress and Khilafat Volunteers and the arrest of some leaders and hundreds of volunteers led the non-co-operators to pursue their campaign ceaselessly. The result is that to-morrow's *hartal* will be general.

'Stories are current of oppression by police, civil guards and military and this led the middle class Bengalees, remembering the unhappy incidents at Bombay, to come to the conclusion that the prudent course would be to remain at home the whole day to-morrow. The *hartal* campaign appears to have caught the imagination of the illiterate classes among whom Mr. Gandhi's name acts like a charm and it is apprehended that there will be a total absence of coolies, transport workers and day labourers.

'All Indians working in the fire stations announced their intention to observe the *hartal*, whereupon they were dismissed and replaced by Anglo-Indians. The Corporation lamp-lighters are observing *hartal* and the city will be partially dark.

'A rumour was current this afternoon that military pickets would be posted to force shopkeepers to keep their business places open to-morrow. This led the majority of shops in Burrabazar and the northern section of the city to be closed and no business was transacted this afternoon

'About two thousand volunteers were out in Calcutta on the 23rd and nearly five hundred were arrested. There was no disturbance.

'One hundred and ten volunteers were convicted yesterday and to-day 33 were sentenced to two months' imprisonment. Bholanath Burman and Padma Raj Jain leaders of the Burrabazar Congress Committee were bound down on security of Rs. 5,000. They refused to sign the bond and were sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment each.

The cases against C. R. Das, Abul Kalam Azad, B. N. Sasmal and Subas Bose, Congress leaders, were adjourned till 5th January

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya left Calcutta for Ahmedabad on the 23rd inst.

300 Police resignations

Three hundred Policemen resign in the District of Mymensing in Bengal. Constables, Hd. Constables and Havildars about 300 in number returned

their uniforms to the authorities, D. I. G. (who is here), S. P., and A. S. P. hastened to the Police lines and are persuading them by all possible means to stay. 1) Karomat Khan Havildar, 2) Prayag Singh Hd. Constable (3) Sajjadin and 4) Amkhe (Tewari) have already arrived in the Congress Office after discharge. 90 have been granted leave for 3 months. The negotiations and persuasion are going on.

Resignations as protest.

Three presidents, one Panchayet, 17 Chaukidars (village police) of Rampur Thana in Noakhali District indignantly returned badges and uniform by way of resignation and protest against the repression.

After Nalini Mitra's arrest at Khilpara, president, Panchait and several Chaukidars tendered their resignations which were not accepted.

'Mad dog'

Pandit Badri Nath Editor, the "*Swaraj*," was tried by the District Magistrate Lahore under section 12, A and maximum punishment under the section was awarded to him. Over and above this the Magistrate directed that he should be kept in solitary confinement for a period of three months. But this also did not satisfy the Magistrate, who, it seems under a fit of anger insulted him with these observations; "From observations in Court I can come to no conclusion except that he is like a mad dog whom nothing but restraint and imprisonment will prevent from continuing to spread poison and to infect all he can."

The Secretary of Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee has sent the following message:—

In view of the complaints made about the Jail treatment of the Sikhs, sentenced in connection with the Darbar Sahib Keyz affair, Government made an announcement the other day that Instructions had been issued for allowing facilities to the prisoners to have a better food and clothing. But reliable news have been received that Sardar Amarsing Jhabal, S. Butasingh Pleader, S. Tarasingh Headmaster, and others who are in Manwali Jail, are being treated like ordinary criminals.

On the strength of the Government *communiqué* clothes were sent for some of them, but the jail Superintendent had refused to allow the use of these clothes, because he said, the above-mentioned gentlemen were sentenced before the 16th December, the date on which he resumed the instructions. He said he could not allow facilities for better food for the same reason:

This is only to show how much truth there is in the Government's claim that proper treatment is being accorded to prisoners whose offence does not involve any moral turpitude.

II.

News are received that Sikhs wearing black turbans and karpans in some villages are being harassed and their names taken down by police or other officials. When a Sikh with white turban says that his name should also be taken down, because he is an Akali, his name is not taken.

Protest Against Police Assault.

With regard to the hammering of National Volunteers of Amritsar on Wednesday last, the following letter of protest has been addressed to Sir John Maynard by six Municipal Commissioners of Amritsar:-

To,

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard
K. C. I., E., C. S. I., I. O. S.
Member, Executive Council, Punjab

Amritsar

Sir,—We, the undersigned Municipal Commissioners beg leave to convey to you our emphatic and indignant protest against the reported police aggression yesterday in the local Hal Bazar, reference to which is made in the local, *Patil*, dated 14th December, Page 3, cutting enclosed.

We venture to think, that if the particular persons, who were cruelly beaten yesterday, were acting, in the official view, against any one provision of law, the course followed by Police was diametrically opposed to the letter and spirit of an known laws of the land.

Exhibitions of temper, that was displayed yesterday by the police, are, it is submitted, not only illegal and a grave menace to all law-abiding citizens, but they must also seriously embarrass all moderate and progressive attempts at finding, and considerable discouragements, a lasting and righteous solution of the great problems now confronting the country.

In the interests of the Government itself, if for no other reasons, we suggest that an immediate, impartial and public enquiry into the alleged police doings of yesterday is urgently called for, with a view to discover the real truth, to apportion blame, to punish the guilty and to make similar repetitions in the future impossible.

We have the honour to be
Sir,

Your obedient servants,
Ghulam Yaseen
Kesho Ram
Miran Dakhel
Hassam Din
Balmokand Bhutta
Roads.

A Zamindar convicted in Bengal.

Mr. Wajed Ali Khan, Zemindar of Karatia, Bengal was convicted on the 19th and sentenced to undergo three months rigorous imprisonment and furnish security of Rs 90,000 or in default to undergo one year's additional simple imprisonment.

Mr. Wajed Ali is an influential Zemindar of Bengal with an income of over three lakhs. He is highly cultured and religious. He has made over to the Tipik Swaraj Fund the Kirtia H. E. School converting it into a National School with lands attached to it valued approximately at over 150000 Rupees. He was a Vice President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. When the volunteer notification was issued he wired at once to Mysore Singh to put in his name as the first National Volunteer.

Boycott of Courts.

At Monghyr in Behar 46 persons have been arrested including four leaders up to now, Batches of volunteers are being sent out every day but none are arrested although offer themselves for arrest at the Thana. All pleaders and Muklars have suspended practice, Business in Court is at a stand still, Heaps of foreign cloth were burnt at different places on the 19th.

Mr. Montagu on Present Repression.

The Tribune writes.—

Mr. Montagu's declaration in the House of Commons that there is nothing in India which should be described as repression is intelligible only on the hypothesis that he and we do not understand the same thing by the same word "Action," he said "had been taken to prevent disturbances and breaches of public order in nearly every case by means of prosecution for offences against the ordinary law." It is only the word "nearly" that saves this statement from being absolutely incorrect. About the very time when the Secretary of State was speaking, a neighbouring Government was declaring the security of one of the foremost newspapers in the country to be forfeited, not under any ordinary law, but under the Press Act, which is an admittedly repressive measure, with the result that the paper has actually ceased publication. But the most amazing part of the thing is Mr. Montagu's failure to see that the very measures under which most of the actions have recently been taken have never been regarded as ordinary laws. They are the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, both of which are admittedly emergency measures and both of which are admittedly repressive, as shown by their inclusion in the scope of reference to the Repressive Laws Committee, which all but recommended their repeal. With all but one or two of the Provinces proclaimed under one of these measures, and parts of several of them also proclaimed under the other, it is more than idle to say that there is "no repression in India."

Lady Volunteers work.

Lady volunteers in Calcutta are conducting house to house propaganda. Seven such volunteers from the Kalkata Jateeya vidyalaya visited about every house in Amherst Street with a good quantity of *Khadi* for sale. Almost all their stock was sold. Lady Volunteers at Htahnmanbaria are going from house to house selling and propagating *Khadi* and *Charkha*.

At a meeting of the ladies of the Nawab family of Dacca the ladies resolved to boycott foreign cloth and other article some of these respectable ladies have commenced selling *Khadi* and it is understood they will make house to house sale in the different parts of the town of Dacca.

To day's programme:—

1 Khilafat Conference in its own Pandal
President Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahab.

Time 10 to 12 a. m. and 2 to 5 p. m.

2 Lecture by Swami Satya Dev on "the Present situation and Civil Disobedience" in the Mandap behind the Congress Pandal at 3 p. m.

3 Indian Social Conference in Premabhai Hall, Brindia President Mr. K. Natranjan "Editor" "The Indian Social Reformer." at 12 noon.

4 Prasi Rakhshak Prished in the Music Hall of the Swadeshi Exhibition at 11 a. m. to 4 p. m.

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YOUNG INDIA

Samvat 1978 Margashirsha Vadi 13th] Edited by M. K. GANDHI. [27th Rabilakhar 1340 Hijri.

AHMEDABAD, TUESDAY, 27th DECEMBER 1921

ONE ANNA

INTERVIEW WITH SHRIMATI URMILA DEVI.

(Sister of Mr. C. R. Das.)

Shrimati Urmila Devi sister of Mr. C. R. Das, who arrived here yesterday granted an interview to a representative of *Young India* on the present situation. Asked as to what she thought of the general prospect of the movement in Bengal she brightened up and replied: "Oh, it is marvellous, we are making marvellous progress. During the last session of the A. I. C. C. Meeting at Delhi I was sad. I thought Bengal was not sufficiently responding to the movement. But now I have not the least apprehension. Bengal has come to her own again."

Q. May I ask, Madam, what has brought about this sudden change?

A. Well, there have been several factors. But the immediate causes were two. And first of them if I may say so was the arrest of the ladies, and secondly the arrest of the leaders, Mr. C. R. Das, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others.

Q. Madam, you were one of the ladies arrested. May I know the circumstance which led you to come forward yourself?

A. Well after much deliberation we had decided to disobey the Government in regard to the recent prohibitory orders. But we feel that although Bengal was sympathetic, it was only a sort of passive sympathy. To make that dynamic we thought Bengal must be appealed to in a special manner involving of course a special measure of sacrifice. And so our arrest produced the desired effect. All passivity is now gone. We wish the Government had kept us under its custody a little longer in order to complete the result. For after our arrest the heart of Bengal has been touched and it is making very rapid progress in Swadeshi and all other non-co-operation activities. Even our moderate friends have been moved and there is to-day no parties in Bengal except one, viz, the party that stands in opposition to this unrighteous Government.

Q. We read in the papers that large contingents of volunteers are arrested every day in Calcutta. Will you kindly tell me something about these volunteers?

A. Yes, I am not exaggerating facts if I tell you that the Congress office is regularly besieged every day by men desiring enlistment as volunteers. It was not so before arrest. But after that event the whole face of affairs has changed.

Q. From what class of society do they generally come?

A. From all classes and strata of society. At first it was only the educated class that came forward, but now mill-hands and even domestic servants are vying with each other in their zeal to go to prison.

Q. But, madam, don't you think there is some risk of violence with these people as volunteers?

A. On no, not at all. We have the situation completely in our hand. One has only to see it in order to believe how wonderfully the spirit of non-violence has spread. I don't know how it has happened, but I have seen people who boasted that they were the votaries of the doctrine of tooth for tooth at once changing their character after enlistment as volunteer. Even the police sergeants have understood that. And when one day a raw volunteer who had not properly understood the nature of our fight resented his being caught by the neck by a sergeant, the latter at once exclaimed "I see, you are not a true non-cooperator".

Q. Have you any thing to say about the hartal in Calcutta?

A. I left Calcutta before the hartal. But I know it would be a complete success for all the classes are with us.

Q. What do you think to be the attitude of Bengal towards the proposal of a Round Table Conference?

A. Bengal opinion is solid in this matter. Bengal would never have any compromise with the bureaucracy unless all our points are gained. There is to be no giving way.

Q. What do you think may be the position of the Government now?

A. Well it is difficult to say that. But I think they are feeling very much embarrassed. For the jails are all full. They can neither accommodate their prisoners nor provide them with winter clothing. So they are letting out the prisoners even against the wish of the prisoners themselves. The jails ring with the cries of Bande Mataram on all sides. My brother told me one day during an interview that the boys are really enjoying their jail life and that it was sometimes difficult to sleep at night amidst the sound of their merriment.

Q. But Madam, does it not go against jail discipline? We go there to suffer and not to enjoy.

A. There has been no case of proper indiscipline so far as I know, except one when the boys refused to be dragged to the court in a prison van because they are put to torture in the van. You know my brother has stated that we shall have to pass through these stages before we reach our goal imprisonment, assault, shooting. The first stage we have creditably passed, and now the second stage has begun. Cases of assault are now becoming an ever increasing feature in the treatment of political prisoners. After this will come the third stage—indiscriminate shooting. If we can fearlessly face that, tyranny will lose all its terror and we gain Swaraj.

YOUNG INDIA

WEEKLY

8 PAGES

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VOL. III No. 52 } AHMEDABAD, THURSDAY, 29th DECEMBER 1921 { PRICE TWO ANNAS

RE THE VICEROY'S REPLY.

Interviewed by Associated Press correspondent Mr. Gandhi made the following statement regarding Lord Reading's speech at Calcutta in reply to the deputation led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:— I must confess that I have read the Viceregal utterance with deep pain. I was totally unprepared for what I must respectfully call his mischievous misrepresentation of the attitude of the Congress and the Khilafat organisations in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Every resolution passed by either organisation and every speaker has laid the greatest stress upon the fact that there was no question of showing the slightest ill-will against the Prince or exposing him to any affront. The boycott was purely a question of principle and directed against what we have held to be unscrupulous methods of bureaucracy. I have always held, as I hold even now, that the Prince has been brought to India in order to strengthen the hold of the Civil Service corporation which has brought India into a state of abject pauperism and political serfdom. If I am proved to be wrong in my supposition that the visit has that sinister meaning, I shall gladly apologise.

It is equally unfortunate for the Viceroy to say that the boycott of the welcome means an affront to the British people. His Excellency does not realise what grievous wrong he is doing to his own people by confusing them with the British administrators in India. Does he wish India to infer that the British administrators here represent the British people and that agitation directed against their methods is an agitation against the British people? And if such is the Viceregal contention and if to conduct a vigorous and effective agitation against the methods of bureaucracy and to describe them in their true colours is an affront to the British people, then I am afraid I must plead guilty. But then I must also say in all humility, the Viceroy has entirely misread and misunderstood the great national awakening that is taking place in India. I repeat for the thousandth time that it is not hostile to any nation or any body of men but it is deliberately aimed at the system under which the Government of India is being to-day conducted, and I promise that no threats and no enforcement of threats by the Viceroy or any body of men will strangle that agitation or send to rest that awakening.

I have said in my reply to Lord Reading's

speech that we have not taken the offensive; we are not the aggressors, we have not got to stop any single activity. It is the Government that is to stop its aggravatingly offensive activity aimed not at violence but a lawful, disciplined, stern but absolutely non-violent agitation. It is for the Government of India and for it alone to bring about a peaceful atmosphere, if it so desires. It has hurled a bomb-shell in the midst of material rendered inflammable by its own action and wonders that the material is still not inflammable enough to explode. The immediate issue is not now the redress of the three wrongs; the immediate issue is the right of holding public meetings and the right of forming associations for peaceful purposes. And in vindicating this right we are fighting the battle not merely on behalf of non-co-operators but we are fighting the battle for all schools of politics. It is the condition of any organic growth, and I see in the Viceregal pronouncement an insistence upon submission to a contrary doctrine which an erstwhile exponent of the law of liberty has seen fit to lay down upon finding himself in an atmosphere where there is little regard for law and order on the part of those very men who are supposed to be custodians of law and order. I have only to point to the unprovoked assaults being committed not in isolated cases, not in one place, but in Bengal, in the Punjab, in Delhi and in the United Provinces. I have no doubt that as repression goes on in its mad career, the reign of terrorism will overtake the whole of this unhappy land. But whether the campaign is conducted on civilised or uncivilised lines, so far as I can see there is only one way open to non-co-operators, indeed I contend, even to the people of India. On this question of the right of holding public meetings and forming associations there can be no yielding. We have burnt our boats and we must sail onward till that primary right of human beings is vindicated.

Let me make my own position clear. I am most anxious for a settlement. I want a Round Table Conference. I want our position to be clearly known by everybody who wants to understand it. I impose no conditions; but when conditions are imposed upon me prior to the holding of a conference, I must be allowed to examine those conditions, and if I find that they are suicidal, I must be excused if I don't accept them. The amount of tension that is created can be regulated solely by the Government of India, for the offensive has been taken by that Government.

A MODEL PRISONER.

BY M. K. GANDHI.

"Should non-co-operators shout *Bande Mataram* inside jails against jail discipline which may excite ordinary prisoners to violence, should non-co-operators go on hunger strike for the improvement of food or other conveniences, should they strike work inside jails on *hartal* days and other days? Are non-co-operators entitled to break rules of jail discipline unless they affect their conscience?" Such is the text of a telegram I received from a non-co-operator friend in Calcutta. From another part of India when a friend, again a non-co-operator, heard of the indiscipline of non-co-operator prisoners, he asked me to write on the necessity of observing jail discipline. As against this I know prisoners who are scrupulously observing in a becoming spirit all the discipline imposed upon them.

It is necessary, when thousands are going to jail, to understand exactly the position a non-co-operator prisoner can take up consistently with his pledge of non-violence. Non-co-operation when its limitations are not recognised, becomes a licence instead of being a duty and therefore becomes a crime. The dividing line between right and wrong is often so thin as to become indistinguishable. But it is a line that is breakable and unmistakable.

What is then the difference between those who find themselves in jails for being in the right and those who are there for being in the wrong? Both wear often the same dress, eat the same food and are subject outwardly to the same discipline. But whilst the latter submit to discipline most unwillingly and would commit a breach of it secretly, and even openly if they could, the former will willingly and to the best of their ability conform to the jail discipline and prove worthier and more serviceable to their cause than when they are outside. We have observed that the most distinguished among the prisoners are of greater service inside the jails than outside. The coefficient of service is raised to the extent of the strictness with which jail discipline is observed.

Let it be remembered that we are not seeking to destroy jails as such. I fear that we shall have to maintain jails even under Swaraj. It will go hard with us, if we let the real criminals understand that they will be set free or be very much better treated when Swaraj is established. Even in reformatories by which I would like to replace every jail under Swaraj, discipline will be exacted. Therefore we really retard the advent of Swaraj if we encourage indiscipline. Indeed the swift programme of Swaraj has been conceived on the supposition that we being a cultured people are capable of evolving high discipline within a short time.

Indeed whilst on the one hand civil disobedience authorises disobedience of unjust laws or immoral laws of a state which one seeks to overthrow, it requires meek and willing submission to the penalty of disobedience and therefore cheerful acceptance of the jail discipline and its attendant hardships.

It is now therefore clear that a civil resister's resistance ceases and his obedience is resumed as soon as he is under confinement. In confinement he claims no privileges because of the civility of his disobedience, he does the jail by his exemplary conduct he reforms even the criminals surrounding him, he softens the hearts of jailors and others in authority. Such meek behaviour springing from strength and knowledge ultimately dissolves the tyranny of the tyrant. It is for this reason that I claim that voluntary suffering is the quickest and the best remedy for the removal of abuses and injustices.

It is now manifest that shouts of *Bande Mataram* or any other in breach of jail discipline are unlawful for a non-co-operator to indulge in. It is equally unlawful for him to commit a stealthy breach of jail regulations. A non-co-operator will do nothing to demoralise his fellow prisoners. The only occasion when he can openly disobey jail regulations or hunger-strike is when an attempt is made to humiliate him or when the warders themselves break, as they often do, the rules for the comfort of prisoners or when food that is unfit for human consumption is issued as it often is. A case for civil disobedience also arises when there is interference with any obligatory religious practice.

AN UNREGISTERED NEWSPAPER.

[We have already referred in our last issue to the forfeiture of the security of the *Independent*. Upon the security being forfeited Mr. Mahadeo Desai, nothing daunted, began to issue hand written copies of the *Independent*. He was able to multiply these copies by means of the ordinary multiplying processes. Being a novelty it became popular and fancy prices were paid for it. We are sure that our readers will enjoy this novel newspaper, though we cannot give them the pleasure which the readers of the original must have derived. When Civil Disobedience was started in connection with the Rowlatt Act a similar attempt was made in Bombay. But the Government of Bombay, we understand, was advised that a written newspaper could not be described as a newspaper whose publication was punishable in law. But the U. P. Government wanted to punish Mr. Mahadeo Desai's effrontery. Therefore he has been tried under section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Section 117 Indian Penal Code. He has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. We hope that the experiment of publishing a hand written newspaper will be continued by an unbroken line of editors and the publication will not be suspended for want of men to run the risk of being imprisoned.]

"I choose, but I cannot die."

The INDEPENDENT.

Edited by Mahadeo Desai.

Unregistered Daily.

Allahabad, Thursday 22nd Dec. '21.

OURSELVES

We owe our new avatar to those who seeing see not, hearing hear not, nor either understand. The whole policy of repression is a deliberate dive into the abyss of darkness. By arresting us the Government are saying you are in their disobedience, by withholding our

speech and writing they deliberately choose 'to see not, seeing and hear not, hearing.' But they know not what they do or say. For if, for instance, Sir Harcourt had his eyes, his ears and his understanding would he say the things he has been saying? Would Mr. Montagu, with his wit about himself, say, 'There is no repression in India'? There is no darkness like the ignorance of our ignorance. And we are at eternal war with Darkness and Powers of Darkness.

It seems as though Providence is helping us in the war. For the ways of man and God are ever determined. The tyrant being bad, believes himself to be good, and prepares himself for destruction even by the weakest, who knows what a mixture of good and bad he is, and looks to Providence ever ready to give him guidance. The more therefore the tyrant is awayed by the pride of power, the nearer he goes to destruction; the more we are conscious of our frailties and the more we strive for light and guidance and purification the nearer we are to victory.

Our security was forfeited because the articles "Mrs. Nehru's Message" and "Let us also see it through" were considered to be "interfering with the administration of law and the maintenance of law and order." We may frankly say that we do not recognise any law made by Government. Nor do we recognise any of their ways of keeping law and order. Truth, Non violence and other laws of our Ethical Code are sufficient to keep us true to us and to God. We will therefore endeavour our best to preach the message that Mrs. Nehru has preached and also 'to see it through'.

It is likely that this endeavour, like its predecessor, may also be suppressed. It is likely that we may with all our helpers and comrades be deprived of our slave liberties. No consummation would be more devoutly to be wished. In a way it is intense pain that we have to labour on this venture. For life, in a reign of falsehood, injustice, and terror, is insupportable but in jail. The tyrant is potent enough to arrest every one of the activities of our mortal frame, but he cannot touch the immortal spirit within. He may force the one to submit to his law, he may not dream of forcing his law on the other. I may be killed, which only means, 'I change, but I cannot die.'

[We print below Mr. Desai's farewell message to his readers and the new Editor's declaration of policy from No. 8 of Vol. I of this new series of the *Independent*.]

TO MY READERS.

I had the privilege not long ago of talking to my readers in the first person. I never knew that the privilege would come again so soon. I have been summoned by the District Magistrate to appear before him to-day to take my trial for charges under Sections 17 (1) of the O. A. A. and 117 I. P. O. This is just as it should be. I have been long expecting it and never thought that the Government whose logic has been stimulated of late would suffer me a rebel to go on breaking the law and denouncing them from day to day.

So it is just as it should have happened. What I thought would not happen is the search which is taking place at the *Independent* office for all papers and machinery in connection with this my little paper. I referred yesterday to the insanity which is fast overtaking Government. I had not the slightest suspicion then that the disease was not stealthily coming insantly but galloping insanity. Think of the madness to seize manuscripts along with, I suppose, carbon sheets, copying pencils and other harmless instruments to prepare copies, as also the cyclostyle machines which we could

borrow from friends but could hardly work successfully. What a brainless, imaginationless and soulless system! I can only pity the miserable agents who are working it.

They have not the brains to think that there are thousands of other ways to disseminate news and views and not the soul to think that even if they stop our mouth and hands and other members of the body from functioning properly, they cannot touch the soul. An old man once said that if we had but the will and the soul, even breath of carbonic acid gas from the mouths of 50 crores Indians could annihilate the whole of the British Raj and sweep away the Empire.

That soul awakening is fast coming upon us ever being quickened by Government insanity.

Every moment these days it has been growing upon me that true selfless suffering or penance can crush the mightiest evil on earth and I take leave of you with that conviction stronger within me this morning.

Adieu.

(Sd.) M. H. Desai.

OUR EDITOR.

St. Mahadeo Desai, our Editor was sentenced this morning to rigorous imprisonment for one year and a fine of Rs. 100. His fault was that undaunted by the forfeiture of security of the *Independent* he started publishing an unregistered daily handwritten and within two days made it a success. The copies of the manuscript paper were selling like hot cakes in Allahabad. This proved too much for the Government and they promptly proceeded to make a scapegoat of the Editor. The significance of the incident is clear. The Government is feeling its strength ebbing away and is consequently impatient of all criticism. Our duty at present is obvious. We must absolutely refuse to be coerced by sentences of long terms of rigorous imprisonment. Our position has been once for all defined by our late Editor in his statement before the Court, which we publish below. We must continue to criticize the Government truthfully and yet without reproach, a process so simple and yet so efficient.

THE STATEMENT.

'Frankly we are at war, and I am standing before you to-day as a prisoner of war. If we, i. e., the non-co-operators were votaries of force like you, I dare say you or some of you would have been our prisoners of war to-day. But God forbid that we should ever have to capture any human being as a prisoner of war and thereby sin against our Maker.

'Unlike my illustrious predecessors here, I am going to assist you more to help myself into jail than to oblige you. We are all rebels and it is a wonder of wonders why you should choose to try us for a smaller offence and ought to do so for a more comprehensive one, viz. that of recognising none of your laws. I do not only not recognise your Criminal Law Amendment Act, but I recognise none of the mighty 'Unrepealed Acts of the Governor-General of India in Council'. I stand here, therefore, ready to suffer the highest penalty that you can inflict on me. I only fear that not all the horrors of any hell that you can consign us to, can force the robust spirit of revolt out of us, and the hypocrisy of loyalty to a loathsome system into us.

'And a word of thankfulness before you accept me as a guest in one of the King's prisons. It is with a sense of positive relief that I shall be relieved of the difficult duty of criticizing Government with truthfulness and yet

without rancour. That capacity only my master has acquired. And I am really thankful that I will no longer have to struggle against my baser self; I am thankful in jail I shall, if your prison regulations permit me, occupy myself with better duties than the present ones, namely, for instance spinning, and in spite of all your prison regulations, I shall think, with all the power of lamidity that is given me, of my Maker. I thank you.

Disturbance and Firing at Ferozpur Jhirka

[The following report of Police firing which resulted in ten deaths and 30 or 40 persons being wounded has been submitted to us by Maulvi Lutf Ullah urf Abdul Binn in the form of a statement to which the Maulvi has affixed his signature. The incident took place on 23rd December and telegraphic messages relating to it were sent to all papers including *Young India*, which have been suppressed.]

DI-28-12-1921, 10/30 A. M.

My name is Maulvi Lutf Ullah urf Abdul Binn, I come from Kiratpur District Bijnaur (U. P.). I am working on behalf of the Punjab Khilafat Committee in Rohilk, Hissar and Gurgaon. I am doing this work honourably. I have been engaged in this Khilafat work for the last two months.

About 11 A. M. on the 24th I got a wire from Delhi from Mian Mahomed Ali President Khilafat Committee Ferozpur Jhirka informing me of a serious disturbance in his village and asking me to go there. I received the telegram in Rawadi at about 1 P. M. The same day Secretary Khilafat Committee Ferozpur Jhirka met me in the Rawar Khilafat Committee Office. The Secretary of Jhirka came with two men from his village and told me the following facts of the occurrence in his village:-

"On the 23rd December about 4 P. M. Police at Jhirka arrested 15 persons including Secretary Congress Committee Jhirka, Lala Vasudev. Those arrested were cheerful and gladly proceeded to the police station with the Sub-Inspector. On the way flowers were showered on them by the public who followed their leaders in large numbers singing national songs. The crowd consisted of Hindus and Mohomedans and had increased considerably by the time it reached the police station. In this crowd a greater portion consisted of "Mewas" a Mohomedan clan of villagers. At the instigation of the assembly Lala Vasudev addressed the public and told them to keep calm and to preserve peace under all provocation and to continue to preach Swadeshi and the use of *Khadai*. After this short speech all arrested were put in the lock up. Then some people said that they should also be arrested as they were guilty of the same offence as their leaders who were being taken in police custody. Some tried to rush in through the gate of the police station. At this the armed police tried to push back the crowd. Gradually the people grew in numbers and became more excited and surrounded the armed police. The crowd also in its turn was surrounded by a number of policemen unarmed. Some people tried to disperse the crowd, and as this attempt was being made, some stones were thrown in the crowd. People still kept peaceful. The throwing of the stones continued resulting in some people being hurt. It is believed that this was the work of the police or some of their agents. Some young villagers in the crowd got excited and began to peep stones to the quarter from where the stones were being thrown at the crowd. Others tried to stop these young men, but could not succeed. Police then fired a blank volley on the crowd round the armed police. People dispersed.

Those armed policemen then entered the thana. Those who were surrounded by the police were standing still. From the roof of the thana, at this stage, the police fired on the people. This happened about 6 P. M. After this the crowd began to turn back. When they were dispersing the people were fired upon by the police. The fire was also directed towards the streets to which people were going. This continued for many minutes. Ten persons were seriously hurt with shots on the head or the breasts. Others were badly injured. The number of these is about 30 or 40. The ten persons who were seriously hurt died on the spot. The wounded were taken to the Hospital. The Doctor in charge refused to attend to them, saying "You people oppose the Government and then come to Government Hospitals for treatment." Some wounded returned to their homes, others remained there as they were not in a position to walk back at once. I do not know if these have been treated since. This took place at about 7 P. M. When the people had dispersed, the gates of the thana were opened and a policeman shouted for the dead bodies to be removed. People were afraid to approach and thus the corpses remained there till about 9 P. M. when relations of the deceased reached the place."

The Secretary Khilafat Committee says that he left his village for Gurgaon in a motor at about 10 P. M. and reached there at about 2 A. M. on 24th. He was accompanied by some others. A few went to Delhi and the Secretary then came to Rawari, when he gave me all the above details. I sent telegrams to all the papers including *Young India*. Then I started for Alwar to go to Ferozpur Jhirka with the Secretary Khilafat Committee. We reached Alwar at about 4 P. M. on 24th December. We learnt there that the Alwar State had sent troops for help at the request of the Deputy Commissioner. We could not obtain any conveyance to take us to Jhirka. We left on foot. We were told that no one was allowed to proceed to Jhirka. Then I returned. We learnt from people coming from Jhirka that a large number of Mewas had gathered there. Police had also reached the village from Gurgaon. I then left for Ahmedabad leaving others at Alwar. There is great excitement there. I have heard the above statement and it is correct.

(Sd.) Mahomed Lutf Ullah, Kiratpur.

LALA LAJPAT RAI ON HUNGER STRIKE

Lala Lajpat Rai is on hunger strike since Saturday as a protest against extremely bad food served in jail in sympathy 79 political prisoners are abstaining from food.

A Letter from Mrs. Das

[It is with very great pleasure we print the following letter from Mrs. C. R. Das to Mr. Gandhi. In the absence of Mr. Das all of us were looking forward to the pleasure of having Vasanti Devi in our midst bearing Mr. Das's message to the Congress. But on the 23rd she wired that her presence was absolutely necessary in Bengal and requested Mr. Gandhi to arrange to do without her. Although, therefore, we exceedingly regret her absence on this occasion, we are reconciled to it by the thought that the days are such as require our keeping to our post at all cost whenever necessary.]

Asst. Editor.]

Russe Road,
Kulighat,
28-12-31.

Dear Mahatmaji,

I regret very much that I cannot come and attend the Congress. My presence in Bengal is absolutely necessary. We are fighting wholeheartedly in Bengal and we are determined to see the struggle through. I find it difficult to leave Bengal at this critical stage of the fight. The fight is going on not only in Calcutta but all over Bengal in all the districts. I hope you will understand my difficulty and excuse me. I hope you won't be inconvenienced because of my absence.

You must have known there had been some negotiations here in Calcutta between ourselves and the Government through Pandit Malaviya. Lord Reading summoned his Executive Council for this matter. You must have seen that an influential deputation waited on Lord Reading and asked for a Round Table Conference and you also must have seen Lord Reading's reply to the Deputation. There has been some correspondence with you also with reference to this matter. The Bengal non-co-operators acting on your telegram suggested certain terms to Lord Reading through Pandit Malaviya. The terms substantially were that the date and the composition should be previously settled. It was suggested that the Conference should be within the month of January and should discuss the three questions, namely Swaraj, Khilafat and the Punjab and other necessary questions. Names of 21 Congress leaders including Mahomed Ali, Shaikat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew were suggested provisionally to represent the Congress at the Conference. The other terms mentioned in the telegram about the release and withdrawal of the orders were also included upon and it was suggested that if all this was done we should observe a truce and waive *hartal*. I understand Lord Reading did not accept these terms on the ground that his Council was not there and that Provincial Governments have got to be consulted on some matters referred in the terms. In this connection you will also find that the Government of Bihar have already issued a Communiqué practically on the basis of some of these terms. Lord Reading had left for Delhi, but he has not made any provision before he left for further negotiations on the basis of the terms offered. All this I write to you only to give intimation as to what happened here.

From Bengal you will find very few leaders have been able to attend the Congress. We want all of them here for the fight that is going on here. That is why we could spare only a few. As regards the arrest of volunteers and the work done here you will get full information from my sister-in-law Shrimati Urmila Devi who has left to-night.

The Government have again remanded my husband's case to 5th of January. The charge against him, I understand, is that he managed and assisted the Congress Committee and other like Associations. The object of the remand, as I understand it, is in any case to prevent him from presiding over this session of the Congress.

As regards the non-co-operation resolution, if I may suggest, the clause referring to volunteers' pledge and their qualifications should be a little more broad-based. In the Bengal fight the co-operators and the non-co-operators have joined hands and fight for a common cause. We had here a meeting of our leaders on this point and they are of the same opinion.

I see that the fight is going on all over India, but I expect the fight will be a stern, long, and arduous one, and I am sure under your leadership we will march on to victory. Though myself and my husband will not be able to attend the Congress we shall be there with you in spirit. I wish you all success.

I am yours,
BASANTI DEBI.

Maulana A. K. Azad's Message.

After Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's arrest his Private Secretary found among the Maulana's papers a message by the Maulana to Mr. Gandhi, which we print below:—

If I am arrested the following message be sent to Mahatmaji on my behalf:—

"I take the opportunity to congratulate you on your success. I hope you will not accuse me of being hasty in this respect. I am looking forward to that much longed for moment and I would not like others to surprise me in tendering the congratulations. You are every day running short of human aid as your colleagues are being frequently incarcerated but Divine Aid is on the other hand increasing. The recent disturbances in Bombay had caused you great pain and I felt much aggrieved to see you so unhappy and restless on that account. But Calcutta is now aroused in order to present to you the pleasant fruits of success in place of your sorrowful feelings of the past.

"We had last had a talk about Calcutta on the 25th November and I am glad that the assurance given to you then has proved to be right. I am working in Calcutta for the last 15 years and my family have been residing here for about 50 years and therefore the assurance given was based on my personal knowledge and belief. The Muslims of Calcutta have done most important work in connection with the Khilafat movement during the last three years, and in this last stage, also Calcutta will take the lead. It has understood the moral of peaceful sacrifice. It will neither flare up nor extinguish but the fire will continue to burn on. It appears that the share of completing the stage of peaceful civil disobedience has fallen on Calcutta, to which it has a right."

Another Gaoi Letter.

District Jail,
Lucknow,
21-12-31.

My Dear Mahatmaji,

I have purposely refrained from writing to you earlier as I thought it was useless to do so in view of the very rapid march of events. My nephew Kishanlal is going to Ahmedabad to-day and I am giving him this note just to say that we are well and eagerly expecting the news that you have discarded the deceptive terms for our release and ordered a further concentration of effort in such directions as you consider suitable. My own opinion and the general sense of my fellow-prisoners here is that nothing has happened to induce us to reconsider our position. On the contrary everything has turned out quite nicely. There is no stopping now and we are quite clear that even a temporary halt will be most inadvisable. "No reduction in the triple demand" should be the only basis of any negotiations which might be opened. There may of course be variations in the *modus operandi* of satisfying the triple demand but no giving away of the principle. It is impossible to go into details but you will understand how my mind is working from what I have said.

The security of the *Independent* has been confiscated and a fresh security of Rs. 10,000 demanded. It is no use throwing away money by furnishing this additional security.

as it is bound to be confiscated soon after it is found. I am therefore directing the suspension of the paper for the time being and have telephoned to Madhav to come here on his way to Ahmedabad for a short talk. If Madhav or Devdas comes I shall give him a longer message.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru.

"So pleasant to go to Jail".

(Letter from Mr. O. Rajagopalchari).
Salem, 18th Oct. 1921.

My Dear Mahatmaji,

I appeared before the Vellore Magistrate on 15th. He took my admission but insisted on taking evidence. He examined one witness and adjourned the further proceedings to to-morrow. I am going there to-night. He did not remand me to custody though I refused signing any undertaking to appear.

I had your letters and telegrams. It is so pleasant to go to Jail. When I realise your anxiety and your loneliness now, I feel guilty of having deserted you. I hope you will pardon me. It came about unsought.

I am full of hope if only the Government will go on without relaxing their policy. The Moderates have begun to stir and are asking for conferences. I feel the step is a little premature. A compromise or conference now cannot bring us much. Our sacrifices have been too little yet for anything big to come out of a settlement now.

You are all alone now, but God is in you on our behalf and you will be strong.

Our programme should not be disturbed in the least except for the addition of Civil Disobedience. All of us being in jail, I believe the elements of moderation will try their best to get the struggle made less acute. But any modification now is death. There is a fresh impetus and strength everywhere now and Civil Disobedience seems very hopeful.

Dr. Rajan will go to Ahmedabad. He will go on with the work here.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act gave us such a beautiful opportunity for quiet clean resistance. The Madras Government saw this apparently and has stopped notifying though it has obtained an extension of the Act to the Province.

English soldiers that return from Moplah country with whom I have had casual talks say that the Moplahs have been driven into two big hills, which the troops have arranged completely to blockade. They expect to starve them out before the end of a month more. There is no idea of truce. It is a fight to the death.

Mrs. Joseph writes from Allahabad. She says Joseph is happy in Agra Jail. She does not know what she should do. Perhaps some time you may find time to write to her and advise.

Yours sincerely,
O. Rajagopalchari.

More about the Conference Proposal

The following telegram has been received from members of the United Provinces Congress Committee who are undergoing their sentence in the Agra Jail:

"We agree your views regarding Round Table Conference."

Another telegram on the same subject from Durban (South Africa) has been received by Mr. Gandhi:—

"India's future depends on your firmness. Any

weakness will destroy us. Many Irish and Indian settlements were abortive. Power of Indian Civil Service must be destroyed. Nothing short of complete Home Rule is our birthright. Wish Congress success. Bustomji."

Mr. Rajagopalchari also expressed a similar opinion to a representative of the *Andhra Patrika* when the latter interviewed him at Vellore on the 20th:—

"I think the conference would be premature now. We have just shown that we are not terror-struck by repression. We have not gone far enough and undertaken enough suffering to be able to command sufficiently good terms in any negotiations to be entered into now. Government has realised that we are not to be terrorised and is therefore quietly withdrawing from the position as can be seen from the policy announced in Madras, Behar, and Orissa. Seeing that the Moderates have shown a tendency to withdraw their support, Government would like to enter into negotiations at once. The moderates and other conservative elements have not sufficient faith in our capacity for this struggle and are therefore inclined to force premature negotiations. My own opinion is that we should win a few more battles before entering into any armistice."

A Magisterial Circular.

The *Leader* has received the following copy of a circular issued by the district magistrate of one of the western districts of the U. P. from a reliable correspondent:—

"TO ALL MAGISTRATES AND HONORARY MAGISTRATES.—The police in outlying stations in the district have now been given a wider discretion to act on their own initiative in cases under sec. 17 (3) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act Part II. The wording of that section is:

"Whoever manages or assists in the management of an unlawful association or promotes or assists in promoting a meeting of any such association or of any members thereof as such members, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both."

"I look confidently to all magistrates to support the police in such action and advise them, if necessary. It should be remembered that it is the policy of Government to deal with the ringleaders rather than with the men of smaller substance.

"The time has now come for people generally to understand that at the present time there can be only two parties, namely, 'the friends and the enemies of Government.' It is impossible to adopt an indeterminate position in the middle. There is no room for people who express loyalty to Government with their lips but are in their hearts traitors.

"Civil disobedience has already been started in certain parts of the United Provinces. This means anarchy and must and will be resisted at all costs with the whole force of the law. I look to magistrates to support the police in the maintenance of law and order and I look to sub-divisional magistrates to submit, when necessary, proposals for the enrolment of an auxiliary police force under the Police Act from among the well-wishers and loyal friends of Government of whom there are many in this district. Sub-divisional magistrates must understand that half-hearted measures are useless. A danger of this kind can only be and will only be crushed by whole-hearted and decisive action."

Bureaucratic Mentality

Referring to the case of assault on Principal Mahtab at Calcutta Sir Henry Wheeler said in a speech in the Bengal Council that it was only fair to this gentleman to say that so far as Sir Henry was aware he had not

lent his influence to the use of the story as a means of exciting prejudice. The Government regretted that the venerable gentleman should have been entangled and without wishing to detract from the expression of regret, he would point out to the Council that what he did with the best of motives would have been interpreted in London as obstructing the military in discharge of their duties.

Bihar.

At Sonpur the police seized the flags, -badges, *Khadi* clothes and wrappers from Volunteers and tore them to pieces. The Superintendent of Police raided the Congress Office, removed all records, *Khadi* pieces, pictures, badges, *Khadi* caps, and books like the *Ramayan* and the *Gita* and burnt them in front of the office.

Jituntah, fitter in a Jharis colliery, going to the workshop in a *Khadi* cap, the European engineer rushing to him, abused him, removed the cap from his head and flung it into the flaming forge. Not stopping there, he struck him so severely that the fitter lay prostrate on the ground. The sahib soon got over his breast and boxed him on a most delicate part of his head, an injury to which, in the doctor's opinion, he might have succumbed.

Bengal.

Mr. Ellis, sub-divisional officer Brahmanbaria, personally lashed three volunteers. One of the victims was a boy of 14 who was whipped so severely that he bled.

In Calcutta a sergeant was assaulting a political prisoner at the police court premises when suddenly a constable ran at the sergeant and caught hold of him, saying 'Volunteerko marneko tumko hukam nahī.' The constable was furious. Through the intervention of some other sergeants and constables, the constable and the sergeant were separated.

Some notable Civil (N) Guards:—(1) Gopal Kahar, police informer with six previous convictions to his credit, (2) Gopinath Mukerjee, convicted at Sessions for three years, (3) Jagatchandra Ghose against whom a prosecution for cheating was pending but was withdrawn, etc., etc.

Sarababai Devi a lady volunteer has been arrested at Pirojpur along with a boy of 12.

Assam.

At Jorhat while two shopkeepers were selling Swadeshi cloth with *Khadi* caps on, a European planter entered the *haz*, without a word ran towards the merchants and removed the caps from their heads with a stick. Not satisfied with his exploit he asked the *hathkooz* to turn them out of the *haz*, which the latter did. Sarawakhi, a cobbler on the Khaniker Tea Estate, for the crime of wearing *Khadi* was taken to the European Manager who got him stripped naked and sent away.

Fresh Arrests in Allahabad.

The following wire from Allahabad dated 20th December was received by Pandit Malaviya who is here to attend the Congress. The sender of the telegram is Pt. Girinda Malaviya, Malaviya's son who was arrested, but discharged, a few days ago.

Explained through hand-bills Saturday public meeting. Yesterday centres called *chhatras* purely for social service yet wholesale arrests made. All centres 62 arrested Saturday, 91 yesterday (Sunday), none to-day (Monday). New volunteers pouring in. Pandit Babu present. Allahabad with us.

Assault on Prisoners.

Four members of the Gandhi Ashram and their friends visited the Benares District Jail to have an interview with Prof. Kripalani and those friends who were arrested on account of their having distributed *harta* notices in connection with the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the 18th instant. They met Professor Kripalani, Shriyut Vichitra Narain, Anil Babu, Zahiruddin Ansari, Mahomed Sidik Mistry, Shriyut Chhatra Dhari Sing and the son of Pathakji as well as Babu Raghunath Sing.

Professor Kripalani was in the best of spirits and so were the rest. The Professor said that he with his comrades was tried in the Police Station soon after they were arrested. Their trials were over there, and after they were sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment they were handcuffed, tied with a rope and led in the prison van like ordinary prisoners.

Three of his Ashram workers, Shriyut Vichitra Narain, Babu Anil Chandra Mukerjee, and Ramasjee received slaps at the hands of Sub-Inspector..... Babu Vichitra Narain was also kicked and beaten with shoes. Babu Chhatra Dhari Sing informed them that the same person as well as a few other constables beat him. Babu Vichitra Narain also said that one of the accused named Habib was beaten by Sub-Inspector..... The son of Pathakji and also Raghunath Babu said that they were beaten after they were arrested.

The Professor further said that ordinary jail rules were being applied to them. They were given a ward with a very narrow compound and this ward was not quite sufficient for them. Their food was very wretched. Though they were allowed to cook for themselves, the materials supplied to them were exceedingly bad, and not consistent with their religious susceptibilities. Wheat flour contained insects and smelled horribly. The quality of rice was so very bad that with many washings they were not able to clean it of its dirt. Vegetables supplied were no better than grass. The use of newspapers had not been allowed till then. The District Magistrate was being asked about this. (Names of the police officials said to have committed assaults are purposely omitted.)

Asstt. Editor Y. I.)

Bengal Governor Retorted.

Readers may remember that the Governor of Bengal in a speech before the Bengal Council referred to some finds of swords and sword-sticks in Calcutta and made that the basis of his plea for the necessity of instituting repressive measures. The Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee held an enquiry into the matter. His conclusions are that the possessor of those swords and sticks was a shopkeeper who dealt in old curios and the things taken possession of by the Government formed part of his wares.

The following letter of the Secretary addressed to the President of the Khilafat Committee thoroughly relates the allegations of the Governor:

DEAR SIR,

Much capital has been made out of the recent find of some swords and sword-sticks in the possession of one Abdul Aziz of the Lower Chitpur Road. I, under instructions from you, made an enquiry into the matter and have been able to gather the following information:—

He has absolutely no connection with the Khilafat organisation of Bengal and is a native of Gwalior State. He has been a dealer in old curios for a long time and he brought

down some of his stock to get a ready sale during the Prince Wales' visit to Calcutta. He came down to Calcutta for the purpose only in October last. Some of the fish, it is said, are very old and curious specimens belonging to some ancient families of Rajputana States. The man is still in *Kajal* being unable to furnish bail.

As the case is *sub judice* I refrain from making any further comment, but it is curious to find that the head of the administration of Bengal made a reference to this case and tried to connect it with the N. C. O. movement, on what material the public is at a loss to understand. Not an iota of proof has hitherto been advanced in the law courts up to now.

Yours faithfully,

F. D. AHMED,

Hon'y. Secy.,

Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee,

Sensational Lahore Arrest.

The following news was received from Lahore;—

On the 23rd December at 2 p.m. Principal Lajjavati of Jullanda delivered a speech exhorting young men to follow in the footsteps of the leaders and emphasizing the non-violent character of the struggle. Then a procession of 150 Volunteers headed by Lala Govardhandas General Secretary Punjab Provincial Congress Committee started from Haveli Nohian and passed through streets singing national songs and preaching *Khadi*. At about 3 at Akbari Gate near Police Chowky Mr. Gray, Deputy Superintendent of Police, barred the way to Bangmahal where the procession was to end. Being asked to disperse or march off to the Central Police Station, the General Secretary refused and insisted on arrest being made or being allowed to pass. The Deputy Superintendent not agreeing, all sat down in the street in a long line surrounded by a cordon of police and continued singing. Mahomedan members said prayer at 4. In the meantime fresh contingent of Police in large numbers under two European officers arrived and dispersed without using violence on the collecting crowd. But the Police not arresting and the volunteers not budging, a dead-lock was created. The game seemed to be to wear each other out. However before 4 o'clock in Mr. Gray said that they might consider themselves arrested and Lala Govardhandas delivered himself up to the Police. With alacrity the volunteers got up and marched as ordered to the District Police Lines escorted by the Police and singing songs. Before reaching the lines the procession halted once and the Mahomedans had *Namaz* and some Hindus *Sandhya*, the Police standing by. Inside the Lines the Volunteers were made to wait in the open till 2 in the morning when all excepting Govardhandas and Dilawar Singh, Secretary City Congress Committee, were released by batches. The reader should remember the intense cold of a mid-December night in Lahore in order to realise the suffering inflicted on the Volunteers. The Volunteers refused evening meals though offered by relatives.

A Ban on Khadi.

The annual prize distribution at the Lahore Medical College which was to come off on the 23rd instant was suddenly cancelled without any reasons being assigned. It is surmised that the only reason that has influenced the authorities concerned in

coming to their present decision is a resolution in which the students of the College are understood to have recently passed to the effect that they would attend the function in *Khadi* dress. The *Tribune* of Lahore expresses its profound amazement at the proceeding. It says:—"The use of *Khadi* is permitted in the case of all Government servants except such as are to use uniforms made of prescribed stuff. Is it to be interdicted in the case of students? As a matter of fact, many students do use *Khadi* even now and in spite of all that has happened, we cannot for a moment believe that the Government can be a party to so absurd a thing as the prohibition of the use of *Khadi* by school or college students."

Latest Egyptian News

The British military authorities have taken control and the situation appears to be well in hand. Zaghlul Pasha has been taken to Suez in a motor car under escort. The authorities are acting very vigorously and are determined to suppress any possible trouble.

General Allenby has issued a proclamation forbidding the banks or persons holding money on behalf of Zaghlul Pasha or any extreme Nationalist association, to make any payments from such credits without General Allenby's written permission.

The Warships *Ceres* and *Clamatis* have been ordered to Egypt, and will leave forthwith. Other warships are under orders to leave at the shortest notice.

An order under martial law notifies that public disorders rioting and destruction of property will be rigorously suppressed by the military who have received orders to shoot when necessary.

Five of the arrested followers of Zaghlul have been taken to Suez. The remaining three having complied with Lord Allenby's orders are remaining in Egypt. A number of arrests have been made. Twelve persons had been killed up to last night, all natives except one.

Most of the schools are idle and the students are endeavouring to make the Government officials strike. Many have done so.

The dissident members of Zaghlul's delegation who have been supporting Adly have sent a telegram to Mr. Lloyd George strongly protesting against the order regarding Zaghlul's supporters.

The native quarters are filled with intense excitement.

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Subscriptions to the above fund which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

The Manager, Young India,
Ahmedabad.

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